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HORACE

VOL. II •

THE SATIRES, EPISTLES, AND DE ARTE POETICA

WITH A COMMENTARY

BY

E. C. WICKHAM, D.D.

HON. FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD

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PREFACE

THIS Edition is substantially identical with Vol. II of my larger Horace, published in 1891. I have endeavoured to make some of the notes rather simpler, and I have taken the opportunity of correcting, as far as I could, errors that I had discovered, or which had been pointed out to me. And in twelve years one's judgment on some points has changed. The publication by the Clarendon Press of the text of Horace with a modest 'apparatus criticus,' which is embodied in this volume, has rendered superfluous a certain number of notes on textual questions where the meaning was not seriously involved. I should say that the spelling of Latin words has been assimilated to the standard adopted by desire of the Delegates in that edition.

LINCOLN,

April, 1903.

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SIGLA

- V* = codicis Blandinii vetustissimi lectiones a Cruquio
nobis traditae
- B* = codex Bernensis 363
- A* = codex Parisinus 7900^a
- a* = codex Ambrosianus 136
- R* = codex Sueco-Vaticanus 1703
- λ = codex Parisinus 7972
- l* = codex Leidensis F. 28
- δ = codex Harleianus 2725
- d* = codex Harleianus 2688
- ϕ = codex Parisinus 7974
- ψ = codex Parisinus 7971
- π = codex Parisinus 10310
- u* = codex Parisinus 7973
- v* = codex Dessaviensis A
- D* = codex olim Argentoratensis in urbis obsidione
xxx abhinc annis incendio absumptus
- τ = codex Turicensis C. 154
- L* = codex Lipsiensis I. 4. 38
- ϵ = codex Einsiedlensis 361
- β = codex Bernensis 21
- σ = codex Sangallensis 864
- R*^s = codex Reginensis P. 2
- γ = codex Parisinus 7975
- C* et *E* = partes duae codicis Monacensis 14685
- g* = codex Gothanus B. 61
- Acr.* = interpretationes Pseudo-Acronis
- Porph.* = interpretationes Porphyronis
- Comm. Cruq.* = Commentator Cruquianus

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE SATIRES

§ 1. *Division of the two Books.*

IT may be taken for certain that the division of the two Books of Satires is a real and chronological division, not merely, like that of the first three books of the Odes, the division for artistic purposes of a collection given to the world together. Such a real division is indicated by the very definite epilogue with which the First Book is concluded, and the prologue with which the Second Book opens. No doubt something of this effect is given by the placing of Od. 2. 20 and 3. 1, and in a slighter way still by that of Od. 1. 37, 38 and 2. 1; but in the case of the Odes there is no mistake when we come to Od. 3. 30 and compare it with 1. 1, that we have in them the true prologue and epilogue to the work as a whole. To make the parallel effective, Book II of the Satires should have an epilogue which would mark not only the close of a Book but the achievement of a full purpose. Sat. II is ended in a manner suitable to the more dramatic character of the Book, not by a conscious epilogue, but by a sketch lighter in tone than the two which precede it, and one which gathers up and puts in more dramatic form some of the chief topics of the book and especially of its earlier part. Amongst Horace's collections of poems it is analogous to the conclusion of the Epodes and of the IVth Book of the Odes, not to that of Sat. I, Odes I-III, or Epp. I. He has his two manners, evidently, of ending a Book: but this does not render it more probable that he should have published the two Books of Satires together and ended the first with 'I puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello,' and the second with 'velut illis Canidia adflasset peior serpentibus Afris.'

But in truth the two Books stand apart from one another widely, both in general form and topics, and also in tone personal and literary, and in the background of circumstance. In Book I Octavianus is mentioned only once, and then incidentally as patron

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of Tigellius. In Book II he is set in the forefront, as the person to whom compliments are to be paid, and whose protection the poet may look for¹. In Book I the friendship of Maecenas occupies a prominent place, but there is no hint of his most valued gift, the Sabine retreat. In Book II the 'villa' is the scene of Sat. 3, and the theme of Sat. 6. The peace of his country home has passed into the poet's blood, and the assured position of which it was the outward sign has modified his views of things. In 2. 1 he professes to take up the cudgels on behalf of outspoken Satire, but he meets his critics more than half-way. He is 'cupidus pacis,' and his weapon is to be one of defence only. Whatever of personality there had been in Book I has been yet further toned down in Book II. Horace's literary enemies Tigellius, Fannius, Demetrius, have had their final dismissal in Sat. 1. 10. Though, as we see from his later writings, his judgment on the general question between the ancients and moderns remains what it was, he is no longer concerned to defend himself against detractors who depreciated him by exalting Lucilius; and accordingly he expresses his debt to his predecessor and his admiration for him without qualification.

§ 2. *Date of Book I.*

The first Book of the Satires is the first collection of Horace's poems that was given to the world. This would be the natural conclusion from his words in Sat. 1. 10. 46, where, after assigning different kinds of poetry to different contemporary masters, he says of Satire 'Hoc erat experto frustra Varrone Atacino Atque quibusdam aliis melius quod scribere possem.' Some of the Epodes may have been as early in composition as the earliest Satires, but the collected Epodes were not published before the battle of Actium (Epod. 9).

In endeavouring to fix the date of the publication of Sat. I it is of the first importance to fix the time of Horace's introduction to the friendship of Maecenas. Six, if not seven², of the ten Satires

¹ Sat. 2. 1. 11, 19, 84.

² 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10. Possibly we should add 8, which takes occasion in laying the scene of Canidia's witcheries on the Esquiline to compliment Maecenas incidentally on the improvements by which he had converted the old paupers' burial-ground into handsome gardens.

TO THE SATIRES

contain references to that friendship. The friendship is fresh, and yet has lasted a little while. Horace looks back on its stages (6. 54-62); it has stood some tests (3. 63-65); people are still curious about it, and yet some are already seeking to profit by it (5 and 9). Now if we can date Sat. 2. 6, Horace gives us in it the means of also dating approximately the commencement of his close relations to Maecenas: for in v. 40 he says—

‘Septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus
Ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
In numero.’ (With the last words cp. Sat. 1. 6. 62.)

The expression is not perfectly clear, but this probably means ‘It is seven or rather very nearly eight full years since,’ &c. There is also the doubt, which always attaches to Roman reckoning, whether this is to be taken exclusively or inclusively, to mean what we should also call ‘seven years verging on eight,’ or what we should rather call ‘six verging on seven.’ The date of the Satire itself can be fixed within a few months, but not more closely. Three indications of time are given in it. (1) In v. 38 the words ‘Imprimat his, cura, Maecenas signa tabellis’ seem to refer to the time of the ‘bellum Actiacum’ and the following events, during which Maecenas (in conjunction later with Agrippa) had the charge of affairs in Rome and Italy for Octavianus and bore his signet ring¹. (2) In v. 53 Horace represents as one of the questions put to him by persons who credited him with knowing state secrets, ‘numquid de Dacis audisti?’ The Daci are mentioned by Dion as offering their services to Octavianus before the battle of Actium, and, on his declining them, to Antony²: and it is evident that they continued to be a cause of some anxiety at Rome, for he speaks of Crassus being sent against them in B.C. 30. (3) In v. 55 another question asked of him is, ‘militibus promissa Triquetra Praedia Caesar, an est Itala tellure daturus?’ The allocation referred to is probably that after Actium, and the moment at which this question would be most in men’s mouths would be in the winter of B.C. 31, when Dion reports that so serious a mutiny broke out among the disbanded soldiers, who feared they were to be disappointed of their rewards,

¹ Dion Cassius, 51. 3.

² Id. 51. 22. See Od. 3. 6. 13 and introd. to Odes, Books i-iii. 1. § 7.

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from the rest of the Book. Satire 7 turns on a ludicrous incident which occurred in the proconsular court of Brutus when he was in Asia in the year before the battle of Philippi, and while Horace was in his suite. It culminates in the jest on the name of Rex, in connection with Brutus' political antecedents,—‘qui reges conseris tollere.’ The play on names is of just the kind in which Roman taste delighted; and it is quite intelligible that having been one of Horace's first essays in composition, perhaps one which had been shown to Maecenas by Virgil when he ‘told him what Horace was like,’ the Satire may have been retained, possibly at Maecenas' desire. It is less likely that it should have been composed when Horace had begun to beware of playing with edged tools.

Sat. 2 has other signs of date earlier than that of the bulk of the Book. There is the grossness of tone (never congenial to Horace, but always bearing the look of a concession to a supposed ‘operis lex’) to be paralleled only in some of the earlier Epodes. There is more appearance of those liberties taken with persons of position (not merely the thieves, money-lenders, misers, and parasites of later Satires) and of broad references to real scandals, which he professes to defend in Sat. 1. 4 and 2. 1, but with apologies which, if we look at any Satire but this one, seem to outrun the needs of the case¹. There is above all the curious tradition of the Scholiasts that under the name of Maltinus (or Malchinus) he was satirizing in v. 25 the personal habit of Maecenas. If this be true, it is so completely unlike Horace's bearing towards his friends in high position that it must mean that the Satire was written before his acquaintance with Maecenas commenced, and preserved with Maecenas' assent if not at his desire.

§ 5. *Title and Nature of the Satires.*

Horace uses two words to designate his Satires.

1. The only title which he uses within the Satires themselves is *Satira*. This he employs in Sat. 2. 1. 1 in the singular, to describe the form of composition or its spirit, ‘Sunt quibus in satira videre nimis acer.’ He is there speaking of himself as the successor of

¹ Is not Sat. 2 the one specimen which Horace allowed to be preserved of an earlier type of Satires which had been shown to friends, but which his own fastidious taste failed finally to approve?

TO THE SATIRES

Lucilius, and the word has our modern sense of 'Satire,' the censorious criticism of life and manners of which Lucilius had set the type. In Sat. 2. 6. 17 he employs the plural of the separate poems: 'Quid prius illustrem satiris?' and it may be noticed that there he has in view another aspect of Satire, familiar also to Lucilius (as he points out in Sat. 2. 1. 30-36), but descending to him from the older 'Satura' or medley, of Satire namely as a vehicle for autobiographical details and the expression of personal likes as well as dislikes.

2. But it is noticeable that in the Epistles, when he looks back at the Satires and ranks them with his other kinds of composition he drops entirely the term 'Satirae.' His classification is 'Iambi,' 'Carmina,' '*Sermones*.' In Epp. 1. 4. 1 the first place where he uses this term,—'*sermonum nostrorum candide iudex*,'—he is probably speaking of the Satires only; and so too in Epp. 2. 2. 60, where he qualifies it,—'*Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro*.' On the other hand in Epp. 2. 1. 250 '*sermones . . . repentis per humum*' seems meant to cover the Epistles as well ¹.

The term had in the first place a self-depreciatory meaning, and is explained by the words in Sat. 1. 4. 39 f., where he declines the name of 'poemata' for his writings, and designates them as '*sermoni propiora*,' comparing them in this respect to Comedy, which is, '*nisi quod pede certo Differt sermoni, sermo merus*.' They were poems, if poems at all, on the level of common conversation. But it was a deliberate substitution not only for 'poemata,' but also for the natural name, which he had at first given, of 'Satirae.' It was meant to describe the poems as Horace wished them to be regarded, and if 'sermo' be taken in its common sense of, 'talk,' it describes them very well ². Whatever else they

¹ The Scholiast's statement is '*Quamvis Satiram esse opus hoc suum Horatius ipse confiteatur, "sunt quibus in Satira videar nimis acer," tamen proprios titulos ei voluit accommodasse; nam hos priores duos libros *Sermonum* posteriores *Epistularum* inscripsit.*' (Porph. on Sat. 1. 1. 1.) This speaks of Horace's ultimate distinction of titles for the Satires and Epistles, and is not inconsistent with his coupling the two together under the common title while the Epistles were still in process of composition. Keller's MSS. know of no title for the Satires but '*Sermones*,' and it is the term used by the grammarians.

² It is just possible that the term drew a further colour from its use of philosophical conversations (cp. '*Socratici sermones*' Od. 3. 21. 9) and

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are, they are imitations of conversation—'talks,' '*causeries*'—imitations of the best talk of a polished time—in its ease, its diversity of topic, its graceful transitions, its spice of personality, its play of repartee, its irony, its anecdotes, fables, quotations, allusions¹. But the talk had a definite scope. It was such talk as Horace indicates in Sat. 2. 6. 71 f., on subjects of the highest interest, even if treated with a light hand. It was *talk on the art of living*. Even literature has an incidental rather than a primary place in it. He has to make his 'apologia' both for venturing to follow Lucilius and for venturing to differ from him; and this raises the question, which will occupy so much of his later writings, of the taste of the day in its unqualified preference of the older writers to the new classical school to which he attaches himself. He is also at first the conscious 'freedman's son,' the mark of envious tongues, and he has to justify his right to 'open his mouth' as though his ancestors as well as himself had 'had three names'². But the talk comes back again always to life and conduct, men's tastes and inconsistencies, the true path of happiness. We have sketches of life in Rome, of different phases of it from the point of view of bystanders, the honest countryman, the Stoic lecturer, the slave, the man of letters at the supper table of the rich upstart; sketches of talk as it shouldn't be, talk about eating and drinking; sketches of personal and social vices, of avarice and the transparent excuses for it, of censoriousness, of vulgar pushing, of legacy-hunting.

Politics we miss altogether. Political satire belongs to the age before the proscriptions, to the age when power belonged to an oligarchy, cultivated at least enough to read and to be amused, not to the two masters, or the one master, of legions. And Horace was not by nature a politician. He had had an enthusiasm and

especially by Cicero of his Dialogues. Dialogue plays a large part in all Horace's Satires, and in Book II we have almost entirely dramatic scenes in which Horace himself plays no part or a subsidiary one.

¹ A characteristic feature of conversation is markedly imitated in the *endings* of the Satires, and of the Epistles which approach most nearly to this type. They end generally abruptly; but just as talk is ended, when the topic threatens to become wearisome, with a jest or personal sally, or again with an epigram, fable, or story, which sums up the matter and leaves no more to be said.

² Juv. S. 5. 127.

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a disappointment. He never became a turncoat ready at command to bespatter his old party. He was attracted by what promised to be an epoch of order and refinement. The *régime* of Octavianus meant to him the *régime* of Maecenas, with Virgil and Varius in the background. On the other hand his most continuous attraction was in moral questions. His standard was not ours; but he had been brought up well by a manly and virtuous father. He was an acute observer of life, he had good taste, strong sense, a natural shrinking from excess of every kind. The professed teachers of the day seem to have repelled rather than attracted him. The Stoic lecturers survive for us in his gibes at their tediousness and dogmatism and in his caricature of their paradoxical teaching. Epicureanism was recommended to him by having found an exponent in a great poet; and accordingly, in Sat. I at least, the influence of Lucretius dominates his philosophical views as well as his diction and rhythms. But he plays with Epicureanism as he does with Stoicism. His heart is with the 'abnormis sapiens.' He is beginning to feel, what he asserts more roundly in the Epistles, that Homer is a better teacher than any of the schools. He feels, no doubt, another influence in the treatises of Cicero, of whom he was a diligent student, but Cicero again teaches him to be interested in all philosophies, and to bind himself to none.

The term 'Sermones,' then, was part of the *εἰρωνεία*, natural and assumed, which marks so deeply the Satires as well as the rest of Horace's writings. They were 'talks,' not 'Satires.' He was preaching, but he would preach in the least obtrusive way. He misdoubts his right to preach. He is always inclined to turn the laugh upon himself. He would escape more and more into the background and let others seem to speak. He is an interested, amused, hearer and learner, not a Stoic, nor even an Epicurean, dogmatist.

No one interfered with his patent to the title. Persius, who, even when in his Stoic fervour he departs furthest from Horace's spirit, copies his form most closely, gives no name to his own composition. Juvenal, to whom there are no uncertainties, no lights and shades in his confident and ruthless declamation, returned to the name of Satires¹.

¹ Dryden gives the palm to Juvenal as a satirist, but he professedly takes
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§ 6. *Personal names in the Satires.*

If the Satires are imitations of conversation, they have naturally a personal element. Conversation starts from persons and incidents, it prefers concrete instances to abstract descriptions, a flavour of innocent malice is not out of place in it, its greatest adornment is the art of telling stories vividly and at the happy moment. As a whole it must be allowed that Horace's writing has this effect in a singular degree after the lapse of nineteen centuries. Even if Nomentanus and Opimius had no life outside his verses, he gives them life enough for his purpose. The interest of going behind what he has told us and seeing how far his characters can be identified with particular persons historically known, lies not so much in any gain of point to the Satire that may be looked for,—the persons are too obscure, as well as the results too uncertain, for that,—but in the light which it may throw on the methods of the poet, on his personal motives, and on his relations to his contemporaries.

The Scholiasts are prepared in most cases to tell us who each person named is. They had access to earlier sources of information, and no doubt in some cases they have preserved for us a true tradition. But they evidently blunder. They differ from one another, showing that the tradition itself was unsettled. They betray that they are merely paraphrasing the context, sometimes the context misunderstood. They are not trustworthy on the question on which they had the greatest advantage over us, viz. the question whether a name is borrowed or not from some earlier writer. An instance which seems to combine several of these defects is to be found in their notes on the '*causa Petilli*,' a *cause célèbre* of the time, or one still remembered, to which Horace alludes in Sat. 1. 4. 94, and again in 1. 10. 26. In the first passage he gives him the fuller name of Petillius Capitolinus, and speaks of

Satire in the narrower sense. When Pope 'imitates Horace' he copies and even improves upon the wit of individual lines and passages, but he misses always much of the play, the delicacy, the inner unity of thought, and he puts Horace to very un-Horatian purposes. English 'Satire' has always had at its heart a personal bitterness which is entirely absent in Horace. The truest representation of his spirit in English literature is to be found in the gentler prose-satire of Steele and Addison.

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the charge brought against him as that of theft, and of his having been acquitted. The Scholiasts write of this as with perfect knowledge, and say that Petillius was a friend of Augustus, who had charge of the Capitol, and was accused of having stolen the crown of Jupiter, but was acquitted by favour of Caesar. It has been pointed out however, as conclusively discrediting this story, (1) that a coin has been found with a temple on the obverse and the inscription Petillius Capitolinus, which seems to show that Capitolinus was a cognomen of the gens Petillia, and traced by them to some honourable origin; (2) that the crime of robbing Capitoline Jove of his crown was proverbial as early as Plautus: see Trin. 1. 2. 46, Menaechm. 5. 5. 38.

It has been already suggested that, in looking for real names, a distinction is probably to be drawn between Horace's earlier Satires (represented chiefly by Sat. 1. 2) and the later ones. In the greater part of them his purpose was general. He was assailing follies, not gibbeting individuals¹, and we have no indications or traditions of his having vented personal dislikes by making his enemies 'slide into verse and hitch . . . in a rhyme.' At the same time he enforces his lessons by anecdotes, and sums up classes in individual names. He even justifies the method humorously by tracing it to the example of his good father, who taught him morals in a concrete shape, not by describing the character he was to aim at or avoid, but by pointing, as they passed in the street, to one and another as models or warnings (Sat. 1. 4. 105f.). There are many cases in which we can imagine no motive for reticence, and in which the particularity of designation would lose all point if the particulars were not real. Such names are Sisypheus² and Turbo³ the dwarfs; Fufius and Catienus, the actors⁴; Lepos⁵ the dancer; Horace's neighbours in his old Apulian home, Flavius⁶ the school-master at Venusia, Servius Oppidius of Canusium⁷, Ofellus⁸,

¹ We must exclude the bad poets and critics with whom he has both a personal and a literary quarrel, and whom he undoubtedly satirizes by name, Fannius, Hermogenes Tigellius, Demetrius, Furius Bibaculus, also the Stoic lecturers who bored him, Fabius and Crispinus. We exclude also the mysterious Canidia.

² Sat. 1. 3. 47.

³ Sat. 2. 3. 310.

⁴ Sat. 2. 3. 60, 61.

⁵ Sat. 2. 6. 72.

⁶ Sat. 1. 6. 72.

⁷ Sat. 2. 3. 168.

⁸ Sat. 2. 2. 2, &c.

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Cervius¹, Arellius²; oddities met on his travels, as Aufidius Luscus, the jack in office at Fundi³; some of the money-lenders well known about the Forum, and who could hardly strike again at a friend of Maecenas, Neriuss, Perellius with his nickname of Cicuta⁴, the 'younger of the Novii,' the sight of whom accounts for the look of pain or the uplifted hand of Marsyas' statue⁵; some 'scurrae'; such a scornful list of the scum of society as in Sat. 1. 8. 39.

There are cases again in which we obviously have allusions to anecdotes or characters which were public property, not meant maliciously, but the employment by way of illustration of what was already in every one's mouth. Such are for instance Labeo the type of a madman⁶, Albucius and his poison, Scaeva and his long-lived mother, Turius the severe judge⁷. It is possible again that where stories or traits which reflect discredit are given the names may be the veils of known persons more or less transparent to Horace's contemporaries or his immediate circle.

But there are two sources of his anecdotes and of his names, which, though we cannot measure exactly how much is due to each, are certainly answerable for a good many, and which, so far as they go, show that his purpose was genuinely to illustrate and vivify his moral descriptions, not to give pain or teach the world to sneer.

1. It is certain that many of his stories and instances belong really to the last generation⁸. His satirical sketch of Tigellius' character in Sat. 1. 2. and 3 (which in the latter satire he makes typical of his satiric style) relates to one who was already dead. Arbuscula the mime-actress, and the son of Aesopus, of whom stories are told in 1. 10. 77 and 2. 3. 239, are persons known to us in Cicero's letters. The reference to Alfenus in 1. 3. 130, whoever be the person, is by the tense of 'erat' thrown back to a date antecedent to the text. So is the story of Staberius' will in 2. 3. 84 f., with the further indication that the 'epulum arbitrio Arri' is to be illustrated from an anecdote told by Cicero in Vatin. 12. 30 f.⁹.

¹ Sat. 2. 6. 77.

² Sat. 2. 6. 78.

³ Sat. 1. 5. 34.

⁴ Sat. 2. 3. 69, 75.

⁵ Sat. 1. 6. 121.

⁶ Sat. 1. 3. 82.

⁷ Sat. 2. 1. 48-54.

⁸ It will be seen that the same is the case in the Epistles.

⁹ Are not some of the best stories due to his own invention, dramatic renderings of a general truth? This was only to do on a small scale what

TO THE SATIRES

2. Some anecdotes and allusions are confessedly due to older poets, and it is certain that the list might be extended if we possessed Lucilius and the Latin dramatists in anything more than fragments. In Sat. 2. 2. 47 Horace refers to Gallonius as having introduced the 'acipenser' to Roman tables and speaks of the evil as having happened 'haud ita pridem.' But this is from Lucilius, a fragment to the effect being quoted by Cic. de Fin. 2. 8. 24. Three names which are found in Lucilius throw some light on Horace's methods of employing the names he found in his predecessors. (1) *Pacideianus*¹. In Lucilius (4. 17) he is the 'best gladiator since the beginning of the world.' In Horace Sat. 2. 7. 98 his name is given casually as one of the three gladiators, the rough wall-drawing of whose performance fascinates Davus. If Horace uses a literary name here instead of a contemporary one, where may he not be doing so?² (2) *Maenius*. We know of Lucilius' use of the name from Porph. on Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 21, who quotes as from the older poet, 'Maenius columnam cum peteret,' and interprets it by the story that Maenius, when his home was sold over his head, reserved a column of it, thence called 'Maenii columna,' from whence he might see the gladiators. This is evidently a foolish invention to connect Maenius with the column, due to some one who did not know that the 'columna Maenia' was erected in honour of Maenius, the colleague of Camillus, in B.C. 338. We may suppose rather that in Lucilius there was a play on Maenius (i. e. some spendthrift) 'making for his own column,' i. e. subjecting himself to the jurisdiction of the 'triumviri capitales,' who sat by the columna Maenia; cp. the play in Cic. pro Sest. 8. 18. In

he does on a large one in the Satires of Book II, where the whole scene and narrative is invented. It may be noticed how such a name as Opimius in Sat. 2. 3. 142 has every qualification for such a purpose. It is a good Roman name: it was familiar to readers of Lucilius: and its etymology lends itself to play in the contrast 'pauper Opimius;' cp. 'immitis Glycerae' &c. in the Odes. Cp. such a story as that of Maenia (clearly an invented name) in Epp. 1. 15.

¹ It is worth noticing that as in the case of Gallonius so in that of Pacideianus there is a double literary reminiscence; for Cicero draws attention to Lucilius' description of him in De opt. genere oratorum, 6. 17. Cp. Tusc. 2. 17. 41; ad Q. Fr. 3. 4. 2.

² Caelius, the brigand (1. 4. 69), has a name found in Lucilius, and the line in which it occurs, 'Ut semel in Caeli pugnās te invadere vidi,' makes it possible that he was a brigand in Lucilius also.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

any case 'Maenius' is to Horace a name that occurs when he wants one for a good-for-nothing fellow, the backbiter in Sat. 1. 3. 21, the glutton and spendthrift in Epp. 1. 15. 26 f. (3) *Nomentanus* is a name which occurs in Horace in four different contexts. In the place just referred to he is with Naevius the type of a spendthrift. In 1. 8. 11 he stands with 'Pantolabus scurra' as a representative of those who ruin themselves and come to a pauper's burial. The line is repeated in 2. 1. 22 as a specimen of Horace's personal satire. In 2. 3. 175 and 224 he is again a spendthrift, and in the second passage of that Satire a dramatic picture is given of his way of inviting the purveyors of luxury and vice to help him dispose of his fortune. In 2. 8 he is one of Nasidienus' two 'scurrae,' the other being 'Porcius.' We notice there that Nasidienus is evidently a disguised name, if not an invented character, and it is necessary therefore that though the guests are real persons the 'scurrae' of the host should have fictitious names. That of Porcius can hardly but be explained by 'Ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas' of his greedy mode of eating. Nomentanus is therefore, as elsewhere, a typical not a personal name. Now Nomentanus occurs in two fragments of Lucilius (2. 6. and 8) as the name of a man whom he is exposing and to whom he wishes ill. Yet the Schol. explains the name in Horace of one L. Cassius Nomentanus, who spent 7,000,000 sesterces on his gluttony, and whose cook Dama was hired by Sallustius Crispus. Even if there was such a person, we may yet think it probable that Horace was thinking, not of him, but of the Lucilian Nomentanus.

Horace refers from time to time to characters and scenes of Terence (1. 2. 20, 2. 3. 262 f.), and there is one reference which the Scholiast on A. P. 237 points out to a play of Caecilius¹. But for his purpose the mimes and 'togatae'² would be still more appropriate, and that there are references to these in his writings can hardly be doubted.

It should be noticed that such a literary use of names from the poets is quite in accordance with his way of using the prose author

¹ According to a probable emendation of Ribbeck: the text has the impossible 'Lucilius.'

² The Schol. explains Epp. 1. 13. 14 as a reference to a play of Titinius.

TO THE SATIRES

whom he knew best. 'A doctor' in Sat. 2. 3. 161 is 'Craterus,' the doctor of Cic. ad Att. 12. 13 and 14. The names that supply the dramatic framework of Sat. 2. 2, and 3, and probably 4, are from Cicero's letters. It is analogous also to his use of Greek stories (as of Polemon in 2. 3. 254) and of Homeric and tragic personages (2. 3. 132 f. and 187 f.)¹.

To what has been said it may be added that Persius carries on Horace's practice in this matter. A great physician is to him also (3. 65) 'Craterus,' an eloquent counsel (1. 85) 'Pedi-,' a severe censor (6. 37) 'Bestius.'

It has been often pointed out that some of Horace's names are adapted etymologically to the characters they indicate. That in inventing names he should employ this device is natural. It has been a device of satirists and allegorists in all ages, and he has traces of it in the nomenclature of the Odes,—Phidyle, Lalage, Lyce, Bibuli Consul, &c., see App. I. of vol. I. But it is not done wholesale nor on any apparent system. One of the most evident instances, 'Pantolabus scurra' (1. 8. 11, 2. 1. 22), is very probably, like Nomentanus, a stock name of satire, not Horace's own. Of others, the most certain are Opimius (2. 3. 142), Porcius (2. 8. 23), Novius the upstart (1. 6. 40). The Scholiasts assert that Maltinus in 1. 2. 25 was coined from 'malta,' a word in Lucilius for an effeminate person. Some colour is given by the verses which follow to the connection of Balbinus in 1. 3. 40 with 'balbutire.' Even when more doubtful instances are included, the whole number is a small percentage of Horace's names. In several of the cases the other names used in the same connection have no such colour.

It is not perhaps irrelevant to notice that in the Satires, as in the Odes, if names are kept occasionally to a given character as Maenius and Nomentanus, some on the other hand are used in a subsequent Satire with no relation to their use in an earlier one. So Albucius 2. 1. 48 and 2. 2. 67, Barrus 1. 6. 30 and 1. 7. 8, Cervius 2. 1. 47 and 2. 6. 77, Naevius 1. 1. 101 and 2. 2. 68, Novius 1. 3. 21, 1. 6. 40 and 121. We may add Scaeva in Sat. 2. 1. 53 and Epp. 1. 17.

¹ Among the phrases which seem to want the explanation of some literary antecedent are the 'fecunda gens Meneni' of Sat. 2. 3. 287, and the perplexing 'correctus (or 'corrector') Bestius' of Epp. 1. 15. 37.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

§ 7. *Order of the Satires in their several books.*

The number and nature of the poems to be arranged do not admit of as much thought or variation in their arrangement as appears in that of the Odes, but the principles at the bottom of the arrangement are the same. (1) It is not chronological. Sat. 1. 1, as we have seen, is subsequent to Sat. 2, if it be not, as many think, the last written in the Book; 1. 7 is perhaps the earliest of all. Sat. 2. 1 again has indications of the latest date to be found in the Book to which it belongs. (2) Each Book has its Satires written or chosen as prologue and epilogue. (3) For the rest we may trace from time to time either links of thought which attract Satires together or the desire of variety which seems to keep them apart. Of the first, instances are Sat. 1. 2 working out the thought which had come to the front in 1. 1. 101 f.; 1. 4 giving its full significance to 1. 3; perhaps 2. 4 matching a sally against the Epicureans with 2. 3 which had laughed at the Stoics. Of the second, the separation of 2. 3 from 2. 7, of 2. 2 from 2. 4, and of that again from 2. 8. There is perhaps a suggestion of the irony so often seen in the placing of the Odes in the collocation of Sat. 2. 7, with its coarse slave-humour and its turning of his satiric sting upon himself, after 2. 6, in which his tone has been higher and more didactic than usual: compare the position of Epp. 1. 15, 16, 17.

SERMONES
EPISTVLAE
ARS POETICA

Q. HORATI FLACCI

SERMONVM

LIBER PRIMVS

I

QVI fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa
contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?
'o fortunati mercatores!' gravis annis
miles ait multo iam fractus membra labore. 5
contra mercator, navem iactantibus Austris,
'militia est potior. quid enim? concurritur: horae
momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'
agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus,
sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat. 10
ille, datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est,
solos felices viventis clamat in urbe.
cetera de genere hoc, adeo sunt multa, loquacem

*In Sermonibus notantur lectiones variae codicum aRλλψωDLγEg
et in locis nonnullis etiam codd. BδπεβoR^cC*

*In cod. A Sermones desunt; deficit cod. B post i. 3. 134 cod. δ post i.
2. 114 cod. π post i. 2. 70 cod. u post ii. 2. 131. Cod. R desin't post
ii. 1. 16 reliquis, ut videtur, manu recentiore additis.*

SERMONVM LIBER PRIMVS] 'Quamvis Satiram esse opus suum
Horatius ipse confiteatur . . . tamen proprios titulos voluit ei accommo-
dare. Nam hos priores duos libros Sermonum, posteriores Epistularum
inscribens in Sermonum nomine vult intellegi quasi apud praesentem se
loqui, Epistulas vero quasi ad absentes missas' Porph.

I 2 fors vulg. Porph: sors BL

SERMONVM LIB. I. I

delassare valent Fabium. ne te morer, audi
 quo rem deducam. si quis deus 'en ego' dicat 15
 'iam faciam quod vultis: eris tu, qui modo miles,
 mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,
 vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus: eia!
 quid statis?' nolint. atqui licet esse beatiss.
 quid causae est merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas 20
 iratus buccas inflet, neque se fore posthac
 tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?
 praeterea ne sic ut qui iocularia ridens
 percurram: quamquam ridentem dicere verum
 quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi 25
 doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima:
 sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo:
 ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,
 perfidus hic caupo, miles nautaeque per omne
 audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem 30
 sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
 aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut
 parvula—nam exemplo est—magni formica laboris
 ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo
 quem struit haud ignara ac non incauta futuri. 35
 quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
 non usquam proreperit et illis utitur ante
 quaesitis sapiens; cum te neque fervidus aestus
 demoveat lucro, neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum,
 nil obstat tibi dum ne sit te ditior alter. 40
 quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
 furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?
 'quod si comminuas vilem redigatur ad assem.'
 at ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?

19 nolent B 22, 23 ordinem invertit B 38 sapiens $\lambda\delta\phi\phi\mu\text{R}^{\text{R}}$
 'omnes manuscripti codices' Cruquius comm. Cruq. : patiens cett. Acr.
 39 demoveat BaR+E: dimoveat $\lambda\delta\phi\phi\mu\sigma\gamma\gamma$. Vid. ad Carm. i. 1. 13

Q. HORATI FLACCI

milia frumenti tua triverit area centum, 45
 non tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus: ut si
 reticulum panis venalis inter onusto
 forte vehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam
 qui nil portarit. vel dic quid referat intra
 naturae finis viventi, iugera centum an 50
 mille aret? 'at suave est ex magno tollere acervo.'
 dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquo,
 cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?
 ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna
 vel cyatho, et dicas 'magno de flumine mallet 55
 quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.' eo fit
 plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto,
 cum ripa simul avulsos ferat Aufidus acer.
 at qui tantuli eget quanto est opus, is neque limo
 turbatam haurit aquam, neque vitam amittit in undis. 60
 at bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso
 'nil satis est' inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis.'
 quid facias illi? iubeas miserum esse, libenter
 quatenus id facit: ut quidam memoratur Athenis
 sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces 65
 sic solitus: 'populus me sibilat; at mihi plaudo
 ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.'
 Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
 flumina—quid rides? mutato nomine de te
 fabula narratur; congestis undique saccis 70
 indormis inhians et tamquam parcere sacris
 cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.
 nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?
 panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius, adde
 quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis. 75
 an vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
 formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,

55 malim *ῥαλβέψην* Bentl. : malle B

61 at *ut* : ut *cett.*

SERMONVM LIB. I. I

ne te compilent fugientes, hoc iuvat? horum
semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum.
'at si condoluit temptatum frigore corpus, 80
aut alius casus lecto te adfixit, habes qui
adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget ut te
suscitet ac gnatis reddat carisque propinquis.'
non uxor saluum te vult, non filius; omnes
vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae. 85
miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas,
si nemo praestet quem non merearis amorem?
an si cognatos, nullo natura labore
quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos,
infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum 90
in Campo doceat parentem currere frenis?
denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus
pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
incipias, parto quod avebas, ne facias quod
Vmmidius quidam: non longa est fabula: dives 95
ut metiretur nummos; ita sordidus ut se
non umquam servo melius vestiret; adusque
supremum tempus ne se penuria victus
opprimeret metuebat. at hunc liberta securi
divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum. 100
'quid mi igitur suades? ut vivam Naevius aut sic
ut Nomentanus?' pergis pugnantia secum
frontibus adversis componere: non ego avarum
cum veto te fieri vappam iubeo ac nebulonem.
est inter Tanain quiddam socerumque Viselli. 105
est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.
illuc unde abii redeo, qui nemo, ut avarus,

78 om. B 81 adfixit σ Bentl. : adflixit cett. codd. 88 an
BR¹ DLE Porph. : at λδφψuR² 101 an sic Bg 108 qui
nemo ut V: nemo ut 'unus e Bland.' : nemon ut (vel ne non ut) codd.
plerique

Q. HORATI FLACCI

se probet, ac potius laudet diversa sequentis,
 quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber 110
 tabescat, neque se maiori pauperiorum
 turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret.
 sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat,
 ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
 instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum 115
 praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.
 inde fit ut raro qui se vixisse beatum
 dicat, et exacto contentus tempore vita
 cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.
 iam satis est. ne me Crispini scrinia lippi 120
 compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.

II

AMBVBIAIARVM collegia, pharmacopolae,
 mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne
 maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli.
 quippe benignus erat. contra hic, ne prodigus esse
 dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico, 5
 frigus quo duramque famem propellere possit.
 hunc si perconteris, avi cur atque parentis
 praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
 omnia conductis coemens obsonia nummis,
 sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi, 10
 respondet. laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.
 Fufidius vappae famam timet ac nebulonis,
 dives agris, dives positus in faenore nummis:
 quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat, atque
 quanto perditior quisque est tanto acrius urget; 15
 nomina sectatur modo sumpta veste virili
 sub patribus duris tironum. 'maxime' quis non
 'Iuppiter!' exclamat simul atque audit? 'at in se

II 6 propellere *BaDLγEg*: depellere *cell.* 12 Fufidius *RDLγE*:
 Fusidius *λδδψπιν*: Futidius *VBg*

SERMONVM LIB. I. II

pro quaestu sumptum facit hic.' vix credere possis
 quam sibi non sit amicus, ita ut pater ille, Terenti 20
 fabula quem miserum gnato vixisse fugato
 inducit, non se peius cruciaverit atque hic.
 si quis nunc quaerat 'quo res haec pertinet?' illuc:
 dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.
 Maltinus tunicis demissis ambulat; est qui 25
 inguen ad obscenum subductis usque facetus.
 pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum.
 nil medium est.

III

OMNIBVS hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
 ut numquam inducant animum cantare rogati,
 iniussi numquam desistant. Sardus habebat
 ille Tigellius hoc. Caesar, qui cogere posset,
 si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam non 5
 quicquam proficeret; si collibisset, ab ovo
 usque ad mala citaret, 'io Bacche!' modo summa
 voce, modo hac resonat quae chordis quattuor ima.
 nil aequale homini fuit illi; saepe velut qui
 currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui 10

25 Maltinus *Βληψυγ Acr. ad Epod. i. 34*: Malthinus *δRrv Porph.*
 Malchinus *αDLγ Acr. in loc.*

III 7 Bacche *codd. plerique Bentl.*: Bacchae *BRE*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

Iunonis sacra ferret ; habebat saepe ducentos,
 saepe decem servos ; modo reges atque tetrarchas,
 omnia magna loquens, modo 'sit mihi mensa tripes et
 concha salis puri et toga quae defendere frigus
 quamvis crassa queat.' decies centena dedisses 15
 huic parco, paucis contento, quinque diebus
 nil erat in oculis ; noctes vigilabat ad ipsum
 mane, diem totum stertebat ; nil fuit umquam
 sic impar sibi. nunc aliquis dicat mihi 'quid tu ?
 nullane habes vitia ?' immo alia et fortasse minora. 20
 Maenius absentem Novium cum carperet, 'heus tu'
 quidam ait, 'ignoras te, an ut ignotum dare nobis
 verba putas ?' 'egomet mi ignosco' Maenius inquit.
 stultus et improbus hic amor est dignusque notari.
 cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis, 25
 cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum
 quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius ? at tibi contra
 evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus et illi.
 iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis
 naribus horum hominum ; rideri possit eo quod 30
 rusticius tonso toga defluit et male laxus
 in pede calceus haeret : at est bonus, ut melior vir
 non alius quisquam, at tibi amicus, at ingenium ingens
 inculto latet hoc sub corpore. denique te ipsum
 concute num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim 35
 natura aut etiam consuetudo mala ; namque
 neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.
 illuc praevertamur, amatorem quod amicae
 turpia decipiunt caecum vitia, aut etiam ipsa haec
 delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae. 40
 vellem in amicitia sic erraremus, et isti
 errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.
 at pater ut gnati sic nos debemus amici

SERMONVM LIB. I. III

si quod sit vitium non fastidire : strabonem
 appellat paetum pater, et pullum, male parvus 45
 si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim
 Sisyphus ; hunc varum distortis cruribus, illum
 balbutit scaurum pravis fultum male talis.
 parcius hic vivit : frugi dicatur. ineptus
 et iactantior hic paulo est : concinnus amicis 50
 postulat ut videatur. at est truculentior atque
 plus aequo liber : simplex fortisque habeatur.
 caldior est : acris inter numeretur. opinor,
 haec res et iungit iunctos et servat amicos.
 at nos virtutes ipsas invertimus atque 55
 sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. probus quis
 nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo : illi
 tardo cognomen, pingui, damus. hic fugit omnis
 insidias nullique malo latus obdit apertum,
 cum genus hoc inter vitae versemur ubi acris 60
 invidia atque vigent ubi crimina : pro bene sano
 ac non incauto fictum astutumque vocamus.
 simplicior quis et est qualem me saepe libenter
 obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem
 aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone molestus : 65
 ‘communi sensu plane caret’ inquit. eheu,
 quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam !
 nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur : optimus ille est
 qui minimis urgetur. amicus dulcis ut aequum est
 cum mea compenset vitiis bona, pluribus hisce— 70
 si modo plura mihi bona sunt—inclinat, amari
 si volet : hac lege in trutina ponetur eadem.
 qui ne tuberibus propriis offendant amicum
 postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius ; aequum est
 peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus. 75
 denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae,

52-55 om. B 57 homo : illi *codd. plerique Acr.* : homo ille *V Benti.*
 60 versemur *V Acr.* (†) : versetur *cett. codd.* 76-80 om. B

Q. HORATI FLACCI

cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non
 ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur, ac res
 ut quaeque est ita suppliciiis delicta coerces?
 si quis eum servum patinam qui tollere iussus 85
 semesos piscis tepidumque ligurrierit ius
 in cruce suffigat, Labeone insanius inter
 sanos dicatur. quanto hoc furiosius atque
 maius peccatum est! paulum deliquit amicus,
 quod nisi concedas habere insuavis: acerbis 85
 odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,
 qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,
 mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras
 porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.
 comminxit lectum potus mensave catillum 90
 Euandri manibus tritum deiecit, ob hanc rem,
 aut positum ante mea quia pullum in parte catini
 sustulit esuriens, minus hoc iucundus amicus
 sit mihi? quid faciam si furtum fecerit, aut si
 prodiderit commissa fide sponsumve negarit? 95
 quis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant
 cum ventum ad verum est; sensus moresque repugnant
 atque ipsa utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi.
 cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
 mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter 100
 unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
 pugnabant armis quae post fabricaverat usus,
 donec verba quibus voces sensusque notarent
 nominaque invenere; dehinc absistere bello,
 oppida coeperunt munire, et ponere leges, 105
 ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.
 nam fuit ante Helenam cunnus taeterrima belli
 causa, sed ignotis perierunt mortibus illi,
 quos venerem incertam rapientis more ferarum
 viribus editior caedebat ut in grege taurus. 110

SERMONVM LIB. I. III

iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necesse est,
tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.
nec natura potest iusto secernere iniquum,
dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis ;
nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque 115
qui teneros caulis alieni fregerit horti
et qui nocturnus sacra divum legerit. adsit
regula, peccatis quae poenas irroget aequas,
ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire 120
verbera non vereor, cum dicas esse pares res
furta latrociniiis, et magnis parva mineris
falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
permittant homines. si dives, qui sapiens est,
et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex, 125
cur optas quod habes? 'non nosti quid pater' inquit
'Chrysippus dicat: sapiens crepidas sibi numquam
nec soleas fecit; sutor tamen est sapiens.' qui?
'ut quamvis tacet Hermogenes cantor tamen atque
optimus est modulator; ut Alfenus vafer, omni 130
abiecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna,
tonsor erat, sapiens operis sic optimus omnis
est opifex solus, sic rex.' vellunt tibi barbam
lascivi pueri; quos tu nisi fuste coerces
urgeris turba circum te stante miserque 135
rumperis et latras, magnorum maxime regum.
ne longum faciam: dum tu quadrante lavatum
rex ibis neque te quisquam stipator ineptum
praeter Crispinum sectabitur, et mihi dulces
ignoscent, si quid peccaro stultus, amici, 140
inque vicem illorum patiar delicta libenter,
privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus.

111-124 om. B 128 qui Bu: quo plerique 132 tonsor V
'erasis characteribus habuit Bland. vetustissimus' Cruquius: sutor cell.
134 post hunc versum deficit B

Q. HORATI FLACCI

IV

EVPOLIS atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae,
 atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
 si quis erat dignus describi quod malus ac fur,
 quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
 famosus, multa cum libertate notabant. 5
 hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus
 mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque; facetus,
 emunctae naris, durus componere versus:
 nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,
 ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno: 10
 cum fluere lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles:
 garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,
 scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror. ecce
 Crispinus minimo me provocat: 'accipe, si vis
 accipiam tabulas; detur nobis locus, hora, 15
 custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit.'
 di bene fecerunt inopis me quodque pusilli
 finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis:
 at tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras,
 usque laborantis dum ferrum molliat ignis, 20
 ut mavis imitare. beatus Fannius ultro
 delatis capsis et imagine, cum mea nemo
 scripta legat vulgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,
 quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote pluris
 culpari dignos. quemvis media elige turba: 25
 aut ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat:
 hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius aere;
 hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo
 vespertina tepet regio, quin per mala praeceptis 30

IV 15 accipiam VR ἰψὺν γ, Porph. ut videtur: accipe iam aDLEg
 25 elige avDLγEg; erue Rληψυ 'producito' Acr. 26 misera]
 miser RληψυL

SERMONVM LIB. I. IV

fertur uti pulvis collectus turbine, ne quid
 summa deperdat metuens aut pamphet ut rem :
 omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poetas.
 'faenum habet in cornu ; longe fuge : dummodo risum
 excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcat amico ; 35
 et quodcumque semel chartis illevertit, omnis
 gestiet a furno redeuntis scire lacuque,
 et pueros et anus.' agedum, pauca accipe contra.
 primum ego me illorum dederim quibus esse poetas
 excerpam numero : neque enim concludere versum 40
 dixeris esse satis ; neque si qui scribat uti nos
 sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.
 ingenium cui sit, cui mens diviniore atque os
 magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.
 idcirco quidam comoedia necne poema 45
 esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis
 nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo
 differt sermoni, sermo merus. 'at pater ardens
 saevit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica
 filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset, 50
 ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante
 noctem cum facibus.' numquid Pomponius istis
 audiret leviora, pater si viveret ? ergo
 non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis,
 quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem 55
 quo personatus pacto pater. his, ego quae nunc,
 olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
 tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum est
 posterius facias, praepone ultimum primis,
 non, ut si solvas 'postquam Discordia taetra 60
 Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit,'
 invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae.

39 poetas *codd. plerique* : poetis *R comm. Cruq. ad Serm. i. 6. 25 Bentl.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

hactenus haec : alias iustum sit necne poema,
nunc illud tantum quaeram, meritone tibi sit
suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer 65
ambulat et Caprius, rauci male cumque libellis,
magnus uterque timor latronibus ; at bene si quis
et vivat puris manibus contemnat utrumque.
ut sis tu similis Caeli Birrique latronum,
non ego sim Capri neque Sulci ; cur metuas me ? 70
nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,
quis manus insudet vulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli.
nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus,
non ubivis coramve quibuslibet. in medio qui
scripta foro recitent sunt multi quique lavantes : 75
suave locus voci resonat conclusus. inanis
hoc iuvat, haud illud quaerentis, num sine sensu,
tempore num faciant alieno. ' laedere gaudes '
inquit, ' et hoc studio pravus facis. ' unde petitum
hoc ' in me iacis ? est auctor quis denique eorum 80
vixi cum quibus ? absentem qui rodit amicum,
qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
qui nequit, hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto. 85
saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quaternos,
e quibus unus amet quavis aspergere cunctos
praeter eum qui praebet aquam ; post hunc quoque potus,
condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber.
hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur, 90
infesto nigris. ego si risi quod ineptus
pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,
lividus et mordax videor tibi ? mentio si quae

70 sim¹ sum *Torrentii aliquot codd. Porph.* 79 inquit *aDLγ*
schol. φ : inquis *ΡΑΙΦΨΥΝR*^a : inquit *E* 87 unus *codd. plerique* : imus
ΛΙΒΨΥ amet ' *unus Bland.* ' *g Benth.* : avet *cett. codd.* 93 si quae
aDLγE Acr. ' *pro si qua ut alibi* ' : si qua *cett.*

SERMONVM LIB. I. IV

de Capitolini furtis iniecta Petilli
 te coram fuerit, defendas ut tuus est mos : 95
 'me Capitolinus convictore usus amicoque
 a puero est, causaque mea permulta rogatus
 fecit, et incolumis laetor quod vivit in urbe ;
 sed tamen admiror, quo pacto iudicium illud
 fugerit.' hic nigrae sucus lolliginis, haec est 100
 aerugo mera : quod vitium procul afore chartis,
 atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me
 possum aliud vere, promitto. liberius si
 dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris
 cum venia dabis : insuevit pater optimus hoc me, 105
 ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando.
 cum me hortaretur, parce, frugaliter, atque
 viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset,
 'nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius, utque
 Baius inops ? magnum documentum ne patriam rem 110
 perdere quis velit' : a turpi meretricis amore
 cum deterreret, 'Scetani dissimilis sis' :
 ne sequerer moechas concessa cum venere uti
 possem, 'deprensi non bella est fama Treboni'
 aiebat : 'sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu 115
 sit melius, causas reddet tibi : mi satis est si
 traditum ab antiquis morem servare tuamque,
 dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
 incolumem possum ; simul ac duraverit aetas
 membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice.' sic me 120
 formabat puerum dictis ; et sive iubebat
 ut facerem quid, 'habes auctorem quo facias hoc' ;
 unum ex iudicibus selectis obiebat ;
 sive vetabat, 'an hoc inhonestum et inutile factu
 necne sit addubites, flagret rumore malo cum 125

110 Baius '*quatuor Bland.*' *αDγE* : Barus *Ρλλφψg* : Barrus *u* :
 Balbus *ν* : Varus *L* 124 factu *λλφψν* : factum *cett.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

hic atque ille?' avidos vicinum funus ut aegros
 exanimat mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit,
 sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe
 absterrent vitiis. ex hoc ego sanus ab illis,
 perniciem quaecumque ferunt, mediocribus et quis 130
 ignoscas vitiis teneor. fortassis et istinc
 largiter abstulerit longa aetas, liber amicus,
 consilium proprium: neque enim, cum lectulus aut me
 porticus excepit, desum mihi: 'rectius hoc est:
 hoc faciens vivam melius: sic dulcis amicis 135
 occurram: hoc quidam non belle; numquid ego illi
 imprudens olim faciam simile?' haec ego mecum
 compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti
 illudo chartis. hoc est mediocribus illis
 ex vitiis unum; cui si concedere nolis, 140
 multa poetarum veniat manus auxilio quae
 sit mihi (nam multo plures sumus), ac veluti te
 Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

V

EGRESSVM magna me accepit Aricia Roma
 hospitio modico: rhetor comes Heliodorus,
 Graecorum longe doctissimus; inde Forum Appi,
 differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.
 hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos 5
 praecinctis unum: minus est gravis Appia tardis.
 hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri
 indico bellum, cenantis haud animo aequo
 expectans comites. iam nox inducere terris
 umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat. 10
 tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae

139 illudo] incumbo λΙφψν

V 1 accepit aLγCg: excepit λΙφψμDνσR⁸ (excipit R) 3 longe
 aRDγEC Acr.: linguae λΙφψμLvγ

SERMONVM LIB. I. V

ingerere. 'huc appelle!' 'trecentos inseris: ohe
 iam satis est!' dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
 tota abit hora. mali culices ranaeque palustres
 avertunt somnos, absentem ut cantat amicam 15
 multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator
 certatim: tandem fessus dormire viator
 incipit, ac missae pastum retinacula mulae
 nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
 iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem 20
 sentimus, donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
 ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno
 fuste dolat. quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
 ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympa.
 milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus 25
 impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
 huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus atque
 Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
 legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.
 hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus 30
 illinere. interea Maecenas advenit atque
 Cocceius Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
 factus homo, Antoni non ut magis alter amicus.
 Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter
 linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae, 35
 praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum.
 in Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,
 Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.
 postera lux oritur multo gratissima; namque
 Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque 40
 occurrunt, animae qualis neque candidiores
 terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter.
 o qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
 nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.
 proxima Campano ponti quae villula, tectum 45

Q. HORATI FLACCI

praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.
 hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.
 lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque ;
 namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.
 hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa, 50
 quae super est Caudi cauponas. nunc mihi paucis
 Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri,
 Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque
 contulerit litis. Messi clarum genus Osci ;
 Sarmenti domina exstat : ab his maioribus orti 55
 ad pugnam venire. prior Sarmentus : 'equi te
 esse feri similem dico.' ridemus, et ipse
 Messius 'accipio,' caput et movet. 'o, tua cornu
 ni foret exsecto frons' inquit, 'quid faceres, cum
 sic mutilus minitaris?' at illi foeda cicatrix 60
 saetosam laevi frõntem turpaverat oris.
 Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,
 pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat :
 nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
 multa Cicirrus ad haec : donasset iamne catenam 65
 ex voto Laribus, quaerebat ; scriba quod esset,
 nihilo deterius dominae ius esse. rogabat
 denique cur umquam fugisset, cui satis una
 farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.
 prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam. 70
 tendimus hinc recta Beneventum ; ubi sedulus hospes
 paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni :
 nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
 Vulcano summum properabat lambere tectum.
 convivas avidos cenam servosque timentis 75
 tum rapere, atque omnis restinguere velle videres.
 incipit ex illo montis Apulia notos

51 Caudi *DLg Porph.* : Claudi *codd. plerique* 60 minitaris *codd.*
plerique : miniteris *DLγE*

SERMONVM LIB. I. V

ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos
 numquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
 villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo, 80
 udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.
 quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis,
 mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est,
 signis perfacile est : venit vilissima rerum
 hic aqua ; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra 90
 callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator ;
 nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna
 qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
 flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.
 inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum 95
 carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.
 postera tempestas melior, via peior adusque
 Bari moenia piscosi ; dein Gnatia Lymphis
 iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,
 dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro 100
 persuadere cupit. credat Iudaeus Apella,
 non ego : namque deos didici securum agere aevum,
 nec si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
 tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto.
 Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est.

VI

Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos
 incoluit finis nemo generosior est te,
 nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus
 olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,

VI 4 im (vel in)peritarent *Ῥαλψιν* : imperitarint *aDLγCE*
 s.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco 5
 ignotos, ut me libertino patre natum.
 cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente
 natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere,
 ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum
 multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos 10
 et vixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos ;
 contra Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde superbus
 Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis
 non umquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante
 iudice quo nosti populo, qui stultus honores 15
 saepe dat indignis et famae servit ineptus,
 qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus. quid oportet
 nos facere a vulgo longe longeque remotos?
 namque esto populus Laevino mallet honorem
 quam Decio mandare novo, censorque moveret 20
 Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus :
 vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem.
 sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru
 non minus ignotos generosis. quo tibi, Tilli,
 sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno? 25
 invidia accrevit, privato quae minor esset.
 nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium impediit crus
 pellibus et latum demisit pectore clavum,
 audit continuo 'quis homo hic est? quo patre natus?'
 ut si qui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi 30
 et cupiat formosus, eat quacumque, puellis
 iniciat curam quaerendi singula, quali
 sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo :
 sic qui promittit civis, urbem sibi curae,
 imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum, 35

6 ignotos, ut me . . . natum] *magna est in codd. lectionis varietas* :
 ut *D* : aut *αλφ* *LR* *γ* : ut (*post lituram*) *R* : at ut *E* : aut ut *Cg* : et
 ut *ν* : natus *DC* : natos *AγEg*. *Hinc con. Palmer* ignoto aut ut me
 libertino patre natum 31 ut cupiat *λν*

SERMONVM LIB. I. VI

quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,
 omnis mortalis curare et quaerere cogit.
 'tune Syri, Damae, aut Dionysi filius, audes
 deicere de saxo civis aut tradere Cadmo?'
 'at Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno; 40
 namque est ille, pater quod erat meus.' 'hoc tibi Paulus
 et Messalla videris? at hic, si plaustra ducenta
 concurrantque foro tria funera, magna sonabit
 cornua quod vincatque tubas; saltem tenet hoc nos.'
 nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum, 45
 quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
 nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor; at olim
 quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.
 dissimile hoc illi est; quia non, ut forsit honorem
 iure mihi invidet quivis, ita te quoque amicum, 50
 praesertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava
 ambitione procul. felicem dicere non hoc
 me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum;
 nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim
 Vergilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem. 55
 ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus,
 infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari,
 non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
 me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
 sed quod eram narro. respondes, ut tuus est mos, 60
 pauca: abeo; et revocas nono post mense iubesque
 esse in amicorum numero. magnum hoc ego duco
 quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,
 non patre praeclaro sed vita et pectore puro.
 atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis 65
 mendosa est natura alioqui recta, velut si
 egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos;

37 cogit u: cogat *cett.*
Bentl.

47 sim *codd.* plerique: sum *D*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

si neque avaritiam neque sordis nec mala lustra
 obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons
 (ut me collaudem) si et vivo carus amicis; 70
 causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
 noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
 quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
 laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
 ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera: 75
 sed puerum est ausus Romam portare, docendum
 artis quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
 semet prognatos. vestem servosque sequentis,
 in magno ut populo, si qui vidisset, avita
 ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos. 80
 ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
 circum doctores aderat. quid multa? pudicum,
 qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
 non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi;
 nec timuit sibi ne vitio quis verteret olim 85
 si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor
 mercedes sequeretur; neque ego essem questus: at hoc nunc
 laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.
 nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius, eoque
 non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars, 90
 quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentis,
 sic me defendam. longe mea discrepat istis
 et vox et ratio: nam si natura iuberet
 a certis annis aevum remeare peractum
 atque alios legere ad fastum quoscumque parentis, 95
 optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos
 fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
 iudicio vulgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod

68 nec mala *VL*: ac mala *ceff.*: aut mala *Benll.* 75 octonis...
 aera *λφψυνLR¹ comm. Cruq.*: octonos... aeris *aRDγE* (octenos
 ... aeri *g*) *Acr.* 87 at hoc] ad hoc *codd. fere omnes*: at hic *g*:
 ad hoc *vel* ad haec *scholiastae invenerunt*

SERMONVM LIB. I. VI

nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum
 nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res, 100
 atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus
 et comes alter uti ne solus rusve peregreve
 exirem; plures calones atque caballi
 pascendi, ducenda petorrita. nunc mihi curto
 ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum, 105
 mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos:
 obiciet nemo sordis mihi quas tibi, Tilli,
 cum Tiburte via praetorem quinque sequuntur
 te pueri lasanum portantes oenophorumque.
 hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator, 110
 milibus atque aliis vivo. quacumque libido est,
 incedo solus; percontor quanti holus ac far;
 fallacem Circum vespertinumque pererro
 saepe Forum; adsisto divinis; inde domum me
 ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum; 115
 cena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus
 pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet; adstat echinus
 vilis, cum patera gutus, Campana supellex.
 deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus mihi quod cras
 surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se 120
 vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
 ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vagor, aut ego lecto
 aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet unguor olivo,
 non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.
 ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum 125
 admonuit, fugio Campum lusumque trigonem.
 pransus non avide, quantum interpellat inani
 ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. haec est
 vita solutorum misera ambitione graviq;

102 peregreve *Aldus*: peregre aut *codd. plerique Porph.*: peregre /
 126 Campum lusumque trigonem *lectio in V solum servata, nisi quod*
campum lusitque trigonem exhibet g: rabiosi tempora signi *cett. codd.*
et scholiastae

Q. HORATI FLACCI

his me consolor victurum suavius ac si 130
quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuissent.

VII

PROSCRIPTI Regis Rupili pus atque venenum
hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor
omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.
Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat
Clazomenis, etiam litis cum Rege molestas, 5
durus homo atque odio qui posset vincere Regem,
confidens, tumidus, adeo sermonis amari,
Sisennas, Barros ut equis praecurreret albis.
ad regem redeo. postquam nihil inter utrumque
convenit (hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti 10
quo fortes quibus adversum bellum incidit; inter
Hectora Priamiden animosum atque inter Achillem
ira fuit capitalis ut ultima divideret mors,
non aliam ob causam nisi quod virtus in utroque
summa fuit: duo si discordia vexet inertis, 15
aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomed
cum Lycio Glaucō, discedat pigrior ultro
muneribus missis), Bruto praetore tenente
ditem Asiam, Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non
compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius. in ius 20
acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.
Persius exponit causam; ridetur ab omni
conventu; laudat Brutum laudatque cohortem:
solem Asiae Brutum appellat, stellasque salubris
appellat comites, excepto Rege; canem illum 25
invisum agricolis sidus venisse. ruebat
flumen ut hibernum fertur quo rara securis.

VII 7 tumidusque *ληψυL* 17 pigrior *Vg Acr. Porph.*: pulchrior
cett. codd. 20 compositus *ληυDg* 21 procurrunt. *RLηψυ*
Acr. 'procedunt': concurrunt *aDvLγE*

SERMONVM LIB. I. VII

tum Praenestinus salso multoque fluenti
 expressa arbusto regerit convicia, durus
 vindemiator et invictus, cui saepe viator 30
 cessisset magna compellans voce cucullum.
 at Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,
 Persius exclamat 'per magnos, Brute, deos te
 oro, qui reges consueris tollere, cur non
 hunc Regem iugulas? operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum est.' 35

VIII

OLIM truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
 cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,
 maluit esse deum. deus inde ego, furum aviumque
 maxima formido; nam fures dextra coerces
 obscenoque ruber porrectus ab inguine palus; 5
 ast importunas volucres in vertice harundo
 terret fixa vetatque novis considerare in hortis.
 huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis
 conservus vili portanda locabat in arca;
 hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulcrum, 10
 Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti:
 mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
 hic dabat: heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
 nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque
 aggere in aprico spatium, quo modo tristes 15
 albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum;
 cum mihi non tantum furesque feraeque suetae
 hunc vexare locum curae sunt atque labori,
 quantum carminibus quae versant atque venenis
 humanos animos: has nullo perdere possum 20
 nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
 protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentis.
 vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
 Canidiam, pedibus nudis passoque capillo,

Q. HORATI FLACCI

cum Sagana maiore ululantem pallor utrasque 25
 fecerat horrendas aspectu. scalpere terram
 unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam
 coeperunt; cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde
 manis elicerent, animas responsa daturas.
 lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea: maior 30
 lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem;
 cerea suppliciter stabat servilibus ut quae
 iam peritura modis. Hecaten vocat altera, saevam
 altera Tisiphonen; serpentis atque videres
 infernas errare canis, Lunamque rubentem 35
 ne foret his testis post magna latere sepulcra.
 mentior at si quid, merdis caput inquina albis
 corvorum, atque in me veniat mictum atque cacatum
 Iulius et fragilis Pediatia furque Voranus.
 singula quid memorem, quo pacto alterna loquentes 40
 umbrae cum Sagana resonarent triste et acutum,
 utque lupi barbam variae cum dente colubrae
 abdiderint furtim terris, et imagine cerea
 largior arserit ignis, et ut non testis inultus
 horruerim voces Furiarum et facta duarum? 45
 nam displosa sonat quantum vesica pepedi
 diffissa nate ficus: at illae currere in urbem.
 Canidiae dentis, altum Saganæ caliendrum
 excidere atque herbas atque incantata lacertis
 vincula cum magno risuque iocoque videres. 50

IX

IBAM forte via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
 nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.
 accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
 arreptaque manu 'quid agis, dulcissime rerum?' 4
 'suaviter, ut nunc est,' inquam, 'et cupio omnia quae vis.'

VIII 32 ut quae *RuDr*: utque *ceff*.

SERMONVM LIB. I. IX

cum adsectaretur, 'num quid vis?' occupo. at ille
 'noris nos' inquit; 'docti sumus.' hic ego 'pluris
 hoc' inquam 'mihi eris.' misere discedere quaerens,
 ire modo ociosus, interdum consistere, in aurem
 dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos 10
 manaret talos. 'o te, Bolane, cerebri
 felicem!' aiebam tacitus, cum quidlibet ille
 garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. ut illi
 nil respondebam, 'misere cupis' inquit 'abire;
 iamdudum video: sed nil agis; usque tenebo; 15
 persequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi.' 'nil opus est te
 circumagi: quendam volo visere non tibi notum:
 trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Caesaris hortos.'
 'nil habeo quod agam et non sum piger: usque sequar te.'
 demitto auriculas, ut iniquae mentis asellus, 20
 cum gravius dorso subiit onus. incipit ille:
 'si bene me novi non Viscum pluris amicum,
 non Varium facies: nam quis me scribere pluris
 aut citius possit versus? quis membra movere
 mollius? invideat quod et Hermogenes ego canto.' 25
 interpellandi locus hic erat: 'est tibi mater,
 cognati, quis te salvo est opus?' 'haud mihi quisquam:
 omnis composui.' 'felices! nunc ego resto.
 confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella
 quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna: 30
 hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis,
 nec laterum dolor aut tussis, nec tarda podagra;
 garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque: loquaces,
 si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adoleverit aetas.'
 ventum erat ad Vestae, quarta iam parte diei 35
 praeterita, et casu tunc respondere vadato
 debebat; quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.
 'si me amas' inquit 'paulum hic ades.' 'inteream si

Q. HORATI FLACCI

aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura ;
 et propero quo scis.' 'dubius sum quid faciam' inquit, 40
 'tene relinquam an rem.' 'me, sodes.' 'non faciam' ille,
 et praecedere coepit. ego, ut contendere durum est
 cum victore, sequor. 'Maecenas quomodo tecum?'
 hinc repetit : 'paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae ;
 nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. haberes 45
 magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
 hunc hominem velles si tradere : dispeream ni
 summosse omnis.' 'non isto vivimus illic
 quo tu rere modo ; domus hac nec purior ulla est
 nec magis his aliena malis ; nil mi officit' inquam 50
 'ditior hic aut est quia doctior ; est locus uni
 cuique suus.' 'magnum narras, vix credibile.' 'atqui
 sic habet.' 'accendis, quare cupiam magis illi
 proximus esse.' 'velis tantummodo, quae tua virtus,
 expugnabis ; et est qui vinci possit, eoque 55
 difficilis aditus primos habet.' 'haud mihi deero :
 muneribus servos corrumpam ; non, hodie si
 exclusus fuero, desistam ; tempora quaeram ;
 occurram in triviis ; deducam. nil sine magno
 vita labore dedit mortalibus.' haec dum agit, ecce 60
 Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum
 qui pulchre nosset. consistimus. 'unde venis ?' et
 'quo tendis ?' rogat et respondet. vellere coepi,
 et pressare manu lentissima brachia, nutans,
 distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. male salsus 65
 ridens dissimulare : meum iecur urere bilis.
 'certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
 aiebas mecum.' 'memini bene, sed meliore
 tempore dicam : hodie tricesima sabbata : vin tu
 curtis Iudaeis oppedere ?' 'nulla mihi' inquam 70

50 umquam u 64 pressare *codd. plerique Porph.* : prensare
avLy codd. Cruquiani : pensare *E*

SERMONVM LIB. I. IX

'religio est.' 'at mi: sum paulo infirmior, unus
multorum: ignoscas: alias loquar.' huncine solem
tam nigrum surrexe mihi! fugit improbus ac me
sub cultro linquit. casu venit obuius illi
adversarius et 'quo tu turpissime?' magna 75
inclamat voce, et 'licet antestari?' ego vero
oppono auriculam. rapit in ius: clamor utrimque:
undique concursus. sic me servavit Apollo.

X

[LUCILI, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone
defensore tuo, pervincam, qui male factos
emendare parat versus; hoc lenius ille,
quo melior vir et est longe subtilior illo,
qui multum puer et loris et funibus udis 5
exoratus, ut esset opem qui ferre poetis
antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,
grammaticorum equitum doctissimus. ut redeam illuc:]
Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili. quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est
ut non hoc fateatur? at idem, quod sale multo
urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.
nec tamen hoc tribuens dederim quoque cetera: nam sic 5
et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer.
ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
auditoris: et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus:
est brevitae opus, ut currat sententia, neu se
impeccat verbis lassas onerantibus auris; 10
et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,

X [Lucili. . . illuc:] *Hi versus in codd. αψβ inveniuntur, in ceteris nostris desunt, in omnibus Cruquianis defuerunt, neque Scholiastis cogniti esse videntur* 4 et est β: et omittunt cett. boni codd.: recentiorum alii alia exhibent adest, hic est, &c 6 exhortatus codd.
nonnulli recentiores

Q. HORATI FLACCI

interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
 extenuantis eas consulto. ridiculum acri
 fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res. 15
 illi scripta quibus cōmoedia prisca viris est
 hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi: quos neque pulcher
 Hermogenes umquam legit, neque simius iste
 nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
 'at magnum fecit quod verbis Graeca Latinis 20
 miscuit.' o seri studiorum! quine putetis
 difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti
 contigit? 'at sermo lingua concinnus utraque
 suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.'
 cum versus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum 25
 dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?
 scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque, Latine
 cum Pedius causas exsudet Publicola atque
 Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita
 verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis? 30
 atque ego cum Graecos facerem, natus mare citra,
 versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
 post mediam noctem visus cum somnia vera,
 'in silvam non ligna feras insanius ac si
 magnas Graecorum malis implere catervas.' 35
 turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque
 defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,
 quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa,
 nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatri.
 arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta 40
 eludente senem comis garrire libellos
 unus vivorum, Fundani; Pollio regum
 facta canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer

27 Latine *Rλλψ*, 'omnes scripti codd. habent Latini, verum adnotationes Bland. cod. vetustissimi sunt hae, "cum exsudet, id est, cum sudore et omni instantia Latine recitet, Latine proferat"' Cruquius: Latini cett. codd. 39 spectanda *αDvγ*: spectata cett. Vid. ad Art. Poet. 190

SERMONVM LIB. I. X

ut nemo Varius ducit ; molle atque facetum
 Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae : 45
 hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino
 atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
 inventore minor ; neque ego illi detrahere ausim
 haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.
 at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem 50
 plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. age, quaeso,
 tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero ?
 nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci ?
 non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,
 cum de se loquitur non ut maiore repressis ? 55
 quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentis
 quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
 versiculos natura magis factos et euntis
 mollius, ac si quis pedibus quid claudere senis,
 hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos 60
 ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus, Etrusci
 quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
 ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
 ambustum propriis ? fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
 comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem 65
 quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,
 quamque poetarum seniorum turba : sed ille,
 si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,
 detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
 perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo 70
 saepe caput scaberet vivos et roderet unguis.
 saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint
 scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,
 contentus paucis lectoribus. an tua demens
 vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis ? 75

68 dilatus *LB* ag 'unus Bland.' : dilapsus *codd.* plerique : delapsus
 'tres Bland.' *Viā. ad Carm.* iv. 13. 28 ; *Epod.* 17. 18

SERMONVM LIBER I

non ego : nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax
contemptis aliis explosa Arbuscula dixit.
men moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod
vellicet absentem Demetrius, aut quod ineptus
Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli? 80
Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
Valgius, et probet haec Octavius, optimus atque
Fuscus, et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque!
ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque 85
vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,
compluris alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
prudens praetereo ; quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,
arridere velim, doliturus si placeant spe
deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli, 90
discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.
i, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.

86 Bibule *ex con. Mureti editores* : Bibuli *codd.*
plerique Acr. : sunt *g*

88 sint *codd.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

SERMONVM

LIBER SECVNDVS

I

SVNT quibus in satira videar nimis acer et ultra
legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera quidquid
composui pars esse putat, similisque meorum
mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,
quid faciam praescribe. 'quiescas.' ne faciam, inquis, 5
omnino versus? 'aio.' peream male si non
optimum erat: verum nequeo dormire. Ter uncti
transnanto Tiberim somno quibus est opus alto,
irriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.
aut si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude 10
Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum
praemia laturus.' cupidum, pater optime, vires
deficiunt: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
agmina nec fracta pereuntis cuspide Gallos
aut labentis equo describat vulnera Parthi. 15
'attamen et iustum poteras et scribere fortem,
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius.' haud mihi deero
cum res ipsa feret: nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem,

1 videar *codd. plerique Porph. ad Serm. i. 1. 1*: videor $\phi\psi\mu$ 15 de-
scribat $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\gamma E$: describet g : describit $R\lambda\lambda\phi\psi DLR$ 16 hic desinit
cod. R

Q. HORATI FLACCI

cui male si palpere recalcitrat undique tutus. 20
 'quanto rectius hoc quam tristi laedere versu
 Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem,
 cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit!'
 quid faciam? saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
 accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis; 25
 Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem
 pugnis; quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
 milia: me pedibus delectat claudere verba
 Lucili ritu nostrum melioris utroque.
 ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim 30
 credebat libris, neque si male cesserat usquam
 decurrens alio, neque si bene; quo fit ut omnis
 votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
 vita senis. sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps:
 nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus, 35
 missus ad hoc, pulsus, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
 quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
 sive quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum
 incuteret violenta. sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
 quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis 40
 vagina tectus; quem cur destringere coner
 tutus ab infestis latronibus? o pater et rex
 Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum,
 nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! at ille
 qui me commorit (melius non tangere, clamo), 45
 flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.
 Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam,
 Canidia Albuci quibus est inimica venenum,
 grande malum Turius, si quid se iudice certes.
 ut quo quisque valet suspectos terreat, utque 50
 imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum:
 dente lupus, cornu taurus petit: unde nisi intus

SERMONVM LIB. II. I

monstratum? Scaevae vivacem crede nepoti
 matrem: nil faciet sceleris pia dextera: mirum,
 ut neque calce lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos: 55
 sed mala tollet anum vitiatu melle cicuta.
 ne longum faciam: seu me tranquilla senectus
 exspectat seu Mors atris circumvolat alis,
 dives, inops, Romae seu fors ita iusserit exsul,
 quisquis erit vitae scribam color. 'o puer, ut sis 60
 vitalis metuo, et maiorum ne quis amicus
 frigore te feriat.' quid, cum est Lucilius ausus
 primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
 detrudere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
 cederet, introrsum turpis, num Laelius aut qui 65
 duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine nomen
 ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello
 famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus? atqui
 primores populi arripuit populumque tributum,
 scilicet uni aequus virtuti atque eius amicis. 70
 quin ubi se a vulgo et scaena in secreta remorant
 virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,
 nugari cum illo et discincti ludere donec
 decoqueretur holus soliti. quidquid sum ego, quamvis
 infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me 75
 cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
 invidia, et fragili quaerens illidere dentem
 offendet solido; nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
 dissentis. 'equidem nihil hinc diffindere possum;
 sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti 80
 incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum:
 si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est
 iudiciumque.' esto, si quis mala; sed bona si quis
 iudice condiderit laudatus Caesare? si quis

79 diffindere *VD Acr.*: diffidere $\lambda\phi\psi\upsilon$: diffingere *auLR^gγ*: diffundere *E*: 'diffingere legitur et diffidere' *Porph.* *Vid. ad Carm. i. 35. 39*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

opprobriis dignum lataverit, integer ipse? 85
 'solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.'

II

QVAE virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo
 (nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus
 rusticus, abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva)
 discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentis,
 cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus et cum. 5
 acclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,
 verum hic impransi mecum disquirite. 'cur hoc?'
 dicam si potero. male verum examinat omnis
 corruptus iudex. leporem sectatus equove
 lassus ab indomito—vel si Romana fatigat 10
 militia adsuetum graecari, seu pila velox
 molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
 seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aera disco—
 cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
 sperne cibum vilem: nisi Hymettia mella Falerno 15
 ne biberis diluta. foris est promus et atrum
 defendens piscis hiemat mare: cum sale panis
 latrantem stomachum bene leniet. unde putas aut
 qui partum? non in caro nidore voluptas
 summa sed in te ipso est. tu pulmentaria quaere 20
 sudando; pinguem vitiis albumque neque ostrea
 nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.
 vix tamen eripiam posito pavone velis quin
 hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,
 corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro 25
 rara avis et picta pandat spectacula cauda;
 tamquam ad rem attineat quicquam. num vesceris ista
 quam laudas pluma? cocto num adest honor idem?

SERMONVM LIB. II. II

carne tamen quamvis distat nil, hac magis illam
 imparibus formis' deceptum te petere! esto: 30
 unde datum sentis lupo hic Tiberinus an alto
 captus hiet, pontisne inter iactatus an amnis
 ostia sub Tusci? laudas, insane, trilibrem
 mullum in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.
 ducit te species, video; quo pertinet ergo 35
 proceros odisse lupos? quia scilicet illis
 maiorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.
 ieiunus raro stomachus vulgaria temnit.
 'porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
 vellem' ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus. at vos, 40
 praesentes Austri, coquite horum obsonia, quamquam
 putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando
 aegrum sollicitat stomachum, cum rapula plenus
 atque acidus mavult inulas. necdum omnis abacta
 pauperies epulis regum; nam vilibus ovis 45
 nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. haud ita pridem
 Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa
 infamis. quid, tunc rhombos minus aequora alebant?
 tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido
 donec vos auctor docuit praetorius. ergo 50
 si quis nunc mergos suavis edixerit assos,
 parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus.
 sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofello
 iudice; nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud
 si te alio pravum detorseris. Avidienus, 55
 cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhaeret,
 quinquennis oleas est et silvestria corna,
 ac nisi mutatum parcit defundere vinum, et
 cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre, licebit

29 hac *codd. omn.* illam *σEg*: illa *plerique*, 'hanc magis illam,
 quarum alterutrum mutari debet' *Porph.* 30 petere *αDγEg Porph.*:
 patet *ληψιν LR³* 53 distabit *u*: distabat *cett.* 56 ductum
VL: dictum *cett.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

ille repotia natalis aliosve dierum 60
 festos albatu celebrat, cornu ipse bilibri
 caulibus instillat, veteris non parcu aceti.
 quali igitur victu sapiens utetur, et horum
 utrum imitabitur? hac urget lupus, hac canis, aiunt.
 mundus erit qua non offendat sordibus, atque 65
 in neutram partem cultus miser. hic neque servis,
 Albuci senis exemplo, dum munia didit
 saevus erit; nec sic ut simplex Naeuius unctam
 convivis praebebit aquam; vitium hoc quoque magnum.
 accipe nunc victus tenuis quae quantaque secum 70
 adferat. imprimis valeas bene: nam variae res
 ut noceant homini credas, memor illius escae
 quae simplex olim tibi sederit; at simul assis
 miscueris elixa, simul conchyliis turdis,
 dulcia se in bilem vertent stomachoque tumultum 75
 lenta feret pituita. vides ut pallidus omnis
 cena desurgat dubia? quin corpus onustum
 hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat una,
 atque adfigit humo divinae particulam auro.
 alter ubi dicto citius curata sopori 80
 membra dedit vegetus praescripta ad munia surgit.
 hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam,
 sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus,
 seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus, ubique
 accedent anni et tractari mollius aetas 85
 imbecilla volet: tibi quidnam accedet ad istam
 quam puer et validus praesumis mollitiem. seu
 dura valetudo inciderit seu tarda senectus?
 rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus
 illis nullus erat, sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes 90
 tardius adveniens vitiatum commodius quam
 integrum edax dominus consumeret. hos utinam inter

65 qua 'omnes Bland.' aDvγE: qui λλψυR*g 79 affigit u

heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset !
 das aliquid famae, quae carmine gratior aurem
 occupat humanam : grandes rhombi patinaeque 95
 grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus : adde
 iratum patrum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum
 et frustra mortis cupidum, cum deerit egenti
 as, laquei pretium. 'iure' inquit 'Trausius istis
 iurgatur verbis ; ego vectigalia magna 100
 divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus.' ergo
 quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis ?
 cur eget indignus quisquam, te divite ? quare
 templa ruunt antiqua deum ? cur, improbe, carae
 non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris acervo ? 105
 uni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res.
 o magnus posthac inimicis risus ! uterne
 ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius ? hic qui
 pluribus adsuerit mentem corpusque superbum,
 an qui contentus parvo metuensque futuri 110
 in pace ut sapiens aptarit idonea bello ?
 quo magis his credas, puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum
 integris opibus novi non latius usum
 quam nunc accisis. videas metato in agello
 cum pecore et gnatis fortem mercede colonum, 115
 'non ego' narrantem 'temere edi luce profesta
 quicquam praeter holus fumosae cum pede pernae.
 ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes,
 sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
 vicinus, bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis, 120
 sed pullo atque haedo ; tum pensilis uva secundas
 et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu.
 post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra,
 ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,

95 occupat φψιν Lβg : occupet αλDγE 112 puer λυg : puerum
 att.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

explicuit vino contractae seria frontis. 125
 saeviat atque novos moveat Fortuna tumultus,
 quantum hinc imminuet? quanto aut ego parcus aut vos,
 o pueri, nituistis ut huc novus incola venit?
 nam propriae telluris erum natura neque illum
 nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille; 130
 illum aut nequities aut vafri inscitia iuris,
 postremum expellet certe vivacior heres.
 nunc ager Vmbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
 dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedit in usum
 nunc mihi nunc alii. quocirca vivite fortes, 135
 fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.'

III

'Sic raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno
 membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens,
 iratus tibi quod vini somnique benignus
 nil dignum sermone canas. quid fiet? at ipsis
 Saturnalibus huc fugisti. sobrius ergo 5
 dic aliquid dignum promissis: incipe. nil est:
 culpantur frustra calami, immeritusque laborat
 iratis natus paries dis atque poetis.
 atqui vultus erat multa et praeclara minantis,
 si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto. 10
 quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro,
 Eupolin, Archilochum, comites educere tantos?
 invidiam placare paras virtute relicta?
 contemnere miser; vitanda est improba Siren
 desidia, aut quidquid vita meliore parasti 15
 ponendum aequo animo.' di te, Damasippe, deaeque
 verum ob consilium donent tonsore. sed unde

128 nituistis *avD8oγEg Acr.*: instituistis *λψL*: vixistis *u* 131
 post hunc versum desinit cod. *u*

III I sic *codd. plerique, Acr.* 'sic scribes, scilicet si': si *Eg Bentl.*
 scribis *codd. plerique*: scribes *ayEg Bentl.*

SERMONVM LIB. II. III

tam bene me nosti? 'postquam omnis res mea Ianum
 ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,
 excussus propriis. olim nam quaerere amabam, 20
 quo vafer ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus aere,
 quid sculptum infabre, quid fusum durius esset;
 callidus huic signo ponebam milia centum;
 hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus
 cum lucro noram; unde frequentia Mercuriale 25
 imposuere mihi cognomen compita.' novi,
 et miror morbi purgatum te illius. 'atqui
 emovit veterem mire novus, ut solet, in cor
 traiecto lateris miseri capitisve dolore;
 ut lethargicus hic cum fit pugil et medicum urget.' 30
 dum ne quid simile huic, esto ut libet. 'o bone, ne te
 frustrere, insanis et tu stultique prope omnes,
 si quid Stertinius veri crepat, unde ego mira
 descripsi docilis praecepta haec, tempore quo me
 solatus iussit sapientem pascere barbam 35
 atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.
 nam male re gesta cum vellem mittere operto
 me capite in flumen, dexter stetit et "cave faxis
 te quicquam indignum; pudor" inquit "te malus angit,
 insanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi. 40
 primum nam inquiram quid sit furere: hoc si erit in te
 solo, nil verbi, pereas quin fortiter, addam.
 quem mala stultitia et quemcumque inscitia veri
 caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
 autumat. haec populos, haec magnos formula reges, 45
 excepto sapiente, tenet. nunc accipe, quare
 desipiant omnes aequae ac tu, qui tibi nomen
 insano posuere. velut silvis, ubi passim
 palantis error certo de tramite pellit,
 ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit, unus utrique 50

21 vafer vulg. Porph.: faber λῆψ

Q. HORATI FLACCI

error, sed variis illudit partibus; hoc te
 crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille,
 qui te deridet, caudam trahat. est genus unum
 stultitiae nihilum metuenda timentis, ut ignis,
 ut rupes fluviosque in campo obstare queratur; 55
 alterum et huic varum et nihilo sapientius ignis
 per medios fluviosque ruentis. clamet amica
 mater, honesta soror, cum cognatis pater, uxor:
 'hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima, serva!'
 non magis audierit quam Fufius ebrius olim, 60
 cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis
 'mater, te appello!' clamantibus. huic ego vulgus
 errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.
 insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo:
 integer est mentis Damasippi creditor. esto! 65
 accipe quod numquam reddas mihi, si tibi dicam,
 tune insanus eris si acceperis? an magis excors
 reiecta praeda quam praesens Mercurius fert?
 scribe decem a Nerio; non est satis: adde Cicutae
 nodosi tabulas centum, mille adde catenas: 70
 effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus.
 cum rapies in ius malis ridentem alienis,
 fiet aper, modo avis, modo saxum et cum volet arbor.
 si male rem gerere insani est, contra bene sani,
 putidius multo cerebrum est, mihi crede, Perelli 75
 dictantis quod tu numquam rescribere possis.
 audire atque togam iubeo componere, quisquis
 ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,
 quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione
 aut alio mentis morbo calet; huc propius me, 80
 dum doceo insanire omnis, vos ordine adite.
 danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris,

69 a Nerio *codd. plerique*: a om. *sg*
iura cett.

72 ius *LEg Porph.*:

SERMONVM LIB. II. III

nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.
heredes Staberi summam incidere sepulcro,
ni sic fecissent gladiatorum dare centum 85
damnati populo paria atque epulum arbitrio Arri,
frumenti quantum metit Africa. 'sive ego prave
seu recte hoc volui, ne sis patruus mihi': credo
hoc Staberi prudentem animum vidisse. 'quid ergo
sensit cum summam patrimoni insculpere saxo 90
heredes voluit?' quoad vixit credidit ingens
pauperiem vitium et cavit nihil acrius, ut, si
forte minus locuples uno quadrante perisset,
ipse videretur sibi nequior: omnis enim res,
virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris 95
divitiis parent; quas qui construxerit ille
clarus erit, fortis, iustus. 'sapiensne?' etiam; et rex,
et quidquid volet. hoc veluti virtute paratum
speravit magnae laudi fore. quid simile isti
Graecus Aristippus? qui servos proicere aurum 100
in media iussit Libya, quia tardius irent
proper onus segnes. uter est insanior horum?
nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resolvit.
si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
nec studio citharae nec Musae deditus ulli, 105
si scalpra et formas non sutor, nautica vela
aversus mercaturis, delirus et amens
undique dicatur merito. qui discrepat istis
qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
compositis metuensque velut contingere sacrum? 110
si quis ad ingentem frumenti semper acervum
porrectus vigilet cum longo fuste, neque illinc
audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum,
ac potius foliis parvus vescatur amaris;

93 perisset $\lambda\phi\psi\nu R^*$ 'tres Bland.': periret $aDL\gamma Eg$ 96 con-
traxerit $\lambda\phi\psi\nu\beta$ 108 istis] iste $\lambda\phi\psi\nu$

Q. HORATI FLACCI

si positis intus Chii veterisque Falerni 115
 mille cadis—nihil est, tercentum milibus—acre
 potet acetum ; age, si et stramentis incubet, unde-
 octoginta annos natus, cui stragula vestis,
 blattarum ac tinearum epulae, putrescat in arca ;
 nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod 120
 maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem.
 filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres,
 dis inimice senex, custodis? ne tibi desit?
 quantulum enim summae curtabit quisque dierum,
 unguere si caulis oleo meliore caputque 125
 coeperis impexa foedum porrigine? quare,
 si quidvis satis est, periuras, surripis, aufers
 undique? tun sanus? populum si cadere saxis
 incipias servosve tuos quos aere pararis,
 insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae : 130
 cum laqueo uxorem interimis matremque veneno
 incolumi capite es. quid enim? neque tu hoc facis Argis,
 nec ferro ut demens genitricem occidis Orestes.
 an tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente,
 ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis quam 135
 in matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
 quin ex quo est habitus male tutae mentis Orestes
 nil sane fecit quod tu reprehendere possis :
 non Pyladen ferro violare aususve sororem
 Electram, tantum maledicit utrique vocando 140
 hanc Furiam, hunc aliud iussit quod splendida bilis.
 pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,
 qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
 Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis,
 quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus, ut heres 145
 iam circum loculos et clavis laetus ovansque
 curreret. hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis

129 tuos *codd. plerique* : tuo *g Bentl.*

SERMONVM LIB. II. III

excitat hoc pacto: mensam poni iubet atque
 effundi saccos nummorum, accedere pluris
 ad numerandum; hominem sic erigit; addit et illud: 150
 'ni tua custodis, avidus iam haec auferet heres.'
 'men vivo?' 'ut vivas igitur, vigila: hoc age.' 'quid vis?'
 'deficient inopem venae te ni cibus atque
 ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti. 154
 tu cessas? agedum, sume hoc tisanarium oryzae.' ['eheu!
 'quanti emptae?' 'parvo.' 'quanti ergo?' 'octussibus.'
 quid refert morbo an furtis pereamque rapinis?'
 'quisnam igitur sanus?' qui non stultus. 'quid avarus?'
 stultus et insanus. 'quid, si quis non sit avarus,
 continuo sanus?' minime. 'cur, Stoice?' dicam. 160
 non est cardiacus (Craterum dixisse putato)
 hic aeger: recte est igitur surgetque? negabit,
 quod latus aut renes morbo temptentur acuto.
 non est periurus neque sordidus: immolet aequis
 hic porcum Laribus: verum ambitiosus et audax: 165
 naviget Anticyram. quid enim differt, barathrone
 dones quidquid habes an numquam utare paratis?
 Servius Oppidius Canusi duo praedia, dives
 antiquo censu, gnatis divisisse duobus
 fertur et hoc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis 170
 ad lectum: 'postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
 ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi,
 te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem,
 extimui ne vos ageret vesania discors,
 tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam. 175
 quare per divos oratus uterque Penatis,
 tu cave ne minuas, tu ne maius facias id
 quod satis esse putat pater et natura coeracet.
 praeterea ne vos titillet gloria, iure
 iurando obstringam ambo: uter aedilis fueritve 180

163 temptantur *vg Priscianus Benth.*

174 insania *adLEG*
12*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

vestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.
 in cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,
 latus ut in Circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes,
 nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis;
 scilicet ut plausus quos fert Agrippa feras tu, 185
 astuta ingenuum vulpes imitata leonem.
 ne quis humasse velit Aiacem, Atrida, vetas cur?
 'rex sum.' nil ultra quaero plebeius. 'et aequam
 rem imperito; ac si cui videor non iustus, inulto
 dicere quod sentit permitto.' maxime regum 190
 di tibi dent capta classem reducere Troia!
 ergo consulere et mox respondere licebit?
 'consule.' cur Ajax, heros ab Achille secundus,
 putescit totiens servatis clarus Achivis,
 gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato, 195
 per quem tot iuvenes patrio caruere sepulcro?
 'mille ovium insanus morti dedit, inclitum Vlixen
 et Menelaum una mecum se occidere clamans.'
 tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam
 ante aras spargisque mola caput, improbe, salsa, 200
 rectum animi servas? 'quorsum?' insanus quid enim Ajax
 fecit cum stravit ferro pecus? abstinuit vim
 uxore et gnato; mala multa precatus Atridis,
 non ille aut Teucrum aut ipsum violavit Vlixen.
 'verum ego ut haerentis adverso litore navis 205
 eriperem prudens placavi sanguine divos,'
 nempe tuo, furiose. 'meo, sed non furiosus.'
 qui species alias veri scelerisque tumultu
 permixtas capiet, commotus habebitur, atque
 stultitiane erret nihilum distabit an ira. 210
 Ajax immeritos cum occidit desipit agnos:
 cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis inanis,

188 quaero *vulg. Acr. Porph.*: quaere *V Benti.* 201 servas?
 'quorsum?' servas cursum? *con. Bothe* 208 veris sceleris *g: cett.*
codd. habent veri sceleris *vel, verbis perperam divisio, veris celeris (λφψ)*

SERMONVM LIB. II. III

stas animo et purum est vitio tibi, cum tumidum est, cor?
 si quis lectica nitidam gestare amet agnam,
 huic vestem, ut gnatae, paret ancillas, paret aurum, 215
 Rufam aut Posillam appellet fortique marito
 destinet uxorem, interdicto huic omne adimat ius
 praetor, et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.
 quid, si quis gnatam pro muta devovet agna
 integer est animi? ne dixeris. ergo ubi prava 220
 stultitia, hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus,
 et furiosus erit; quem cepit vitrea fama,
 hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.
 nunc age luxuriam et Nomentanum arripe mecum:
 vincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes. 225
 hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta
 edicit piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,
 unguentarius ac Tusci turba impia vici,
 cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum, 229
 mane domum veniant. quid tum? venere frequentes.
 verba facit leno: 'quidquid mihi, quidquid et horum
 cuique domi est, id crede tuum et vel nunc pete vel cras.'
 accipe quid contra haec iuvenis responderit aequus:
 'in nive Lucana dormis ocreatus, ut aprum
 cenem ego: tu piscis hiberno ex aequore verris. 235
 segnis ego, indignus qui tantum possideam: aufer:
 sume tibi decies; tibi tantundem; tibi triplex
 unde uxor media currit de nocte vocata.'
 filius Aesopi detractam ex aure Metellae,
 scilicet ut decies solidum absorberet, aceto 240
 diluit insignem bacam: qui sanior ac si
 illud idem in rapidum flumen iaceretve cloacam?
 Quinti progenies Arri, par nobile fratrum,
 nequitia et nugis pravorum et amore gemellum,

225 vincet *aDγEg*: vincit *λφψL*
aiDγEg, *Acr.* verum addito 'alii verris'

235 verris *λφψL*: vellis

Q. HORATI FLACCI

lusciniæ soliti impenso prandere coemptas, 245
 quorsum abeant? sani ut creta, an carbone notati?
 aedificare casas, plostello adiungere mures,
 ludere par impar, equitare in harundine longa
 si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verset.
 si pueriliis his ratio esse evincet amare, 250
 nec quicquam differre utrumne in pulvere, trimus
 quale prius, ludas opus, an meretricis amore
 sollicitus piores, quaero, faciasne quod olim
 mutatus Polemon? ponas insignia morbi,
 fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille 255
 dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,
 postquam est impransi correptus voce magistri?
 porrigis irato puero cum poma, recusat:
 'sume, catelle!' negat: si non des, optet: amator
 exclusus qui distat, agit ubi secum, eat an non, 260
 quo rediturus erat non arcessitus, et haeret
 invisus foribus? 'nec nunc, cum me vocet ultro,
 accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
 exclusit; revocat: redeam? non si obsecret.' ecce
 servus non paulo sapientior: 'o ere, quae res 265
 nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque
 tractari non vult. in amore haec sunt mala, bellum,
 pax rursum: haec si quis tempestatis prope ritu
 mobilia et caeca fluitantia sorte labore
 reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet ac si 270
 insanire paret certa ratione modoque.'
 quid, cum Picens excerpens semina pomis
 gaudes si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?
 quid, cum balba feris annoso verba palato,
 aedificante casas qui sanior? adde cruorem 275

246 sani ut *alDγEg*: sani *λφLR*: sanē an *v*: sanin *coni. Bentl.*
 255 cubitale *contra metrum codd. omn.* 262 nec] ne *lg Bentl.*
 nunc] non *ay*

SERMONVM LIB. II. III

stultitiae atque ignem gladio scrutare. modo, inquam,
 Hellade percussa Marius cum praecipitat se
 cerritus fuit, an commotae crimine mentis
 absolves hominem et sceleris damnabis eundem,
 ex more imponens cognata vocabula, rebus? 280
 libertinus erat, qui circum compita siccus
 lautis mane senex manibus currebat et 'unum—
 quid tam magnum?' addens—'unum me surpite morti
 dis etenim facile est!' orabat; sanus utrisque
 auribus atque oculis; mentem, nisi litigiosus, 285
 exciperet dominus, cum venderet. hoc quoque vulgus
 Chrysippus ponet fecunda in gente Meneni.
 'Iuppiter, ingentis qui das adimisque dolores,'
 mater ait pueri mensis iam quinque cubantis,
 'frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo 290
 mane die, quo tu indicis ieiunia, nudus
 in Tiberi stabit.' casus medicusve levarit
 aegrum ex praecipiti, mater delira necabit
 in gelida fixum ripa febrimque reducet;
 quone malo mentem concussa? timore deorum." 295
 haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octavus, amico
 arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.
 dixerit insanum qui me totidem audiet atque
 respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo.'
 Stoice, post damnum sic vendas omnia pluris, 300
 qua me stultitia, quoniam non est genus unum,
 insanire putas? ego nam videor mihi sanus.
 'quid, caput abscissum manibus cum portat Agave
 gnati infelicis, sibi tum furiosa videtur?'
 stultum me fateor, liceat concedere veris, 305
 atque etiam insanum; tantum hoc edissere, quo me
 aegrotare putes animi vitio? 'accipe: primum
 aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris, ab imo

Q. HORATI FLACCI

ad summum totus moduli bipedalis; et idem
 corpore maiorem rides Turbonis in armis 310
 spiritum et incesum: qui ridiculus minus illo?
 an quodcumque facit Maecenas te quoque verum est
 tantum dissimilem et tanto certare minorem?
 absentis ranae pullis vituli pede pressis
 unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat, ut ingens 315
 belua cognatos eliserit. illa rogare
 quantane? num tantum, sufflans se, magna fuisset?
 "maior dimidio." num tanto? cum magis atque
 se magis inflaret, "non si te ruperis" inquit,
 "par eris." haec a te non multum abludit imago. 320
 adde poemata nunc, hoc est, oleum adde camino,
 quae si quis sanus fecit sanus facis et tu.
 non dico horrendam rabiem.' iam desine. 'cultum
 maiorem censu.' teneas, Damasippe, tuis te.
 'mille puellarum, puerorum mille furores.' 325
 o maior tandem parcas insane, minori!

IV

VNDE et quo Catius? 'non est mihi tempus, aventi
 ponere signa novis praeceptis, qualia vincent
 Pythagoran Anytique reum doctumque Platona.'
 peccatum fateor, cum te sic tempore laevo
 interpellarim; sed des veniam bonus, oro. 5
 quod si interciderit tibi nunc aliquid, repetes mox,
 sive est naturae hoc sive artis, mirus utroque.
 'quin id erat curae quo pacto cuncta tenerem,
 utpote res tenuis tenui sermone peractas.'
 ede hominis nomen, simul et Romanus an hospes. 10
 'ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor.

313 tantum dissimilem *V Benil*: tanto *ett*. 317 tantum *VE*
Porph.: tandem *ett. codd.*

IV 2 vincent *Vλφψνγ*: vincunt *αΙΔγΕ*: vincant *cum paucis Benil*.

SERMONVM LIB. II. IV

longa quibus facies ovis erit illa memento,
 ut suci melioris et ut magis alba rotundis,
 ponere; namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.
 caule suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris 15
 dulcior; irriguo nihil est elutius horto.
 si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes,
 ne gallina malum responset dura palato,
 doctus eris vivam mixto mersare Falerno;
 hoc teneram faciet. pratensibus optima fungis 20
 natura est; aliis male creditur. ille salubris
 aestates peraget qui nigris prandia moris
 finiet, ante gravem quae legerit arbore solem.
 Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
 mendose, quoniam vacuis committere venis 25
 nil nisi lene decet; leni praecordia mulso
 prolueris melius. si dura morabitur alvus,
 mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchae
 et lapathi brevis herba, sed albo non sine Coe.
 lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunae; 30
 sed non omne mare est generosae fertile testae.
 murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris,
 ostrea Circeis, Miseno oriuntur echini,
 pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum.
 nec sibi cenarum quivis temere arroget artem 35
 non prius exacta tenui ratione saporum.
 nec satis est cara piscis averrere mensa
 ignarum quibus est ius aptius et quibus assis
 languidus in cubitum iam se conviva reponet.
 Vmber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas 40
 curvat aper lances carnem vitantis inertem;
 nam Laurens malus est, ulvis et harundine pinguis.
 vinea summittit capreas non semper edulis.

37 *averrere vulg. Porph.* : *avertere Dæg*
reponit ΛαψυΛg

39 *reponet aDγE* :

Q. HORATI FLACCI

fecundae leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.
 piscibus atque avibus quae natura et foret aetas, 45
 ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum.
 sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit.
 nequaquam satis in re una consumere curam;
 ut si quis solum hoc, mala ne sint vina, laboret,
 quali perfundat piscis securus olivo. 50
 Massica si caelo suppones vina sereno
 nocturna si quid crassi est tenuabitur aura,
 et decedet odor nervis inimicus; at illa
 integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.
 Surrentina vafer qui miscet faece Falerna 55
 vina columbino limum bene colligit ovo,
 quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.
 tostis marcentem squillis recreabis et Afra
 potorem coclea; nam lactuca innatat acri
 post vinum stomacho; perna magis ac magis hillis 60
 flagitat immorsus refici; quin omnia malit
 quaecumque immundis fervent allata popinis.
 est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere iuris
 naturam. simplex e dulci constat olivo,
 quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit, 65
 non alia quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.
 hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis
 Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes
 pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit olivae.
 Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia suco; 70
 nam facie praestant. Venucula convenit ollis;
 rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam.
 hanc ego cum malis, ego faecem primus et allec,
 primus et invenior piper album cum sale nigro

44 fecundae *Vσ³ Bentl.* : secundi *cell.* 61 in morsus *Lambinus*
ex codd. suis 74 invenior *VλκψDE²* : inventor *E'g, schol.* γ :
 inveni *αβδγ* : invenit *L*

SERMONVM LIB. II. IV

incretum puris circumposuisse catillis. 75
 immane est vitium dare milia terna macello
 angustoque vagos piscis urgere catino.
 magna movet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
 tractavit calicem manibus dum furta ligurrit;
 sive gravis veteri craterae limus adhaesit. 80
 vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus
 consistit sumptus? neglectis flagitium ingens.
 ten lapides varios lutulenta radere palma
 et Tyrias dare circum illuta toralia vestis,
 oblitum quanto curam sumptumque minorem 85
 haec habeant, tanto reprehendi iustius illis
 quae nisi divitibus nequeant contingere mensis?
 docte Cati, per amicitiam divosque rogatus,
 ducere me auditum perges quocumque memento.
 nam quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta, 90
 non tamen interpres tantundem iuveris. adde
 vultum habitumque hominis, quem tu vidisse beatus
 non magni pendis, quia contigit; at mihi cura
 non mediocris inest, fontis ut adire remotos
 atque haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae. 95

V

Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti
 responde, quibus amissas reparare queam res
 artibus atque modis. quid rides? 'iamne doloso
 non satis est Ithacam revehi patriosque penatis
 aspicere?' o nulli quicquam mentite, vides ut 5
 nudus inopsque domum redeam te vate, neque illic
 aut apotheca procis intacta est aut pecus; atqui
 et genus et virtus nisi cum re vilior alga est.
 'quando pauperiem missis ambagibus horres,

78 movet $\lambda\phi\psi\gamma$: movent *actf.*
 queunt *actf.*

87 nequeant β *Bentl.*: ne-

Q. HORATI FLACCI

accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. turdus 10
sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc
res ubi magna nitet domino sene; dulcia poma
et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores
ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives;
qui quamvis periurus erit, sine gente, cruentus 15
sanguine fraterno, fugitivus, ne tamen illi
tu comes exterior si postulet ire recuses.
utne tegam spurco Damae latus? haud ita Troiae
me gessi certans semper melioribus. 'ergo
pauper eris.' fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo; 20
et quondam maiora tuli. tu protinus unde
divitias aerisque ruam dic, augur, acervos.
'dixi equidem et dico: captes astutus ubique
testamenta senum, neu, si vafer unus et alter
insidiatorem praeroso fugerit hamo, 25
aut spem deponas aut artem illusus omittas.
magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,
vivat uter locuples sine gnatis, improbus, ultro
qui meliorem audax vocet in ius, illius esto
defensor; fama civem causaque priorem 30
sperne, domi si gnatus erit fecundave coniunx.
"Quinte," puta, aut "Publi," (gaudent praenomine molles
auriculae) "tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum;
ius anceps novi, causas defendere possum;
eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi quam te 35
contemptum cassa nuce pauperet; haec mea cura est,
ne quid tu perdas neu sis iocus." ire domum atque
pelliculam curare iube; si cognitor ipse,
persta atque obdura, seu rubra Canicula findet
infantis statuas, seu pingui tentus omaso 40
Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpis.
"nonne vides," aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens
inquiet, "ut patiens, ut amicis aptus, ut acer?"

SERMONVM LIB. II. V

plures adnabunt thynni et ceteria crescent.
 si cui praeterea validus male filius in re 45
 praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum
 caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
 adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
 heres et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
 in vacuum venias: perraro haec alea fallit. 50
 qui testamentum tradet tibi cumque legendum,
 abnuere et tabulas a te remove memento,
 sic tamen ut limis rapias quid prima secundo
 cera velit versu; solus multisne coheres,
 veloci percurrere oculo. plerumque recoctus 55
 scribe ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem,
 captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano.
 num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?
 'o Laertiade, quidquid dicam aut erit aut non:
 divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.' 60
 quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede.
 'tempore quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto
 demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique
 magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano
 filia Nasicae metuentis reddere soldum. 65
 tum gener hoc faciet: tabulas socero dabit atque
 ut legat orabit; multum Nasica negatas
 accipiet tandem et tacitus leget, invenietque
 nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.
 illud ad haec iubeo: mulier si forte dolosa 70
 libertusve senem delirum temperet, illis
 accedas socius; laudes, lauderis ut absens.
 adiuvat hoc quoque; sed vincit longe prius ipsum
 expugnare caput. scribet mala carmina vecors:
 laudato. 75

Q. HORATI FLACCI

me sene quod dicam factum est : anus improba Thebis
 ex testamento sic est elata : cadaver 85
 unctum oleo largo nudis umeris tulit heres,
 scilicet elabi si posset mortua ; credo,
 quod nimium institerat viventi. cautus adito :
 neu desis operae neve immoderatus abundes.
 difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus ; ultra 90
 non etiam sileas. Davus sis comicus atque
 stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti.
 obsequio grassare ; mone, si increbruit aura,
 cautus uti velet carum caput ; extrahe turba
 oppositis umeris ; aurem substringe loquaci. 95
 importunus amat laudari : donec ohe ! iam
 ad caelum manibus sublati dixerit, urge,
 crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.
 cum te servitio longo curaue levari,
 et certum vigilans, QVARTAE SIT PARTIS VLIxes, 100
 audieris, HERES : " ergo nunc Dama sodalis
 nusquam est ? unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem ? "
 sparge subinde et, si paulum potes, illacrimare : est
 gaudia prodentem vultum celare. sepulcrum
 permissum arbitrio sine sordibus exstrue ; funus 105
 egregie factum laudet vicinia. si quis
 forte coheredum senior male tussiet, huic tu
 dic, ex parte tua seu fundi sive domus sit
 emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. sed me
 imperiosa trahit Proserpina ; vive valeque.' 110

87 si] sic Lβ 'tres Bland.' : ut sic V

SERMONVM LIB. II. VI

VI

Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
 hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons
 et paulum silvae super his foret. auctius atque
 di melius fecere. bene est. nil amplius oro,
 Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis. 5
 si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem
 nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem
 si veneror stultus nihil horum, 'o si angulus ille
 proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum!
 o si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi, 10
 thesauro invento qui mercennarius agrum
 illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
 Hercule!' si quod adest gratum iuvat, hac prece te oro:
 pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
 ingenium, utque soles custos mihi maximus adsis. 15
 ergo ubi me in montis et in arcem ex urbe removi,
 quid prius illustrem satiris musaque pedestri?
 nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
 autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
 Matutine pater, seu 'Iane' libentius audis, 20
 unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores
 instituunt, sic dis placitum, tu carminis esto
 principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis: 'eia,
 ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge.'
 sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem 25
 interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
 postmodo quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto
 luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
 'quid vis, insane, et quas res agis?' improbus urget
 iratis precibus; 'tu pulses omne quod obstat, 30

VI 29 quid vis v (*Parisinus* 8213 *xiii^{mi} saec. cod.*): quid...vis (*post rasuram*) *ΛL*: quid tibi vis *contra metrum omnes fere codd., unde Bentl.* 'quas res' in 'quam rem' *mutandum coniecit*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras?'
 hoc iuvat et melli est, non mentiar. at simul atras
 ventum est Esquilias aliena negotia centum
 per caput et circa saliunt latus. 'ante secundam
 Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.' 35
 'de re communi scribae magna atque nova te
 orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.'
 'imprimat his, cura, Maecenas signa tabellis.'
 dixeris, 'experiar': 'si vis, potes' addit et instat.
 septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus 40
 ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
 in numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere raeda
 vellet iter faciens et cui concedere nugas
 hoc genus, 'hora quota est? Thraex est Gallina Syro par?
 matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent': 45
 et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.
 per totum hoc tempus subiectionis in diem et horam
 invidiae noster. ludos spectaverat una,
 luserat in campo: 'Fortunae filius!' omnes.
 frigidus a Rostris manat per compita rumor: 50
 quicumque obuius est me consulit: 'o bone, nam te
 scire, deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet)
 numquid de Dacis audisti?' nil equidem. 'ut tu
 semper eris derisor!' at omnes di exagitant me
 si quicquam. 'quid, militibus promissa Triquetra 55
 praedia Caesar an est Itala tellure daturus?'
 iurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
 scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.
 perditur haec inter misero lux non sine votis:
 o rus, quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit 60
 nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,
 ducere sollicitae iucunda obliviae vitae?

48 spectaverit *g. Benil.* 49 luserit *coni. Benti.* 50 perditur]
 mergitur *coni. Madvig*: porgitur *Lachmann*: proditur *Pauly*

SERMONVM LIB. II. VI

o quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque
 uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo?
 o noctes cenaequae deum! quibus ipse meique 65
 ante Larem proprium vescor vernasque procaces
 pasco libatis dapibus. prout cuique libido est
 siccatur inaequalis calices conviva, solutus
 legibus insanis, seu quis capit acria fortis
 pocula seu modicis uvescit laetius. ergo 70
 sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,
 nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos
 pertinet et nescire malum est agitur: utrumne
 divitiis homines an sint virtute beati;
 quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos; 75
 et quae sit natura boni summumque quid eius.
 Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit anilis
 ex re fabellas. si quis nam laudat Arelli
 sollicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit: 'olim
 rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur 80
 accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,
 asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum
 solveret hospitii animum. quid multa? neque ille
 sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,
 aridum et ore ferens acinum semesaque lardi 85
 frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cena
 vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo;
 cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
 esset ador loliumque, dapibus meliora relinquens. 89
 tandem urbanus ad hunc "quid te iuvat" inquit, "amice,
 praecepti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
 vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?
 carpe viam, mihi crede, comes; terrestria quando
 mortalis animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
 aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa, 95
 dum licet, in rebus iucundis vive beatus;

Q. HORATI FLACCI

vive memor, quam sis aevi brevis." haec ubi dicta
agrestem populere, domo levis exsilit; inde
ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
moenia nocturni subrepere. iamque tenebat 100
nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque
in locuplete domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco
tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,
multaque de magna superessent fercula cena,
quae procul exstructis inerant hesterna canistris. 105
ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit
agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes
continuatque dapes nec non verniliter ipsis
fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod adfert.
ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque 110
rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens
valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
personuit canibus. tum rusticus "haud mihi vita 115
est opus hac" ait et "valeas: me silva cavusque
tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo."

VII

'IAMDVDM ausculto et cupiens tibi dicere servus
pauca reformido.' Davusne? 'ita, Davus, amicum
mancipium domino et frugi quod sit satis, hoc est
ut vitale putes.' age, libertate Decembri,
quando ita maiores voluerunt, utere; narra. 5
'pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urget
propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens,
interdum pravis obnoxia. saepe notatus
cum tribus anellis, moda laeva Priscus inani,
vixit inaequalis, clavum ut mutaret in horas, 10
aedibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde

SERMONVM LIB. II. VII

mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste ;
iam moechus Romae, iam mallet doctus Athenis
vivere, Vertumnis quotquot sunt natus iniquis.
scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra 15
contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleretur atque
mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
conductum pavit ; quanto constantior isdem
in vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo,
qui iam contento, iam laxo fune laborat.' 20
non dices hodie, quorsum haec tam putida tendant,
furcifer ? 'ad te, inquam.' quo pacto, pessime ? 'laudas
fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem
si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses,
aut quia non sentis quod clamas rectius esse, 25
aut quia non firmus rectum defendis, et haeres
nequiquam caeno cupiens evellere plantam.
Romae rus optas, absentem rusticus urbem
tollis ad astra levis. si nusquam es forte vocatus
ad cenam laudas securum holus ac, velut usquam 30
vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque
quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. iusserit ad se
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima venire
convivam : "nemon oleum feret ocus ? ecquis
audit ?" cum magno blateras clamore fugisque. 35
Mulvius et scurrae tibi non referenda precati
discedunt. "etenim fateor me" dixerit ille
"duci ventre levem, nasum nidore supinor,
imbecillus, iners, si quid vis, adde, popino.
tu cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro 40
insectere velut melior verbisque decoris

VII 13 doctus a (?) *lR^aγE* : doctor *λφψνLεg* 'omnes Bland.,' *comm.*
Cruq. 19 ac prior] acrior *ave'γEg* : ac . . or *R^a* illo v
(*Parisinus* 8213 *xii^{mi} saec. cod.*) : ille *omnes x^{mi} saec. codd.* 34
feret] fert *lR^aE Benth.* 35 fugisque] furisque *VL Vid. ad*
Epp. ii. 2. 75

Q. HORATI FLACCI

obvolvas vitium?" quid, si me stultior ipso
 quingentis empto drachmis deprenderis? aufer
 me vultu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,
 dum quae Crispini docuit me ianitor edo. 45
 "non sum moechus" ais. neque ego, hercule, fur, ubi vasa
 praetereo sapiens argentea: tolle periculum,
 iam vaga prosiliet frenis natura remotis.
 tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque 75
 tot tantisque minor, quem ter vindicta quaterque
 imposita haud umquam misera formidine privet?
 adde super, dictis quod non levius valeat: nam
 sive vicarius est qui servo paret, uti mos
 vester ait, seu conservus, tibi quid sum ego? nempe 80
 tu mihi qui imperitas alii servis miser atque
 ducis ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.
 quisnam igitur liber? sapiens sibi qui imperiosus,
 quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent,
 responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores 85
 fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres, atque rotundus,
 externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,
 in quem manca ruit semper fortuna. potesne
 ex his ut proprium quid noscere? quinque talenta
 poscit te mulier, vexat foribusque repulsum 90
 perfundit gelida, rursus vocat: eripe turpi
 colla iugo; "liber, liber sum" dic age. non quis;
 urget enim dominus mentem non lenis et acris
 subiectat lasso stimulos versatque negantem.
 vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella, 95
 qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fulvi Rutubaeque
 aut Pacideiani contento poplite miror
 proelia rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si
 re vera pugnent, feriant, vitentque moventes

81 alii *L¹ & E Benth.*: aliis *cett. codd.*
 que *cett. codd.*

83 sibi qui *le Benth.*: sibi-

SERMONVM LIB. II. VII

arma viri? nequam et cessator Davus; at ipse 100
 subtilis veterum iudex et callidus audis.
 nil ego, si ducor libo fumante: tibi ingens
 virtus atque animus cenis responsat opimis?
 obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur?
 tergo plector enim. qui tu impunitior illa 105
 quae parvo sumi nequeunt obsonia captas?
 nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae.
 illusque pedes vitiosum ferre recusant
 corpus. an hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uvam
 furtiva mutat strigili? qui praedia vendit, 110
 nil servile gulae parens habet? adde quod idem
 non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte
 ponere, teque ipsum vitas fugitivus et erro,
 iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam:
 frustra; nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem.' 115
 unde mihi lapidem? 'quorsum est opus?' unde sagittas?
 'aut insanit homo aut versus facit.' ocus hinc te
 ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino.

VIII

VT Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?
 nam mihi quaerenti convivam dictus here illic
 de medio potare die. 'sic ut mihi numquam
 in vita fuerit melius.' dic, si grave non est,
 quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca. 5
 'in primis Lucanus aper; leni fuit Austro
 captus, ut aiebat cenae pater; acria circum
 rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassarum
 pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.
 his ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam 10
 gausape purpureo mensam pertersit, et alter

VIII 4 dic *codd. plerique*: da λφψ *comm. Cruq.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

sublegit quodcumque iaceret inutile quodque
 posset cenantis offendere; ut Attica virgo
 cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes
 Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers. 15
 hic erus: Albanum, Maecenas, sive Falernum
 te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque.
 divitias miseras! sed quis cenantibus una,
 Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nosse laboro.
 'summus ego et prope me Viscus Thurinus et infra, 20
 si memini, Varius; cum Servilio Balatrone
 Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras.
 Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra
 ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas;
 Nomentanus ad hoc, qui si quid forte lateret 25
 indice monstraret digito: nam cetera turba,
 nos, inquam, cenamus avis, conchylia, piscis,
 longe dissimilem noto celantia sucum;
 ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque *lucet*
 ingustata mihi porrexerat ilia rhombi. 30
 post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem
 ad lunam delecta. quid hoc intersit ab ipso
 audieris melius. tum Vibidius Balatroni:
 "nos nisi damnose bibimus moriemur inulti,"
 et calices poscit maiores. vertere pallor 35
 tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acris
 potores, vel quod male dicunt liberius vel
 fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum.
 invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota
 Vibidius Balatroque, secutis omnibus; imi 40
 convivae lecti nihilum nocuere lagoenis.
 adfertur squillas inter murena natantis
 in patina porrecta. sub hoc erus: "haec gravida" inquit
 "capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.

24 simul *AR²γE Acr.*: semel *ott. codd.* *Vid. ad Epp. i. 7. 96*

SERMONVM LIB. II. VIII

his mixtum ius est: oleo quod prima Venafri 45
 pressit cella; garo de sucis piscis Hiberi;
 vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato,
 dum coquitur (cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non
 hoc magis ullum aliud); pipere albo, non sine aceto
 quod Methymnaeam vitio mutaverit uvam. 50
 erucas viridis, inulas ego primus amaras
 monstravi incoquere, illutos Curtillus echinos,
 ut melius muria quod testa marina remittat."
 interea suspensa gravis aulaea ruinas
 in patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri 55
 quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
 nos maius veriti, postquam nihil esse pericli
 sensimus, erigimur. Rufus posito capite, ut si
 filius immaturus obisset, flere. quis esset
 finis ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum 60
 tolleret "heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
 te deus? ut semper gaudes illudere rebus
 humanis!" Varius mappa compescere risum
 vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso
 "haec est condicio vivendi" aiebat, "eoque 65
 responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori.
 tene, ut ego accipiar laute, torquerier omni
 sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,
 ne male conditum ius apponatur, ut omnes
 praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent! 70
 adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si,
 ut modo; si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.
 sed convivoris uti ducis ingenium res
 adversae nudare solent, celare secundae."
 Nasidienus ad haec "tibi di quaecumque preceris 75
 commoda dent! ita vir bonus es convivaque comis":
 et soleas poscit. tum in lecto quoque videres

Q. HORATI FLACCI

stridere secreta divisos aure susurros.
 nullos his mallet ludos spectasse; sed illa
 redde age quae deinceps risisti. 'Vibidius dum 80
 quaerit de pueris num sit quoque fracta lagoena,
 quod sibi poscenti non dantur pocula, dumque
 ridetur fictis rerum, Balatrone secundo,
 Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte
 emendaturus fortunam: deinde secuti 85
 mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes
 membra gruis sparsi sale multo, non sine farre
 pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae,
 et leporum avulsos, ut multo suavius, armos,
 quam si cum lumbis quis edit; tum pectore adusto 90
 vidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes,
 suavis res, si non causas narraret earum et
 naturas dominus; quem nos sic fugimus ulti,
 ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis
 Canidia adflasset peior serpentibus Afris.' 95

82 dantur *σγΕ*: dentur *cett.*
 95 Afris *εγΕg*: atris *cett. codd. Bentl.*

88 albae *Vg*: albi *cett.*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO BOOK I OF THE EPISTLES

§ 1. *Date of the Book.*

THE Second Book of Satires and the Epodes were published between the years 31 and 30 B.C. The three Books of the Odes occupy the next seven years of Horace's life and were published, as seems almost certain, in B.C. 23. He may have written some of the Epistles before that time, but all which can be dated fall into the years between 23 and 20 (or 19 at the latest).

Epp. 1. 13 refers no doubt to the presentation of the Odes to Augustus, though there are difficulties as to the occasion contemplated; 1. 19 is polemical against critics of the Odes and Epodes: these would most naturally have been written soon after B.C. 23. Tibullus, who died in B.C. 19 or soon afterwards, was still living when 1. 4 was written. For more exact dating, 1. 3 is addressed to Florus, who is at the time accompanying the future emperor Tiberius in his progress into Armenia, i.e. it is composed in B.C. 20. Epistles 8, 9 and 11 have possibly links with the same event. Epistle 18 is fixed to the same year by the words 'Sub duce, qui templis Parthorum signa refigit,' an evident reference to the restoration by the Parthians of the standards taken at Carrhae, which was an incident in that progress. In 12. 26-28 this event is again referred to and with it another which causes a little more difficulty:

'Cantaber Agrippae, Claudī virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Phraates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor.'

The first words have to do with the final conquest of the Cantabrians by Agrippa, which appears from Dion C. 54. 11 to have been begun and completed in B.C. 19 (see introd. to Odes I-III. I. § 6).

On the other hand, in Epist. 20, where Horace is apparently

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO

intending to date the Book as well as his own life, he says that he completed his forty-fourth December (the month of his birth) in the year when Lollius was consul. This was in B.C. 21. It is a natural mode of dating if it means 'last December'—a less natural one if another birthday has already passed. We are driven therefore to choose between supposing that Agrippa achieved his victory over the Cantabri or some parts of it in B.C. 20, in spite of Dion Cassius' words, or that Horace's desire to link Lollius' name with the conclusion of his book has led him to date it by the year before the one last expired.

§ 2. *Title and nature of the Epistles.*

Horace once uses the word 'Epistula,' in Epp. 2. 2. 22 possibly, but not certainly, in the sense of a poetical epistle. In Epp. 2. 1. 250 he seems to include the Epistles of the First Book with the Satires under the common title of 'Sermones'¹. Otherwise we have no direct evidence what title he intended them to bear. The MSS. all call them 'Epistulae,' and the Scholiasts say that the title was given to them by Horace himself.

They are 'Epistulae' in varying senses. Some have not only the form, but a definite purpose at the moment and such as finds natural expression in a letter—inquiries about absent friends, as in Ep. 3; an invitation, as in Ep. 5; the introduction of a friend, as in Ep. 9; desire for information about a watering-place, as in Ep. 15. To these we may add, as short and purely personal in their tone, Epp. 4, 8 and 12. It is hard again to draw a fixed line between these and such Epistles as 7, 10 and 11, where, though a larger and general subject is in view, the person addressed and the occasion are never wholly lost. But the epistolary introduction and conclusion tend by degrees to become merely an excuse for the moralizing which intervenes, till, as in Epp. 1 and 6, the only relic left of the letter is the vocative case which begins it, just as 'Qui fit, Maecenas?' or 'Vel quia, Maecenas,' begins a Satire. It is of course possible to underrate the personal element which is really present in the composition of any particular Epistle. But

¹ They are probably also included in the title 'Sermones' in the Suetonian life of Horace, where it is said that Augustus 'post Sermones lectos' complained that none was addressed to him.

BOOK I OF THE EPISTLES

Horace meant us, we may be sure, to see this element in the Epistle itself, not to depend upon tradition for it.

It must be added that the Epistolary form becomes in some cases a matter of play—as when he makes a professed letter to his bailiff the vehicle for the humorous expression of his own love of the country and dislike of restlessness (Ep. 14); when he puts an apology to Augustus into the form of a letter sent after the messenger who is supposed to be carrying to him a volume of poems (Ep. 13); or when he addresses to his own Book of collected Epistles the confidences and anticipations which he means for his world-wide audience-to-be (Ep. 20).

In calling his Epistles 'Sermones' he is expressing the continuity in substance, and even in form, which unites the most important of them, those for the sake of which the book was written, to the Satires. Their subject is the same, that which always interested him most deeply,—the art of life. It runs into the same topics, the folly of avarice, the wisdom of enjoying instead of wishing, the charm of country life, of moderate tastes, of contentment. He fingers amusedly, as before, the paradoxes of philosophers, and puts even more confidently his view that more is to be learnt from common sense and from the poets than in the schools. The style is the same—the free and unrheterical style of the best conversation, playful and serious by turns, lighted up by wit, good humour, touches of poetry. It still cuts an argument short with an anecdote or a fable. There is the same tendency to use an individual name where a class is meant, and in doing so to mix indiscriminately names of the day with literary or even mythological reminiscences¹. The epistolary form is in truth as much a dramatic adaptation as the form of dialogue adopted in Book II of the Satires. As Acron remarks, it is conversation still, conversation with the absent instead of conversation held or overheard, with the present: 'Epistulis enim ad absentis loquimur, sermone cum praesentibus²'.

¹ 'A gladiator' is Veianius, I. 4; 'a man of keen vision,' Lynceus (the Argonaut), I. 28; 'an athlete,' Glycon, I. 30. Maenius is, as in the Satires, the glutton and spendthrift in 15. 26. See the note on Bestius, *ib.* 37. It should be noticed also, as illustrating what is said in the General Introduction to the Satires, § 6, that the anecdotes of Lucullus 6. 40 f., Philippus 7. 46 f., Entrapelus 18. 31 f., belong to persons of a former generation.

² Cp. Augustus' words in complaining that Horace has addressed none of

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO

In speaking of the Satires we noticed the influence which Horace felt both in respect of form and matter from the philosophical dialogues of Cicero. It cannot be doubted that his Epistles in the same way are influenced by Cicero's Letters.

The differences between the Epistles and Satires are analogous to the differences between the later Satires and the earlier.

Life is passing on, and has brought to him, if not strong health, the means of taking care of himself, ease, interests, and contentment. He spends his autumn in the Sabine valley, his winter by the sea, returns to Rome with the swallows, and stays there only as long as he feels disposed. His acquaintance among the congenial part of Roman society has grown. He has a recognized position as a man of letters. There are still critics who in public decry his Odes and Epodes; but they read and admire them in private, and they pay him the flattery of foolish imitation. He has no real disposition to quarrel with them. We see him in one light which is always an amiable one. His correspondents are greatly among the younger generation of literary men. He is interested in their work, he has their confidence, and can speak at once honestly and kindly, with no false affectation either of superiority or of equality.

If his views of life are richer and more mature than in the Satires, his expression of them is more perfect. We feel the training of the seven years given to lyric composition. There are more ease and music in the verse, more touches of imagination in the language. He has reached the perfection of his own style and the most finished grace of which Latin writing is capable.

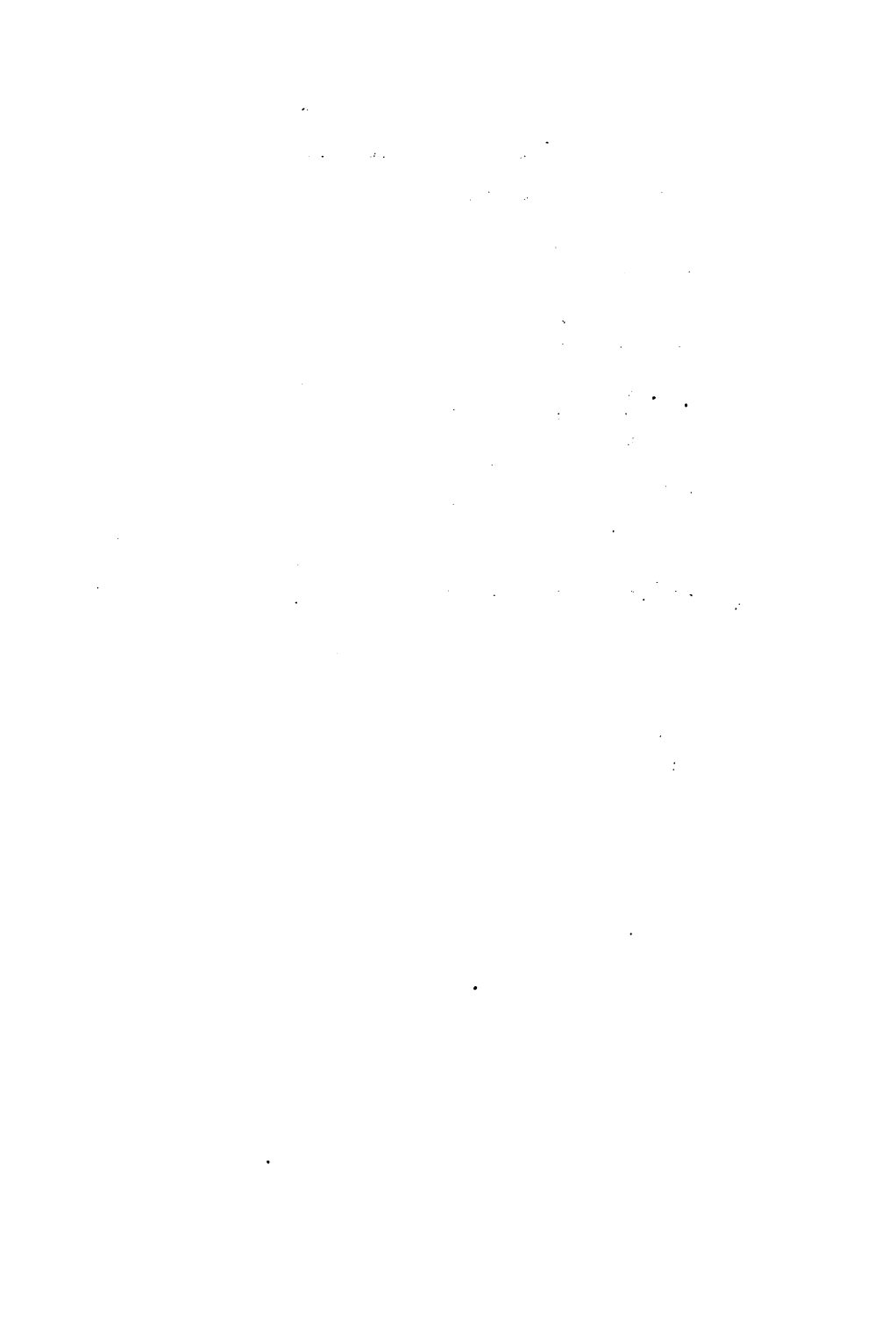
§ 3. *Order of the Epistles.*

It has been already pointed out in the Introduction to the Odes, § 10, how exactly the arrangement of the Epistles in this Book corresponds in one important particular with that of the Odes of the first three Books—the first Epistle and the last but one being addressed, as Ode 1. 1 and 2. 29, to Maecenas, the last place in each case being reserved for the poet's own

his 'Sermones' to him: '*irasci me tibi scito quod non in plerisque eiusmodi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris.*'

BOOK I OF THE EPISTLES

le at the accomplishment of his task. We may trace occasionally in the order of the rest of the Epistles some of the principles which seemed to dictate the order of the Odes, in a less marked degree, of the Satires. Ep. 2 seems to show Ep. 1 as an immediate putting into practice of the purposes announced in it. Epps. 17, 18 are put together as dealing with one subject in a way that might be less easily perceived if they were apart, at the same time the two are put at some distance from Ep. 6, closely though that is connected with them, lest too much attention should seem to be drawn to the matter. In the same way Epps. 13 and 19, which speak of his own poems, are separated. I have pointed out in the introduction to Ep. 16 how the final conclusion of Ep. 15 is made to form, quite in Horace's manner, an introduction to one of the most serious and high-toned of his Epistles. The effect of irony is increased by the sequence which puts Ep. 17, with its tone (however it be explained) of sarcasm, immediately after Ep. 16.



Q. HORATI FLACCI

EPISTVLARVM

LIBER PRIMVS

I

PRIMA dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
non eadem est aetas, non mens. Veianius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro, 5
ne populum extrema totiens exoret harena.
est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem
'solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat.'
nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono; 10
quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum;
condo et compono quae mox depromere possim.
ac ne forte roges quo me duce, quo lare tuter,
nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,
quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes. 15
nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis,
virtutis verae custos rigidusque satellites;
nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor,

*In Epistularum Libro I^{mo} notantur lectiones variae codicum AaRlId
φψπνLγEg et in locis nonnullis etiam codicum VBoR^o
Codex δ desinit post Epp. i. 8. 7; codex d incipit ab Epp. i. 18. 47*

EPISTVLARVM. Vid. ad titulum Serm. Lib. I^{mi}

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et mihi res, non me rebus subiungere conor.
 ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque 20
 longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger annus
 pupillis quos dura premit custodia matrum;
 sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quae spem
 consiliumque morantur agendi naviter id quod
 aequae pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aequae, 25
 aequae neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.
 restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.
 non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,
 non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi;
 nec quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis, 30
 nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.
 est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.
 fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus:
 sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
 possis et magnam morbi deponere partem. 35
 laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula quae te
 ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
 invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
 nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
 si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem. 40
 virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
 stultitia caruisse. vides quae maxima credis
 esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,
 quanto devites animi capitisque labore.
 impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos, 45
 per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis:
 ne cures ea, quae stulte miraris et optas,
 discere et audire et meliori credere non vis?
 quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax
 magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes, 50

I 28 oculo *codd. plerique*: oculos λ *Bentl.* 30 Glyconis] '*alii*
Milonis legunt' *Acr.* 32 quadam *V AaαψE*: quodam *cett.*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. I

cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?
vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
‘o cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est;
virtus post nummos’: haec Ianus summus ab imo
prodocat, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque, 55
laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
est animus tibi, sunt mores et lingua fidesque,
sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt:
plebs eris. at pueri ludentes ‘rex eris’ aiunt,
‘si recte facies.’ hic murus aeneus esto, 60
nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.
Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex an puerorum est
nenia, quae regnum recte facientibus offert,
et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?
isne tibi melius suadet qui, rem facias, rem, 65
si possis recte, si non, quocumque modo rem,
ut propius spectes lacrimosa poemata Pupi,
an qui Fortunae te responsare superbae
liberum et erectum praesens hortatur et aptat?
quodsi me populus Romanus forte roget cur 70
non ut porticibus sic iudiciis fruam isdem,
nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit,
olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni
respondit referam: ‘quia me vestigia terrent,
omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.’ 75
belua multorum es capitum. nam quid sequar aut quem?
pars hominum gestit conducere publica, sunt qui
frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras,
excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant;
multis occulto crescit res faenore. verum 80
esto aliijs alios rebus studiisque teneri:

57, 58 *Hos versus Cruquius primus ita ordinavit unum ex codd. suis secutus. Editores plerique consenserunt, et in codd. Eg hic ordo inventus est. Cett. codd. v. 57 post v. 58 habent* 69 *aptat codd. plerique: optat IR^g* 78 *frustis] crustis σ*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?
 'nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis'
 si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem
 festinantis eri; cui si vitiosa libido 85
 fecerit auspicium, cras ferramenta Teanum
 tolletis, fabri. lectus genialis in aula est:
 nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita:
 si non est, iurat bene solis esse maritis.
 quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo? 90
 quid pauper? ride: mutat cenacula, lectos,
 balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aequae
 nauseat ac locuples quem ducit priva triremis.
 si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos
 occurri, rides; si forte subucula pexae 95
 trita subest tunicae vel si toga dissidet impar,
 rides: quid mea cum pugnat sententia secum,
 quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
 aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto,
 diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis? 100
 insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides,
 nec medici credis nec curatoris egere
 a praetore dati, rerum tutela mearum
 cum sis et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem
 de te pendentis, te respicientis amici. 105
 ad summam, sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,
 liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum;
 praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

II

TROIANI belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,
 dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi;
 qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
 planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.

II 4 planius *AaLyEg Acr.*: plenius *RlBφψπνε*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. II

cur ita crediderim, nisi quid te distinet, audi. 5
 fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem
 Graecia Barbariae lento collisa duello,
 stultorum regum et populorum continet aestus.
 Antenor censet belli praecidere causam :
 quid Paris? ut salvus regnet vivatque beatus 10
 cogi posse negat. Nestor componere litis
 inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden ;
 hunc amor, ira quidem cōmmuniter urit utrumque.
 quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi.
 seditione, dolis, scelere atque libidine et ira 15
 Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.
 rursus quid virtus et quid sapientia possit
 utile proposuit nobis exemplar Vlixen,
 qui domitor Troiae multorum providus urbis
 et mores hominum inspexit, latumque per aequor, 20
 dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa
 pertulit, adversis rerum immersabilis undis.
 Sirenum voces et Circae pocula nosti ;
 quae si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
 sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors, 25
 vixisset canis immundus vel amica luto sus.
 nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati,
 sponsi Penelopae, nebulones, Alcinoique
 in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus,
 cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et 30
 ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.
 ut iugulent hominem surgunt de nocte latrones :
 ut te ipsum serves non expergisceris? atqui
 si noles sanus, curres hydropicus ; et ni

5 distinet (distenet) λδφψνLε : destinet AaRly : detinet sg Bentl.
 Vid. ad Carm. iv. 5. 12 31 curam] Nescio an praefenda sit lectio
 codd. Bland. quibus consentiunt Eg. somnum 32 homines A²
 σγ Servius 33 atqui AaγEg : atque cett. 34 noles] nolis
 λγ Bentl. curres vulg. Acr. : cures λδφψ

Q. HORATI FLACCI

posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non 35
 intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis,
 invidia vel amore vigil torquebere. nam cur
 quae laedunt oculos festinas demere, si quid
 est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
 dimidium facti qui coepit habet: sapere aude: 40
 incipe. qui recte vivendi prorogat horam,
 rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis: at ille
 labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.
 quaeritur argentum puerisque beata creandis
 uxor et incultae pacantur vomere silvae. 45
 quod satis est cui contingit nihil amplius optet.
 non domus et fundus, non aeris acervus et auri
 aegroto domini deduxit corpore febris,
 non animo curas. valeat possessor oportet,
 si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti. 50
 qui cupit aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus et res
 ut lippum pictae tabulae, fomenta podagram,
 auriculas citharae collecta sorde dolentis.
 sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis acescit.
 sperne voluptates: nocet empta dolore voluptas. 55
 semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem.
 invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis:
 invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
 maius tormentum. qui non moderabitur irae
 infectum volet esse dolor quod suaserit et mens, 60
 dum poenas odio per vim festinat inulto.
 ira furor brevis est: animum rege, qui nisi paret,
 imperat; hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena.
 fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister
 ire viam qua monstret eques; venaticus, ex quo 65
 tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula,
 militat in silvis catulus. nunc adbibe puro

41 qui recte vivendi: *Eg*: vivendi qui recte *att*.

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. II

pectore verba puer, nunc te melioribus offer.
 quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
 testa diu. quodsi cessas aut strenuus anteis, 70
 nec tardum opperior nec praecedentibus insto.

III

IVLI FLORE, quibus terrarum militet oris
 Claudius Augusti privignus, scire laboro.
 Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus,
 an freta vicinas inter currentia turris,
 an pingues Asiae campi collesque morantur? 5
 quid studiosa cohors operum struit? hoc quoque curo.
 quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?
 bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevum?
 quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in ora?
 Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus, 10
 fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos.
 ut valet? ut meminit nostri? fidibusne Latinis
 Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa,
 an tragica desaevit et ampullatur in arte?
 quid mihi Celsus agit, monitus multumque monendus 15
 privatas ut quaerat opes, et tangere vitet
 scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo,
 ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
 grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
 furtivis nudata coloribus? ipse quid audes? 20
 quae circumvolitas agilis thyma? non tibi parvum
 ingenium, non incultum est et turpiter hirtum.
 seu linguam causis acuis seu civica iura
 respondere paras seu condis amabile carmen,
 prima ferēs hederæ vitricis praemia. quodsi 25
 frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,

III 4 turris *codd.* plerique *Porph.* : terras *Vav Bentl.* 23 seu . . .
 seu *σγ²*, 'aut . . . aut' *schol.* ε : heu . . . heu *cett. codd.*

HORATI EPIST.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

quo te caelestis sapientia duceret ires.
 hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
 si patriae volumus, si nobis vivere cari.
 debes hoc etiam rescribere, sit tibi curae 30
 quantae conveniat Munatius. an male sarta
 gratia nequiquam coit et rescinditur, ac vos
 seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat
 indomita cervice feros? ubicumque locorum
 vivitis, indigni fratrum rumpere foedus, 35
 pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva iuvenca.

IV

ALBI, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,
 quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
 scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,
 an tacitum silvas inter reptare salubris,
 curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque est? 5
 non tu corpus eras sine pectore. di tibi formam,
 di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.
 quid voveat dulci nutricula maius alumno,
 qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui
 gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde, 10
 et mundus victus non deficiente crumina?
 inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras,
 omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum.
 grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.
 me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises 15
 cum ridere voles Epicuri de grege porcum.

V

SI potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis
 nec modica cenare times holus omne patella,

30 sit *codd.* plerique *Porph.* : si *δ Benti.*

IV 9 qui *ῬαλβητεE* : quin *ἈαφLγg* : quam *ν, 'nisi ut' gloss.* γ

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. V

supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.
 vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustris
 inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum. 5
 si melius quid habes, arcesse vel imperium fer.
 iamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex.
 mitte levis spes et certamina divitiarum
 et Moschi causam: cras nato Caesare festus
 dat veniam somnumque dies; impune licebit 10
 aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.
 quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?
 parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque severus
 adsidet insano. potare et spargere flores
 incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi. 15
 quid non ebrietas dissignat? operta recludit,
 spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem;
 sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artis.
 fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
 contracta quem non in paupertate solutum? 20
 haec ego procurare et idoneus imperor et non
 invitus, ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
 corruget naris, ne non et cantharus et lanx
 ostendat tibi te, ne fidos inter amicos
 sit qui dicta foras eliminat, ut coeat par 25
 iungaturque pari. Butram tibi Septiciumque,
 et nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum
 detinet adsumam: locus est et pluribus umbris,
 sed nimis arta premunt olidae convivia caprae.
 tu quotus esse velis rescribe, et rebus omissis 30
 atria servantem postico falle clientem.

V 11 aestivam] festivam *codd. recentiorum nonnulli* 12 fortunam
codd. plerique Acr.: fortuna *Rγ* 16 dissignat *codd. plerique,*
interpret. ut videtur Acr. Porph.: designat *aφLg, interpret. ut videtur*
comm. Crug. Vid. ad Epp. i. 7. 6 19 facundi *RδwE* 28
 adsumam *A^sE*: ad summam vel adsummam *cett.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

VI

NIL admirari prope res est una, Numici,
 solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum.
 hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis
 tempora momentis sunt qui formidine nulla
 imbuti spectent: quid censes munera terrae, 5
 quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos,
 ludicra quid, plausus et amici dona Quiritis,
 quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis et ore?
 qui timet his adversa, fere miratur eodem
 quo cupiens pacto; pavor est utrobique molestus. 10
 improvisa simul species exterret utrumque.
 gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem,
 si, quidquid vidit melius peiusve sua spe,
 defixis oculis animoque et corpore torpet?
 insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui, 15
 ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.
 i nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artis
 suspice, cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores;
 gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem;
 navus mane forum et vespertinus pete tectum, 20
 ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
 Mutus et (indignum, quod sit peioribus ortus)
 hic tibi sit potius quam tu mirabilis illi.
 quidquid sub terra est in apricum proferet aetas;
 defodiet condetque nitentia. cum bene notum 25
 porticus Agrippae et via te conspexerit Appi,
 ire tamen restat Numa quo devenit et Ancus.
 si latus aut renes morbo temptantur acuto,
 quaere fugam morbi. vis recte vivere: quis non?
 si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis 30
 hoc age deliciis. virtutem verba putas et

VI 11 externat *Iacobs. Vid. Lachmann ad Lucr. iv. 1022*
 31 putes *Abt Bentl.*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. VI

cum ligna : cave ne portus occupet alter,
 : Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas ;
 ille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera, porro et
 : tia succedant et quae pars quadrat acervum. 35
 ilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos
 genus et formam regina Pecunia donat,
 bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.
 ancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex :
 : fueris hic tu. chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt, 40
 posset centum scaenae praebere rogatus,
 [ui possum tot?] ait : 'tamen et quaeram et quot habebo
 ittam.' post paulo scribit sibi milia quinque
 se domi chlamydum ; partem vel tolleret omnis.
 ilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt 45
 dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus. ergo,
 res sola potest facere et servare beatum,
 x primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.
 fortunatum species et gratia praestat,
 ercemur servum qui dictet nomina, laevum 50
 ii fodicet latus et cogat trans pondera dextram
 rrigere : 'hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina ;
 ii libet hic fascis dabit eripietque curule
 ii volet importunus ebur.' frater, pater, adde ;
 : cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta. 55
 bene qui cenat bene vivit, lucet, eamus
 io ducit gula, piscemur, venemur, ut olim
 argilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos
 ffectum transire forum populumque iubebat,
 ius ut e multis populo spectante referret 60
 nptum mulus aprum. crudi tumidique lavemur,
 iid deceat, quid non, obliti, Caerite cera
 gni, remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Vlixei,

35 quadrat *AaRneyg* : quadret *λΒφψνR'E* 50 laevum *Es* :
 evum *est.* 53 hic *codd. plerique* : is *de Benth.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas.
 si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore iocisque 65
 nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque.
 vive, vale. si quid novisti rectius istis,
 candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum.

VII

QVINQVE dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum,
 Sextilem totum mendax desideror. atqui,
 si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
 quam mihi das aegro, dabis aegrotare timentem,
 Maecenas, veniam, dum ficus prima calorque 5
 dissignatorem decorat lictoribus atris,
 dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet,
 officiosaque sedulitas et opella forensis
 adducit febris et testamenta resignat.
 quodsi bruma nives Albanis illinet agris, 10
 ad mare descendet vates tuus et sibi parcat
 contractusque leget: te, dulcis amice, reviset
 cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima.
 non quo more piris vesci Calaber iubet hospes
 tu me fecisti locupletem. 'vescere sodes.' 15
 'iam satis est.' 'at tu quantum vis tolle.' 'benigne.'
 'non invisā feres pueris munuscula parvis.'
 'tam teneor dono, quam si dimittar onustus.'
 'ut libet; haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques.'
 prodigus et stultus donat quae spernit et odit: 20
 haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis.
 vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus,
 nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis.
 dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis.

68 si nil *AaLEg*

VII 6 dissignatorem *codd. plerique*: designatorem *Avv.* *Vid. ad*
Epp. i. 5. 16

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. VII

dsi me holes usquam discedere, reddes 25
 : latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos,
 les dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum et
 r vina fugam Cinaræ maerere protervæ.
 : per angustam tenuis vulpecula rimam
 erat in 'cumeram frumenti, pastaque rursus 30
 foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra.
 mustelâ procul 'si vis' ait 'effugere istinc,
 ra cavum repetes artum, quem macra subisti.'
 ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno;
 somnum plebis laudo satur altilium nec 35
 divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.
 æ verecundum laudasti, rexque paterque
 isti coram, nec verbo parcius absens:
 nice si possum donata reponere laetus.
 d male Telemachus, proles patientis Vlixæ, 40
 n est aptus equis Ithacæ locus, ut neque planis
 rectus spatiis nec multæ prodigus herbae:
 ide, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.'
 rum parva decent: mihi iam non regia Roma,
 vacuum Tibur placet aut imbellæ Tarentum. 45
 nuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis
 us, ab officiis octavam circiter horam
 a redit atque Foro nimium distare Carinas
 grandis natu queritur, conspexit, ut aiunt,
 asum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra 50
 ello proprios purgantem leniter unguis.
 metri,'—puer hic non laeve iussa Philippi
 piebat—'abi, quaere et refer, unde domo, quis,
 is fortunæ, quo sit patre quove patrono.'
 redit et narrat, Vulteium nomine Menam, 55
 æonem, tenui censu, sine crimine, notum

: vulpecula *codd. omnes et schol.* : nitedula *coni. Bentl.*
 : vulg. *schol.* γ : sapientis *E. Vid. ad Serm. i. 1. 38*

40 pati-

Q. HORATI FLACCI

et properare loco et cessare et quaerere et uti,
 gaudentem parvisque sodalibus et lare certo
 et ludis et post decisa negotia Campo.
 'scitari libet ex ipso quodcumque refers ; dic 60
 ad cenam veniat.' non sane credere Mena,
 mirari secum tacitus. quid multa ? 'benigne'
 respondet. 'neget ille mihi ?' 'negat improbus et te
 neglegit aut horret.' Vulteiū mane Philippus
 vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello 65
 occupat et salvere iubet prior. ille Philippo
 excusare laborem et mercennaria vincla,
 quod non mane domum venisset, denique quod non
 providisset eum. 'sic ignovisse putato
 me tibi, si cenas hodie mecum.' 'ut libet.' 'ergo 70
 post nonam venies ; nunc i, rem strenuus auge.'
 ut ventum ad cenam est, dicenda tacenda locutus
 tandem dormitum dimittitur. hic ubi saepe
 occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum,
 mane cliens et iam certus conviva, iubetur 75
 rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis.
 impositus mannīs arvum caelumque Sabinum
 non cessat laudare. videt ridetque Philippus,
 et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quaerit,
 dum septem donat sestertia, mutua septem 80
 promittit, persuadet uti mercetur agellum.
 mercatur. ne te longis ambagibus ultra
 quam satis est morer, ex nitido fit rusticus atque
 sulcos et vineta crepat mera ; praeparat ulmos,
 immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi. 85
 verum ubi oves furto, morbo periēre capellae,
 spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando,
 offensus damnis media de nocte caballum
 arripit iratusque Philippi tendit ad aedis.

58 certo *codd. plerique* : curto *duo Cruquiani Bentl.*
 ille negat ille *Aarg* 75 et iam *αδφφην* : etiam *catt.*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. VII

quem simul aspexit scabrum intonsumque Philippus, 90
 'durus' ait, 'Vultei, nimis attentusque videris
 esse mihi.' 'pol me miserum, patrone, vocares,
 si velles' inquit 'verum mihi ponere nomen!
 quod te per Genium dextramque deosque Penatis
 obsecro et obtestor, vitae me redde priori.' 95
 qui semel aspexit quantum dimissa petitis .
 praestent, mature redeat repetatque relictā.
 metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

VIII

CÆLso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano
 Musa rogata refer, comiti scribaeque Neronis.
 si quaeret quid agam, dic multa et pulchra minantem
 vivere nec recte nec suaviter; haud quia grando
 contuderit vitis oleamque momorderit aestus, 5
 nec quia longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris;
 sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto
 nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet aegrum;
 fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,
 cur me funesto properent arcere veterno; 10
 quae nocuere sequar, fugiam quae profore credam;
 Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.
 post haec ut valeat, quo pacto rem gerat et se,
 ut placeat iuveni percontare, utque cohorti.
 si dicet 'recte,' primum gaudere, subinde 15
 praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento:
 ut tu fortunam, sic nos te, Celse, feremus.

93 ponere *AayEg*: dicere *att.* 96 semel] simul *codd.* *Vid. ad*
Serm. ii. 8. 24

VIII 5 oleamve *R^eE Bentl.* 12 ventosus *codd. plerique comm.*
Crug. Servius (ad Verg. Aen. iv. 224): venturus 'omn. Bland.' ΛΛφψR^e
Porph. ad Serm. ii. 7. 28

Q. HORATI FLACCI.

IX

SEPTIMIVS, Claudī, nimirum intellegit unus
 quanti me facias. nam cum rogat et prece cogit
 scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner,
 dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis,
 munere cum fungi propioris censet amici, 5
 quid possim videt ac novit me valdius ipso.
 multa quidem dixi cur excusatus abirem;
 sed timui mea ne finxisse minora putarer,
 dissimulator opis propriae, mihi commodus uni.
 sic ego, maioris fugiens opprobria culpaе, 10
 frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia. quodsi
 depositum laudas ob amici iussa pudorem,
 scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque.

X

VRBIS amatorem Fuscum salvere iubemus
 ruris amatores, hac in re scilicet una
 multum dissimiles, at cetera paene gemelli
 fraternis animis—quidquid negat alter et alter—
 adnuimus pariter vetuli notique columbi. 5
 tu nidum servas; ego laudo ruris amoeni
 rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque.
 quid quaeris? vivo et regno simul ista reliqui
 quae vos ad caelum effertis rumore secundo,
 utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso, 10
 pane egeo iam mellitis potiore placentis.
 vivere naturae si convenienter oportet,
 ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum,
 novistine locum potiore rure beato?
 est ubi plus tepeant hiemes, ubi gratior aura 15
 leniat et rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis,

X 5 vetulis notisque columbis *V Lambinus* 9 effertis *VBa* :
 fertis *codd. plerique*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. X

m semel accepit Solem furibundus acutum?
 t ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura?
 terius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
 rior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum, 20
 iam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
 mpe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,
 adaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.
 turam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret,
 mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix. 25
 n qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
 scit Aquinatem potentia vellera fucum
 rtius accipiet damnum propiusque medullis,
 iam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.
 iem res plus nimio delectavere secundae, 30
 utatae quatient. si quid mirabere, pones
 vitus. fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
 ges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.
 rvus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
 llebat, donec minor in certamine longo 35
 ploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit;
 d postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
 n equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.
 : qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis
 ertate caret, dominum vehet improbus atque 40
 rviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.
 i non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,
 pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret.
 etus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi,
 c me dimittes incastigatum, ubi plura 45
 gere quam satis est ac non cessare videbor.
 perat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,

18 divellat] depellat *AaBoryg* . . . 25 fastidia *soEg*: vestigia *Vß*:
 stigia *codd. plerique* . . . 37 victor violens] victo ridens *coni. Haupt*
 vehit *E Bentl.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.
haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae,
excepto quod non simul esses cetera laetus.

50

XI

QVID tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos,
quid concinna Samos, quid Croesi regia Sardis,
Zmyrna quid et Colophon, maiora minorave fama?
cunctane prae Campo et Tiberino flumine sordent?
an venit in votum Attalicis ex urbibus una,
an Lebedum laudas odio maris atque viarum?
'scis Lebedus quid sit; Gabiis desertior atque
Fidenis vicus; tamen illic vivere vellem,
oblitusque meorum obliviscendus et illis
Neptunum procul e terra spectare furem.'
sed neque qui Capua Romam petit imbre lutoque
aspersus volet in caupona vivere; nec qui
frigus collegit, furnos et balnea laudat
ut fortunatam plene praestantia vitam.
nec si te validus iactaverit Auster in alto,
idcirco navem trans Aegaeum mare vendas.
incolumi Rhodos et Mytilene pulchra facit quod
paenula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris,
per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.
dum licet ac vultum servat Fortuna benignum,
Romae laudetur Samos et Chios et Rhodos absens.
tu quamcumque deus tibi fortunaverit horam
grata sume manu neu dulcia differ in annum,
ut quocumque loco fueris vixisse libenter
te dicas; nam si ratio et prudentia curas,
non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert,
caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.
strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque

5

10

15

20

25

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. XI

quadrigis petimus bene vivere. quod petis hic est,
est Vlubris, animus si te non deficit aequus. 30

XII

FRVCTIBVS Agrippae Siculis quos colligis, Icci,
si recte frueris, non est ut copia maior
ab Iove donari possit tibi. tolle querelas :
pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus.
si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil 5
divitiae poterunt regales addere maius.
si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis
vivis et urtica, sic vives protinus ut te
confestim liquidus Fortunae rivus inauret,
vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit, 10
vel quia cuncta putas una virtute minora.
miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos
cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox,
cum tu inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri
nil parvum sapias et adhuc sublimia cures; 15
quae mare compescant causae, quid temperet annum,
stellae sponte sua iussaene vagentur et errant,
quid premat obscurum lunae, quid proferat orbem,
quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors,
Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen. 20
verum seu piscis seu porrum et caepe trucidas,
utere Pompeio Grospho et, si quid petet, ultro
defer; nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit et aequum.
vilis amicorum est annona bonis ubi quid deest.
ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res, 25
Cantaber Agrippae, Claudii virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Phraates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor; aurea fruges
Italiae pleno defundit Copia cornu.

XII 29 defundit *ALβσγg* : defudit *α' RλλφψπE* : difudit *ν*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

XIII

Ut proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque,
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vini,
si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet;
ne studio nostri pecces odiumque libellis
sedulus importes opera vehemente minister. 5
si te forte meae gravis uret sarcina chartae,
abicito potius quam quo perferre iuberis
clitellas ferus impingas, Asinaeque paternum
cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias.
viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas. 10
victor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc,
sic positum servabis onus, ne forte sub ala
fasciculum portes librorum ut rusticus agnum,
ut vinosa glomus furtivae Pyrria lanae,
ut cum pilleolo soleas conviva tribulis. 15
ne vulgo narres te sudavisse ferendo
carmina, quae possint oculos aurisque morari
Caesaris, oratus multa prece nitere porro.
vade, vale, cave ne titubes mandataque frangas.

XIV

Vilice silvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,
quem tu fastidis habitatum quinque focis et
quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres,
certemus, spinas animone ego fortius an tu
evellas agro, et melior sit Horatius an res. 5
me quamvis Lamiae pietas et cura moratur
fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis
insolabiliter, tamen istuc mens animusque
fert et amat spatii obstantia rumpere claustra.
rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum. 10

XIII 14 Pyrria vel Pirria *codd. Horatiani*: Purria *codd. Porphy-*
riani: Pyrrhia *editores plerique*. Vid. Lachmann ad Lucr. vi. 971

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. XIV

cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors.
 stultus uterque locum immeritum causatur inique:
 in culpa est animus, qui se non effugit umquam.
 tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas,
 nunc urbem et ludos et balnea vilicus optas : 15
 me constare mihi scis et discedere tristem,
 quandocumque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.
 non eadem miramur ; eo disconvenit inter
 meque et te : nam quae deserta et inhospita tesqua
 credis, amoena vocat mecum qui sentit, et odit 20
 quae tu pulchra putas. fornix tibi et uncta popina
 incutiunt urbis desiderium, video, et quod
 angulus iste feret piper et tus ocius uva,
 nec vicina subest vinum praebere taberna
 quae possit tibi, nec meretrix tibicina, cuius 25
 ad strepitum salias terrae gravis : et tamen urges
 iampridem non tacta ligonibus arva bovemque
 disiunctum curas et strictis frondibus explēs ;
 addit opus pigro rivus, si decidit imber,
 multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato. 30
 nunc age, quid nostrum concentum dividat audi.
 quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli,
 quem scis immunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci,
 quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,
 cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba. 35
 nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
 non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam
 limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat ;
 rident vicini glaebas et saxa moventem.
 cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis ; 40
 horum tu in numerum voto ruis : invidet usum
 lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et horti.
 optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus :
 quam scit uterque libens censebo exerceat artem.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

XV

QVAE sit hiems Veliae, quod caelum, Vala, Salerni,
 quorum hominum regio et qualis via (nam mihi Baias
 Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis
 me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
 per medium frigus. sane myrteta relinqui, 5
 dictaque cessantem nervis elidere morbum
 sulpura contemni, vicus gemit, invidus aegris
 qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent
 Clusinis Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura.
 mutandus locus est et deversoria nota 10
 praeteragendus equus. 'quo tendis? non mihi Cumas
 est iter aut Baias' laeva stomachosus habena
 dicet eques; sed equi frenato est auris in ore);
 maior utrum populum frumenti copia pascat;
 collectosne bibant imbris puteosne perennis 15
 iugis aquae (nam vina nihil moror illius orae:
 rure meo possum quidvis perferre patique;
 ad mare cum veni, generosum et lene requiro,
 quod curas abigat, quod cum spe divite manet
 in venas animumque meum, quod verba ministret, 20
 quod me Lucanae iuvenem commendet amicae);
 tractus uter pluris lepores, uter educet apros;
 utra magis piscis et echinos aequora celent,
 pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti,
 scribere te nobis, tibi nos accredere par est. 25
 Maenius, ut rebus maternis atque paternis
 fortiter absumptis urbanus coepit haberi,
 scurra vagus, non qui certum praesepe teneret,
 impransus non qui civem dinosceret hoste,
 quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus, 30
 pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli,

XV 13 equi] equus *ne Bentl.*

16 iugis *codd. plerique*: dulcis *VEg*

quidquid quaesierat ventri donabat avaro.
 hic ubi nequitiae fautoribus et timidis nil
 aut paulum abstulerat, patinas cenabat omasi
 vilis et agninae, tribus ursis quod satis esset; 35
 scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum
 diceret urendos, correctus Bestius. idem
 quidquid erat nactus praedae maioris, ubi omne
 verterat in fumum et cinerem, 'non hercule miror'
 aiebat 'si qui comedunt bona, cum sit obeso 40
 nil melius turdo, nil vulva pulchrius ampla.'
 nimirum hic ego sum: nam tuta et parvula laudo
 cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis;
 verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
 vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum 45
 conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.

XVI

NE perconteris fundus meus, optime Quincti,
 arvo pascat erum an baxis opulentet olivae,
 pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo,
 scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.
 continui montes, ni dissocientur opaca 5
 valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat Sol,
 laevum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.
 temperiem laudes. quid si rubicunda benigni
 corna vepres et pruna ferant? si quercus et ilex
 multa fruge pecus multa dominum iuvet umbra? 10
 dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
 fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
 frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus,

32 donabat *AaγEg*: donarat *V* et *cett. codd.*: donaret *coni. Bentl.*
 37 correctus *AavLRγ*: correptus *λφφπEg*: correptos *R*: corrector
coni. Lambinus

XVI 3 pomisne an *Eg*: pomisne et *cett.* 5 ni *codd. plerique*
Acr. Porph.: si *αγE*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
 hae latebrae dulces, etiam, si credis, amoenae, 15
 incolumem tibi me praestant Septembribus hōris.
 tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis.
 iactamus iampridem omnis te Roma beatum :
 sed vereor ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas,
 neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum, 20
 neu si te populus sanum recteque valentem
 dictitet, occultam febrem sub tempus edendi
 dissimules, donec manibus tremor incidat unctis.
 stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.
 si quis bella tibi terra pugnata marique 25
 dicat et his verbis vacuas permulceat auris,
 'tene magis salvum populus velit an populum tu,
 servet in ambiguo qui consulit et tibi et urbi
 Iuppiter,' Augusti laudes agnoscere possis :
 cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari, 30
 respondesne tuo, dic sodes, nomine? 'nempe
 vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu.'
 qui dedit hoc hodie cras, si volet, auferet, ut si
 detulerit fascis indigno, detrahet idem.
 'pone, meum est' inquit: pono tristisque recedo. 35
 idem si clamet furem, neget esse pudicum,
 contendat laqueo collum pressisse patrum,
 mordear opprobriis falsis mutemque colores?
 falsus honor iuvat et mendax infamia terret 39
 quem nisi mendosum et medicandum? vir bonus est quis?
 'qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat,
 quo multae magnaeque secantur iudice lites,
 quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur.'
 sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota
 introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora. 45

40 medicandum *vodd.* plerique *Porph.* : mendacem *v8a*
 sponsore *V* : responsore *att. codd.*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. XVI

'nec furtum feci nec fugi' si mihi dicat
 servus, 'habes pretium, loris non ureris' aio.
 'non hominem occidi.' 'non pasces in cruce corvos.'
 'sum bonus et frugi.' renuit .negitatque Sabellus.
 cautus enim metuit foveam lupus accipiterque 50
 suspectos laqueos et opertum miluus hamum.
 oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore:
 tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae:
 sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis.
 nam de mille fabae modiis cum surripis unum, 55
 damnum est, non facinus, mihi pacto lenius isto.
 vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal,
 quandocumque deos vel porco vel bove placat,
 'Iane pater!' clare, clare cum dixit 'Apollo!'
 labra movet metuens audiri: 'pulchra Laverna, 60
 da mihi fallere, da iusto sanctoque videri,
 noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem.'
 qui melior servo, qui liberior sit avarus,
 in triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem,
 non video; nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque; porro, 65
 qui metuens vivet, liber mihi non erit umquam.
 perdidit arma, locum virtutis deseruit, qui
 semper in augenda festinat et obruitur re.
 vendere cum possis captivum, occidere noli;
 serviet utiliter: sine pascat durus aretque, 70
 naviget ac mediis hiemet mercator in undis,
 annonae prosit, portet frumenta penusque.
 vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere 'Pentheu,
 rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
 indignum coges?' 'adimam bona.' 'nempe pecus, rem, 75
 lectos, argentum: tollas licet.' 'in manicis et
 compedibus saevo te sub custode tenebo.'

49 negitatque *VπE*: negit atque *ALγ*: negat atque *ceff*.
 sanctoque *VAARe*: iustum sanctumque *ceff*.

61 iusto

Q. HORATI FLACCI

'ipse deus, simul atque volam, me solvet.' opinor
hoc sentit, 'moriar.' mors ultima linea rerum est.

XVII

QVAMVIS, Scaeva, satis per te tibi consulis, et scis
quo tandem pacto deceat maioribus uti,
disce, docendus adhuc quae censet amicus, ut si
caecus iter monstrare velit; tamen aspice si quid
et nos, quod cures proprium fecisse, loquamur. 5
si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam
delectat, si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
si laedit caupona, Ferentinum ire iubebo.
nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis,
nec vixit male qui natus moriensque fefellit. 10
si prodesse tuis pauloque benignius ipsum
te tractare voles, accedes siccus ad unctum.
'si pranderet holus patienter, regibus uti
nollet Aristippus.' 'si sciret regibus uti,
fastidiret holus qui me notat.' utrius horum 15
verba probes et facta doce, vel iunior audi
cur sit Aristippi potior sententia; namque
mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat, ut aiunt:
'scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu; rectius hoc et
splendidius multo est. equus ut me portet, alat rex 20
officium facio: tu poscis vilia, verum
dante minor, quamvis fers te nullius egentem.'
omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,
temptantem maiora, fere praesentibus aequum:
contra, quem duplici panno patientia velat, 25
mirabor, vitae via si conversa decebit.
alter purpureum non exspectabit amictum,
quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca vadet,

XVII 8 laedit *E*: laedet *codd. plerique* 21 vilia, verum *aRaveyEg*:
vilia, verum es *Alphi*: vilia rerum, *σR⁸ Bentl.*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. XVII

personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque ;
 alter Mileti textam cane peius et angui 30
 vitabit chlamydem, morietur frigore si non
 rettuleris pannum. refer et sine vivat ineptus.
 res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostis
 attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat :
 principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est. 35
 non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.
 sedit qui timuit ne non succederet. esto !
 quid, qui pervenit, fecitne viriliter ? atqui
 hic est aut nusquam quod quaerimus. hic onus horret,
 ut parvis animis et parvo corpore maius : 40
 hic subit et perfert. aut virtus nomen inane est,
 aut decus et pretium recte petit experiens vir.
 coram rege suo de paupertate tacentes
 plus poscente ferent ; distat sumasne pudenter
 an rapias. atqui rerum caput hoc erat, hic fons. 45
 'indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater,
 et fundus nec vendibilis nec pascere firmus'
 qui dicit, clamat 'victum date.' succinit alter
 'et mihi !' dividuo findetur munere quadra.
 sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet 50
 plus dapis et rixae multo minus invidiaeque.
 Brundisium comes aut Surrentum ductus amoenum,
 qui queritur salebras et acerbum frigus et imbris,
 aut cistam effractam et subducta viatica plorat,
 nota refert meretricis acumina, saepe catellam, 55
 saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis, uti mox
 nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adsit.
 nec semel irrisus triviis attollere curat
 fracto crure planum, licet illi plurima manet
 lacrima, per sanctum iuratus dicat Osirim 60

30 angui *ῥαλφῦνε* Priscianus Benth. : angue *ΑαΛγΕg*
codd. fere omnes : sua cum recentiorum nonnullis Benth. 43 suo

Q. HORATI FLACCI

'credite, non ludo; crudeles, tollite claudum.'
'quaere peregrinum' vicina rauca reclamat.

XVIII

Si bene te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli,
scurrantis speciem praebere, professus amicum.
ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque
discolor, infido scurrae distabit amicus.
est huic diversum vitio vitium prope maius, 5
asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque,
quae se commendat tonsa cute, dentibus atris,
dum vult libertas dici mera veraque virtus.
virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum.
alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus et imi 10
derisor lecti sic nutum divitis horret,
sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit,
ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro
reddere vel partis mimum tractare secundas.
alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina, 15
propugnat nugis armatus: 'scilicet ut non
sit mihi prima fides, et vere quod placet ut non
acriter elatrem! pretium aetas altera sordet.'
ambigitur quid enim? Castor sciat an Dolichos plus;
Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi. 20
quem damnosa Venus, quem praeceps alea nudat,
gloria quem supra viris et vestit et unguet,
quem tenet argenti sitis importuna famesque,
quem paupertatis pudor et fuga, dives amicus,
saepe decem vitiis instructor, odit et horret, 25
aut si non odit, regit ac veluti pia mater
plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem

XVIII 15 rixatus *V*: rixator *coni. Muretus* 19 Dolichos *Cruquius*
e codd. suis quorum tres Dolichos, tres Dolicis habebant: Docilis codd.
plerique

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. XVIII

et ait prope vera: 'meae (contendere noli)
iam patiuntur opes; tibi parvula res est:
debet sanum comitem toga; desine mecum 30
re.' Eutrapelus cuicumque nocere volebat
nenta dabat pretiosa: 'beatus enim iam
pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes,
iet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum
um, nummos alienos pascet, ad imum 35
ex erit aut holitoris aget mercede caballum.'
um neque tu scrutaberis illius umquam,
nissumque teges et vino tortus et ira;
tua laudabis studia aut aliena reprendes,
cum venari volet ille, poemata panges. 40
sic fratrum geminorum Amphionis atque
dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
cuit lyra. fraternis cessisse putatur
bus Amphion: tu cede potentis amici
us imperiis, quotiensque educet in agros 45
lis onerata plagis iumenta canesque,
et inhumanae senium depone Camenae,
ut pariter pulmenta laboribus empta;
anis sollemne viris opus, utile famae
que et membris, praesertim cum valeas et 50
ursu superare canem vel viribus aprum
s. adde virilia quod speciosius arma
est qui tractet: scis quo clamore coronae
ia sustineas campestria; denique saevam
iam puer et Cantabrica bella tulisti 55
duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit
, et si quid abest Italis adiudicat armis.
e te retrahas et irexcusabilis absis,
vis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque

illius cum *codd. recentiorum nonnullis Bentl.*: ullius *codd.*
48

Q. HORATI FLACCI

curas, interdum nugaris rure paterno ; 60
 partitur lintris exercitus, Actia pugna
 te duce per pueros hostili more refertur,
 adversarius est frater, lacus Hadria, donec
 alterutrum velox Victoria fronde coronet.
 consentire suis studiis qui crediderit te, 65
 fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.
 protinus ut moneam, si quid monitoris eges tu,
 quid, de quoque viro, et cui dicas saepe videto.
 percontatorem fugito, nam garrulus idem est,
 nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures, 70
 et semel emissum volat irrevocabile verbum.
 non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerve
 intra marmoreum venerandi limen amici,
 ne dominus pueri pulchri caraeve puellae
 munere te parvo beet aut incommodus angat. 75
 qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspice, ne mox
 incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.
 fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus : ergo
 quem sua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri,
 ut penitus notum, si temptent crimina, serves 80
 tuterisque tuo fidentem praesidio : qui
 dente Theonino cum circumroditur, ecquid
 ad te post paulo ventura pericula sentis ?
 nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,
 et neglecta solent incendia sumere viris. 85
 dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici :
 expertus metuit. tu, dum tua navis in alto est,
 hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura.
 oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque iocosi,
 sedatum celeres, agilem navumque remissi ; 90
 potores bibuli media de nocte Falerni

87 metuit *Ααβοργ* : metuet *cett.* 91 *om. plerique codd. : e bonis*
in uno (σ) prima manu scriptus legitur, secunda manu in φψ. Tar-
quam suspectum notant Benl. al. bibuli... oderunt del. Haupt al-

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. XVIII

oderunt porrecta negantem pocula, quamvis
 nocturnos iures te formidare tepores.
 deme supercilio nubem : plerumque modestus
 occupat obscuri speciem, taciturnus acerbi. 95
 inter cuncta leges et percontabere doctos,
 qua ratione queas traducere leniter aevum ;
 num te semper inops agitet vexetque cupido,
 num pavor et rerum mediocriter utilium spes ;
 virtutem doctrina paret, naturane donet ; 100
 quid minuatur curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum ;
 quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
 an secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.
 me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
 quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus, 105
 quid sentire putas ? quid credis, amice, precari ?
 sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, et mihi vivam
 quod superest aevi, si quid superesse volunt di ;
 sit bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum
 copia, neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae. 110
 sed satis est orare Iovem qui ponit et aufert,
 det vitam, det opes : aequum mi animum ipse parabo.

XIX

PRISCO si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,
 nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt
 quae scribuntur aquae potoribus. ut male sanos
 adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas,
 vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae. 5
 laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus ;
 Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma
 prosiluit dicenda. ' forum putealque Libonis

93 tepores] vapores ε 107 et mihi *VRλιδφψπR*⁹ : ut mihi
AaLγEg 111 qui *νLeσR⁹γEg* : quae *AaRλιδψπ* ponit *Vλιδψ* :
 donat *att.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis':
 hoc simul edixi, non cessavere poetae 10
 nocturno certare mero, putere diurno.
 quid si quis vultu torvo ferus et pede nudo
 exiguaeque tógae simulet textore Catonem,
 virtutemne repraesentet moresque Catonis?
 rupit Iarbitam Timagenis aemula lingua, 15
 dum studet urbanus tenditque disertus haberi.
 decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile; quodsi
 pallerem casu, biberent exsangue cuminum.
 o imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe
 bilem, saepe iocum vestri movere tumultus! 20
 libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps;
 non aliena meo pressi pede. qui sibi fidet
 dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos
 ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
 Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben. 25
 ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes
 quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
 temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,
 temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,
 nec socerum quaerit quem versibus oblinat atris, 30
 nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
 hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
 vulgavi fidicen. iuvat immemorata ferentem
 ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri,
 scire velis mea cur ingratus opuscula lector 35
 laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus:
 non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor
 impensis cenarum et tritae munere vestis;
 non ego, nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor,
 grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor: 40
 hinc illae lacrimae. 'spissis indigna theatris

EPISTVLARVM LIB. I. XIX

scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus'
 si dixi, 'rides' ait 'et Iovis auribus ista
 servas: fidis enim manare poetica mella
 te solum, tibi pulcher.' ad haec ego naribus uti 45
 formido et, luctantis acuto ne secer ungui,
 'displicet iste locus' clamo et diludia posco.
 ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,
 ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.

XX

VERTVMNVN Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,
 scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus
 odisti clavis et grata sigilla pudico;
 paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
 non ita nutritus. fuge quo descendere gestis. 5
 non erit emissio reditus tibi. 'quid miser egi?
 quid volui?' dices, ubi quid te laeserit, et scis
 in breve te cogi cum plenus languet amator.
 quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,
 carus eris Romae donec te deserat aetas; 10
 contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi
 coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertis,
 aut fugies Vticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.
 ridebit monitor non exauditus, ut ille
 qui male parentem in rupes protrusit asellum 15
 iratus: quis enim invitum servare laboret?
 hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
 occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
 cum tibi sol tepidus pluris admoverit auris,
 me libertino natum patre et in tenui re 20
 maiores pennas nido extendisse loqueris,
 ut quantum generi demas virtutibus addas;
 me primis Urbis belli placuisse domique;

47 iste *aLγE*: ille *cett.*

EPISTVLARYM LIBER I

corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem. 2
forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum,
me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembris
collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno.

XX 28 duxit *codd. plerique Porph.* : dixit *comi. Doering Keller*

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERARY EPISTLES

THERE remain three Epistles (ad Augustum, ad Florum, ad Pisones) which are often classed together as the three Epistles of the Second Book ; an arrangement which derives a *prima facie* appropriateness from their general likeness in topics and scale. The title, however, as applied to the three has no ancient authority. The MSS. and Scholia agree in placing the first two together in their present order and calling them the Second Book. The third Epistle is referred to by Quintilian twice, once as Horace's 'Ars Poetica', once as the 'liber de arte poetica', and the former title is given to it by Terentius Scaurus (in Hadrian's reign) as quoted by Charisius. Charisius himself cites a passage from it as from 'the Epistles.' In the MSS. and Scholia it is a waif and stray, placed generally after the Fourth Book of the Odes, less frequently after the Carmen Saeculare, once after the Epodes.

Its present position is due to the editors of the middle of the sixteenth century. Cruquius (1578) is the first who calls it the third Epistle of Book 2.

It will be convenient, however, without committing ourselves beforehand to any theory of their relation, to put together what has to be said on the difficult question of the date and circumstances of the three Epistles.

The first two give perhaps some indication of having been placed together by Horace as companion poems and in their present order, in the fact that while one is addressed to Augustus, the other, although it is addressed to Florus, carries in its first line a compliment to Tiberius. This reminds us of the careful distribution of honour between the Emperor and his step-sons in Book 4 of the Odes ; and the argument is strengthened if, as seems probable, the Epistle

¹ Ep. ad Tryph. 2.

² Inst. 8. 3. 60.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO

to Florus is the earlier of the two in date of composition. It is quite in accordance with the analogy of that Book that room should be found also for a poem dedicated to private friendship and literary interests, and in which the Emperor has no part. This, however, although meeting some objections which have been taken to the later dating of the *Ars Poetica*, has clearly no weight in positively determining the question.

1. *Epistula ad Augustum*.

The account given us in the Suetonian life of Horace of the origin of this Epistle fixes no date, but by its association of the Epistle with the political Odes of Book 4, as well as by its assumption of Horace's intimacy with the Emperor, it connects it with the later years of his life. The references to public events in the opening lines, and in vv 254-256, are general and belong to no special year. They relate to Augustus' large and undivided responsibility, to his military achievements, his social legislation, to the closing of the temple of Janus, and to the awe which he has inspired in the Parthians¹. If a date is to be found in any particular political allusion it would seem to be in v. 16 'iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras.' Ritter fixed on the erection of an altar at Lyons in B.C. 12 (Suet. Claud. 2). The practice, however, was common in the provinces (Suet. Oct. 59, Dion 51. 20). Mommsen (*Hermes*, xv. p. 103 f.), who has examined with care the date of this Epistle, but pronounces with modesty upon it, prefers to interpret the verse of the association of the 'genius' of the Emperor with Jupiter and the Dii Penates in the state oath. How early this can be put is uncertain. The admission of the *genius Augusti* among the Lares by a formal act belongs, he says, to B.C. 7 (the year after Horace's death), but Horace speaks of it as popularly recognized in Od. 4. 5. 34. Mommsen thinks traces of this quasi-worship can be found as early as B.C. 12, and feels no difficulty in supposing that Horace is here speaking of it in B.C. 13.

¹ The Temple of Janus was closed in B.C. 29 and 25, as well as at a later uncertain date. It is referred to in Od. 4. 15. 9. Octavianus is in Sat. 2. 6. 62 'iuvenis Parthis horrendus,' but the stronger terms of this Epistle, v. 256, belong no doubt to the time after the restoration of the standards in B.C. 20.

THE LITERARY EPISTLES

More assured ground, but not an exact date, may be found in the relations of the Epistle to Horace's other writings. V. 111 seems to refer definitely to such expressions as those in Epp. 1. 1. 10, 2. 2. 141-144, and to imply that his abstention from lyric composition, which is treated both by himself¹ and by his biographer² as having lasted some time, had now come to an end. This would, without going further, limit us to a date not earlier than B.C. 17, when he wrote the *Carm. Saec.* There is a further coincidence which can hardly be accidental between the topics of the *Carm. Saec.* and those which he claims in vv. 132-137 for the Muse of Choral poetry³. Cp. also the relation of vv. 248-250 to *Od.* 4. 8. 13-19. There are again noticeable correspondences of topic and of expression between vv. 252-256 and the political Odes of Book 4. In v. 252 ('*arces Montibus impositas*') we seem to have an actual echo of the words '*arces Alpibus impositas*' of *Od.* 4. 14. 4, which occur in the description of Tiberius' campaign in the Alps in B.C. 15. The general resemblance of the topics suggested in the verse '*Terrarumque situs, et flumina dicere*,' &c. to the geographical passages in *Od.* 4. 4, 5, 14, 15, and the correspondence between the subjects of panegyric in vv. 254-256 and those in *Od.* 4. 15. 6-9, if they are sufficient to build upon, seem to bring the Epistle down to 13, since the 5th and 15th Odes are connected with Augustus' return in that year from Gaul to Rome after three years' absence. Mommsen sees a reason in this last fact for thinking (as his argument on v. 16 had indicated) that the Epistle was composed in the last months of 13. He argues that if the Emperor had still been absent there would have been some expression like the '*abes iam nimium diu*' of *Od.* 4. 5. 2. The necessities of the epistolary form are satisfied if the Emperor were at Baiae or at Rome while Horace was elsewhere. Vahlen would place it in 14, while Augustus was still in Gaul. In any case it seems that it should have been sent before Book 4 of the Odes was given to the world. The disclaimer of power to celebrate Augustus' exploits in proper poetry (vv. 257-259), though natural to Horace if it occurred within the Odes as an apology for what he is giving (as in *Od.* 1. 6, 2. 12), or in an Epistle sent before the Odes, becomes less suitable if the Odes are already public.

¹ *Od.* 4. 1. 1 '*intermissa diu*.'

² '*ex longo intervallo*.'

³ Cp. especially v. 134 '*praesentia numina sentit*' with C. S. 61-end.

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2. *Epistula ad Florum.*

This Epistle has only one link with the political history of the time. Florus is apparently (v. 1) still, as in Epp. 1. 3, absent from Rome and in the suite of Tiberius. Tiberius was in the provinces on several occasions to our knowledge¹, possibly on some that we do not know of, between the year 20 and Horace's death. This fact therefore by itself does not give us any fixed date.

We can bring the matter a little nearer by considerations from the relation of the Epistle to Horace's literary life. It speaks, not incidentally, but as its text and starting-point, of his resolution to write no more lyric verse. He has held out, as it seems, hopes to Florus (or to some one behind Florus) that he may depart from that purpose, but he is not prepared to do so². With a mixture of irony, but still with evident earnestness, he protests that he has finally abandoned poetry and taken to what was his first and true love, philosophy. The difference in tone in this respect from the Epistle to Augustus is strongly marked. In that he speaks of himself as belying his professions and beginning again to write verses. Here he is repeating those professions in their strongest form. At what time could he have so repeated them? Not, certainly, when the Emperor's wish had overborne his resolution, and he had actually begun to compose the Fourth Book of the Odes.

Could he have done so any more at a later date, when that Book had been given to the world? We cannot say that it is impossible, but it is surely improbable. It is not the simple statement of a fact, as 'nil scribens ipse' in A. P. 306. He professes to be giving the reasons why he has given up writing Odes, and the chief reason is the same which he gave in Epp. 1. 1, in lines which must have been in the memory of his readers. If the Epistle is a serious apology for not doing what was expected of him, the ground of his apology has been already cut from under his feet. He throws the reason of his refusal into the form of an autobiographical sketch of the place which poetry had occupied in his life. How incomplete and futile this would have been, if, written in his last years, it had taken no account of the fact that, after urging the same excuses, with no pressing motive such as he describes for writing, he had

¹ Suet. Tib. 9.

² v. 25 'expectata,' 'mendax.'

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broken his long silence with the Odes of Book 4! We may add that the edge of the compliment to Augustus and his step-sons, which those Odes convey, would have been turned by this fresh assertion that poetry was a weakness to which his poverty, not his will, condescended. The Epistle then may, with some confidence, be placed in the two or three years between the publication of Epp. 1 and the composition of the Carmen Saeculare, i. e. between B. C. 20 and 17.

Some difficulty remains in fixing a moment during this period when the condition of Tiberius' absence from Rome is satisfied. Mommsen (l. c.) finds it in B. C. 19 before his return from his progress in the East, which it is assumed took place when Augustus returned in that year. There is, no doubt, some awkwardness in bringing it so near to the date of Epp. 1. 3, which belongs to the same expedition, and which seems hardly consistent with what Horace says, at the beginning of the present Epistle, of his having warned Florus before starting that he was no correspondent. There is hardly time to suppose Florus to have returned to Rome and started again. At the same time Mommsen seems to show that Vahlen's supposition that Tiberius was in Gallia Comata in B. C. 18 is unfounded, and that he was not there till 16, which is too late for the other condition of this Epistle. In this uncertainty we must leave the question.

3. *Epistula ad Pisones.*

The general difficulty of the *Ars Poetica*, though it has become proverbial¹, has been exaggerated, being due in some measure at least to pre-conceived opinions with which the poem obstinately refused to be squared: but there is one element of uncertainty about it on which discussion does not seem to bring us nearer to an agreement. It is the only one of Horace's poems in respect of which a serious doubt can be said to exist as to the period of his life to which it is to be assigned; one school of critics placing it in the period of the First Book of the Epistles, i. e. between B. C. 24

¹ Dillenburger quotes Goethe as saying that no two people would think alike of it, and no single person for ten years together.

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and 20, another making it the work of his last years, i. e. between B. C. 12 and 8¹.

In the early centuries the question does not seem to have been raised. No stress can be laid on the place given to the poem in the MSS. (see above, p. 27). The Odes always stand before the Epodes; the Epistles in many MSS. before the Satires. These inversions of the chronological order are traced with great probability to the large use of Horace's writings (a use which dates as early as Juvenal, see Sat. 7. 227) for the purpose of school teaching. The Odes and the *Ars Poetica* are, for different reasons, the compositions which would be thought most serviceable. The only substantial contribution to the question of date made by the Scholiasts is in Porphyry's statement (of which there is no sign that he perceived the chronological import) that the 'Piso, pater' of the poem is 'L. Piso custos, id est, praefectus urbis, nam et ipse Piso poeta fuit et studiorum liberalium antistes.' This is the man who was consul in B. C. 15, and whose death Tacitus records in Ann. 6. 10. He died in A. D. 31² at the age of 80. He was born therefore in the year B. C. 49. ³This will allow of his having had two sons growing up to manhood ('iuvenes') and capable of literary ambitions within the limits of Horace's life, but it would drive us to the last years of it, B. C. 10-8. Those, therefore, who argue for an earlier date have to give up this Piso, and fall back generally on the suggestion of Cn. Piso, who was consul in B. C. 23. He had been an adherent of Brutus, which gives him a link to Horace. He had a son also named Gnaeus, who was consul in B. C. 7, and who would be the 'maior iuvenum' of this poem.

When the *Ars Poetica* was transferred by H. Stephanus and Lambinus to its present place at the end of Horace's works it seems to have been taken for granted that this was its true chronological position. Bentley so places it with very slight discussion. Franke, on the other hand, leans to the earlier date, and this is the one which has been in most favour with recent critics. The argu-

¹ The mention of Quintilius (v. 438), in terms which seem to imply that he was dead, limits it to the period after B. C. 24, in which year, according to the Eusebian Chronicon, he died (see on Od. 1. 24). The 'nil scribens ipse' of v. 306 seems to exclude the years (17-13), when lyrical composition had been resumed.

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ments for it were very fully stated by A. Michaelis¹ and more recently by the late Prof. Nettleship². Porphyry's identification of Piso evidently does not settle the question, the Scholiasts being frequently wrong in such cases. We are thrown back on internal evidence. This is of three kinds.

1. *References to persons.* None of these is conclusive either way. The strongest case for the earlier date is the mention of Maecius (v. 389) as the critic to whom, in addition to Horace and his own father, the young Piso is to submit his future poem. If this is the same person that is named in Cic. ad Fam. 7. 1, as having had the approval of the plays which should be acted in Pompey's theatre in B.C. 54 (see on Sat. 1. 10. 38), he would have been an old man in B.C. 10-8. But it is clear that there are some loopholes. We cannot be sure that there was not a second Maecius. We need not assume, with some writers on the point, that Cicero's Maecius was a man already in middle life; the point of the complaint may be that Pompey had trusted such a delicate duty to the immature judgment of a clever young friend. Or (most likely of all) Bentley may have been right in his suggestion that Horace means only 'a Maecius,' i.e. a critic like Maecius, as he calls a physician 'Craterus'³ because Craterus was the physician of Cicero's letters.

2. *The management of the Hexameter.* This question has been examined very fully by Waltz⁴, and in some special points by A. Michaelis. That there is a striking change between the Hexameter of Horace's earlier and later poems is obvious. It has begun within the Satires, but the great divergence is when we pass from the Satires to the Epistles of Book 1. This is just where the seven years' training of his ear in lyrical composition might be expected to tell and where the influence of Virgil would be likely to have modified that of Lucretius and Lucilius. On the one side there is a marked diminution in some Lucretian liberties and roughnesses, such as the monosyllabic endings ('ridiculus mus'), the quadrisyllabic endings ('libertino patre natum'), broken rhythms at the

¹ 'Commentationes in honorem Theodori Mommseni,' Berlin, 1887, pp. 420 f.

² *Essays in Latin Literature*, pp. 168 f.

³ Sat. 2. 3. 161.

⁴ 'Des variations de la langue et de la métrique d'Horace,' Paris, 1881.

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beginning ('denique quatenus,' 'ille repotia'), the elision of monosyllables. On the other, we can perhaps trace a compensating development of the more Virgilian rhythms which attain variety in a different and more harmonious manner. When these changes are expressed in a tabular form the *Ars Poetica* is judged to stand more nearly with the Epistles of Book 2 than with those of Book 1; but any arguments based on this must be handled very cautiously. The comparison between Book 1 and Book 2 is itself delusive; for there are probably six years between the two Epistles of Book 2, and the Epistle to Florus is near in date to the Epistles of Book 1. Michaelis also points out with what small figures we are dealing in any such comparison of licences as between the Epistles. Between the Satires and Epistles the change is great; between one Epistle or set of Epistles and another it is small. Again accident plays a part in such variations; and in all Horace's poems rhythms change perceptibly, even from passage to passage, with the tone and subject, as the carelessness of conversation gives place to continuous narrative, or graver argument¹.

3. *The relation of the poem to Horace's other writings.* It must be remembered that it is not a composition *sui generis*, which might find its place in any part of the literary life of a versatile writer. It is an Epistle amongst the Epistles. Its topics, the length and fulness of their treatment, the approach however distant, to the proportions and order of a treatise, raise the presumption that it belongs to the Epistles of the later rather than the earlier period. Is there any positive argument to overbear this presumption? Michaelis finds one in the passage (vv. 48-72) in which Horace claims for the Augustan poets and especially, in word at least, for 'Virgil and Varius' and for himself, at least as much freedom in enriching the language with new words as had been exercised by Caecilius and Plautus. He thinks the tone too real, strenuous, and militant, to suit a time when the battle must have been over, when the *Aeneid* had been ten years before the world and Virgil and Varius had become classics. He contrasts it especially in this respect with the lines in the Ep. to Florus (115-

¹ Compare the frequency of monosyllabic and quadrisyllabic endings in the 10th *Aeneid*, which is due probably to the conscious or unconscious influence of the Homeric descriptions which Virgil is directly imitating.

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121), where this function of the poet is spoken of (and probably with a tacit reference to Virgil) as one that all would recognize and allow. The difficulty cannot be ignored nor fully explained. It can hardly have been a vital question to Piso. Horace is no doubt dwelling on the point because it was on his own mind, and because he felt strongly upon it. But 'Virgil and Varius' are to him representatives of the classical school of Augustan poetry for which he is always ready to do battle. They are mentioned together in the same way in the Ep. to Augustus v. 247, though that was certainly written some years after their death, and that Epistle gives abundant proof that the publication of the Aeneid had not silenced the controversy or the voice of detraction.

A more serious difficulty, however, lies in the way of the earlier date in the close relation which exists between the topics and language of the *Ars Poetica* and those of that Epistle. The text of the two is the same: 'failure in poetry is due to an imperfect conception of the nature of poetry as an art.' The following points are among those common to the two Epistles: the comparison of the temperament which the Greeks and Romans severally brought to literature; the indication of the constitutional Roman vice of avarice as tainting literary men and spoiling their work; the comparison between the enforcement in other arts, and the neglect in poetry, of the distinction between professional and amateur work; the complaint of audiences, as inevitably lowering the standard of those who wrote for them; the vindication (in one case, as suits the place, playful, in the other more unmixedly serious) of the dignity and use of poetry; the disproportionate share given (however it be explained) to the drama; the special attack on Plautus; the use of Choerilus as the type of a poetaster. The more closely the passages in which these occur are compared, the more likely, I believe, it will be thought that the treatment of the topics in the *Ars Poetica* is the later, as it is the fuller. But if this judgment is distrusted we may still ask which is the most probable, that Horace should have gathered freely from earlier compositions materials for a letter intended primarily to guide a young literary friend, or that, when he is bending his energies to write a particularly happy and acceptable Epistle to the Emperor, he should take so many of its points from one which he had written ten years before to some comparatively nameless young friends.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERARY EPISTLES

I do not know whether it is fanciful to see some confirmation of the later date in the new attitude which seems to be assumed in the poem towards the moral principles and language of which we heard so much in earlier writings. *Sapere aude* is the text of Epp. 1. 2. *Sapere est abiectis utile nugis* (i.e. 'flinging away poetry as nothing but an idle amusement') is the conclusion of Epp. 2. 2. *Scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons* is the motto of the *Ars Poetica*. In accordance with this change of view the principles which have been maintained in the moral sphere are now shown to have their bearing in literary matters: the virtue of consistency, the falsehood of extremes, the necessity of effort and thoroughness, the danger of falling into one fault from dread of another, the duty of give and take, of weighing merits against faults before you condemn, the valuelessness of a bribed judgment, the folly of the false shame which prefers to acquiesce in mischiefs rather than confess and cure them. Moral phrases have got a new literary application: 'rectum,' 'virtus,' 'vitium,' 'error,' 'quod decet,' 'vir bonus et prudens.' It is as though Horace's two tastes and interests had run at last into one stream. Philosophy is no longer the rival of poetry, but has become her instructress. The study of the '*Socraticae chartae*' has ended in the Rhetoric and Poetic.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

EPISTVLARVM

LIBER SECVNDVS

I

CVM tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem,
si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.
Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux, 5
post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,
dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt,
ploravere suis non respondere favorem
speratum meritis. diram qui contudit hydram 10
notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.
urit enim fulgore suo, qui praegravat artis
infra se positas: exstinctus amabitur idem.
praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores, 15
iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras,
nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.
sed tuus hic populus, sapiens et iustus in uno

In Epistularum Libro II^{do} notantur lectiones codicum eorundem quorum in Libro I^{mo} excepto quod in toto libro deficit A, δ incipit a 2. 19, γ deest post 1. 247, D habet 2. 112-152, 193-216

I 16 numen VRE Bentl. : nomen cett. codd. Vid. ad Carm. iii. 21. 5

Q. HORATI FLACCI

te nostris ducibus, te Graiis antefereudo,
 cetera nequaquam simili ratione modoque 20
 aestimat et, nisi quae terris semota suisque
 temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit;
 sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantis
 quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, foedera regum
 vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis, 25
 pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatū
 dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.
 si, quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque
 scripta vel optima, Romani pensantur eadem
 scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur: 30
 nil intra est oleam, nil extra est in nuce duri;
 venimus ad summum fortunae; pingimus atque
 psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
 si meliora dies ut vina poemata reddit,
 scire velim, chartis pretium quotus arroget annus. 35
 scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
 perfectos veteresque referri debet, an inter
 vilis atque novos? excludat iurgia finis.
 'est vetus atque probus centum qui perficit annos.'
 quid, qui deperiit minor uno mense vel anno, 40
 inter quos referendus erit? veteresne poetas,
 an quos et praesens et postera respuat aetas?
 'iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste,
 qui vel mense brevi vel toto est iunior anno.'
 utor permisso, caudaeque pilos ut equinae 45
 paulatim vello et demo unum, demo et item unum,
 dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi
 qui redivit in fastos et virtutem aestimat annis,
 miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.

28 Graiorum *VR²Eg*: Graecorum *cell.* 31 oleam *vulg. Porph.*:
 olea *Benll.* 46 et item *λδφψ* (*cf. Lucr. iv. 543*): et idem *Rw*: etiam
αβσγEg (*cf. Pers. Sat. vi. 58*): etiam item *L*¹

EPISTVLARVM LIB. II. I

et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus, 50
 i dicunt, leviter curare videtur
 missa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.
 in manibus non est et mentibus haeret
 ecens? adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.
 ur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert 55
 s docti famam senis, Accius alti,
 Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,
 ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,
 Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.
 scit et hos arto stipata theatro 60
 Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poetas
 rum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.
 m vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.
 es ita miratur laudatque poetas
 anteferat, nihil illis cõmparet, errat: 65
 dam nimis antique, si pleraque dure
 credit eos, ignave multa fatetur,
 et mecum facit et Iove iudicat aequo.
 uidem insector delendave carmina Livi
 or, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo 70
 m dictare; sed emendata videri
 que et exactis minimum distantia miror;
 uae verbum emicuit si forte decorum, et
 as paulo concinnior unus et alter,
 totum ducit venditque poema. 75
 r quicquam reprehendi, non quia crasse
 situm illepideve putetur, sed quia nuper;
 niam antiquis, sed honorem et praemia posci.
 ecne crocum floresque perambulet Attae
 si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem 80
 paene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner

delendave *VβσγEg*: delendaque *cett.* 75 vendit] venit
 2

Q. HORATI FLACCI

quae gravis Aesopus, quae doctus Roscius egit :
 vel quia nil rectum nisi quod placuit sibi ducunt,
 vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, et quae
 imberbi didicere, senes perdenda fateri. 85
 iam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat et illud,
 quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri,
 ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,
 nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.
 quod si tam Graecis novitas invisae fuisset 90
 quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus? aut quid haberet
 quod legeret tereretque viritum publicus usus?
 ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis
 coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa,
 nunc athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum, 95
 marmoris aut eboris fabros aut aeris amavit,
 suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella,
 nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragoedis;
 sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
 quod cupide petiit mature plena reliquit. 100
 quid placet aut odio est quod non mutabile credas?
 hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi.
 Romae dulce diu fuit et sollemne reclusa
 mane domo vigilare, clienti promere iura,
 cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos, 105
 maiores audire, minori dicere per quae
 crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.
 mutavit mentem populus levis et calet uno
 scribendi studio; pueri patresque severi
 fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant. 110
 ipse ego, qui nullos me adfirmo scribere versus
 invenior Parthis mendacior, et prius orto
 sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.

85 imberbi *Bentl.* : imberbes *codd.*, *verum vid. ad A. P. 161*
 101 *Hunc versum post v. 107 posuit Lachmann*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. II. I

navem agere ignarus navis timet; habrotonum aegro
 non audet nisi qui didicit dare; quod medicorum est 115
 promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri:
 scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.
 hic error tamen et levis haec insania quantas
 virtutes habeat sic collige; vatis avarus
 non temere est animus; versus amat, hoc studet unum; 120
 detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet;
 non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam
 pupillo; vivit siliquis et pane secundo;
 militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi,
 si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna iuari. 125
 os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat,
 torquet ab obscenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem,
 mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis,
 asperitatis et invidiae corrector et irae;
 recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis 130
 instruit exemplis, inopem solatur et aegrum.
 castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
 disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?
 poscit opem chorus et praesentia numina sentit,
 caelestis implorat aquas docta prece blandus, 135
 avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit,
 impetrat et pacem et locupletem frugibus annum.
 carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes.
 agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati,
 condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo 140
 corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
 cum sociis operum pueris et coniuge fida,
 Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
 floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.
 Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem 145

115, 116 melicorum, melici *coni. Bentl.*
λλφφΕ

141 pueris] et pueris

HORATI EPIST.

K

Q. HORATI FLACCI

versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,
 libertasque recurrentis accepta per annos
 lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
 in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas
 ire domos impune minax. doluere cruento 150
 dente lacessiti; fuit intactis quoque cura
 condicione super communi; quin etiam lex
 poenaeque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam
 describi: vertere modum formidine fustis
 ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti. 155
 Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis
 intulit agresti Latio. sic horridus ille
 defluxit numerus Saturnius, et grave virus
 munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum
 manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris. 160
 serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis,
 et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit,
 quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.
 temptavit quoque rem, si digne vertere posset,
 et placuit sibi, natura sublimis et acer; 165
 nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet,
 sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.
 creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
 sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto
 plus oneris, quanto veniae minus. aspice, Plautus 170
 quo pacto partis tutetur amantis ephebi,
 ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi,
 quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,
 quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco;
 gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc 175
 securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.
 quem tulit ad scaenam veritose Gloria curru,
 exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat:

167 inscite *codd. plerique Porph.* : inscriptis *VLEg*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. II. I

sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
 subruit aut reficit. valeat res ludicra si me 180
 palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.
 saepe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam,
 quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,
 indocti stolidique, et depugnare parati
 si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt 185
 aut ursum aut pugilis; his nam plebecula gaudet.
 verum equitis quoque iam migravit ab aure voluptas
 omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.
 quattuor aut pluris aulaea premuntur in horas,
 dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae; 190
 mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis,
 esseda festinant, pillenta, petorrita, naves,
 captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.
 si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu
 diversum confusa genus panthera camelo 195
 sive elephas albus vulgi converteret ora;
 spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis,
 ut sibi praeberentem nimio spectacula plura;
 scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
 fabellam surdo. nam quae pervincere voces 200
 evaluere sonum referunt quem nostra theatra?
 Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum,
 tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes,
 divitiaeque peregrinae, quibus oblitus actor
 cum stetit in scaena, concurrat dextera laevae. 205
 dixit adhuc aliquid? nil sane. quid placet ergo?
 lana cretentino violas imitata veneno.
 ac n^o forte putes me, quae facere ipse recusem,
 cum e veie tractent alii, laudare maligne,
 ille idus extantum funem mihi posse videtur 210
 eritque

I
 min

t aLyEg: plaudet Rldphi
 R^oγ Porph.

198 nimio VaRγEg:

Q. HORATI FLACCI

ire poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
irritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus implet,
ut magus, et modo me Thebis, modo ponit Athenis.
verum age et his, qui se lectori credere malunt
quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi, 215
curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum
vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar,
ut studio maiore petant Helicon virentem.
multa quidem nobis facimus mala saepe poetae
(ut vineta egomet caedam mea), cum tibi librum 220
sollicito damus aut fesso; cum laedimur, unum
si quis amicorum est ausus reprehendere versum;
cum loca iam recitata revolvimus irrevocati;
cum lamentamur non apparere labores
nostros et tenui deducta poemata filo; 225
cum speramus eo rem venturam ut, simul atque
carmina rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultro
arcessas et egere vetes et scribere cogas.
sed tamen est operae pretium cognoscere, qualis
aedituos habeat belli spectata domique 230
virtus, indigno non committenda poetae.
gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis
rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt 235
atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo
splendida facta linunt. idem rex ille poema
qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,
edicto vetuit ne quis se praeter Apellen
pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret aera 240
fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia. quodsi
iudicium subtile videndis artibus illud
ad libros et ad haec Musarum dona vocares,
Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum.

EPISTVLARVM LIB. II. I

at neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque 245
 munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt,
 dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae;
 nec magis expressi vultus per aenea signa,
 quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum
 clarorum apparent. nec sermones ego mallem 250
 repentis per humum quam res componere gestas,
 terrarumque situs et flumina dicere, et arces
 montibus impositas et barbara regna, tuisque
 auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,
 claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum, 255
 et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam,
 si quantum cuperem possem quoque; sed neque parvum
 carmen maiestas recipit tua, nec meus audet
 rem temptare pudor quam vires ferre recusent.
 sedulitas autem stulte quem diligit urget, 260
 praecipue cum se numeris commendat et arte:
 discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
 quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.
 nil moror officium quod me gravat, ac neque ficto
 in peius vultu proponi cereus usquam, 265
 nec prave factis decorari versibus opto,
 ne rubeam pingui donatus munere, et una
 cum scriptore meo, capsula porrectus operta,
 deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores
 et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis. 270

II

FLORE, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,
 si quis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum
 Tibure vel Gabiis, et tecum sic agat: 'hic et
 candidus et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos
 fiet eritque tuus nummorum milibus octo, 5

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verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus erilis,
 litterulis Graecis imbutus, idoneus arti
 cuilibet; argilla quidvis imitaberis uda;
 quin etiam canet indoctum sed dulce bibenti:
 multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius aequo 10
 laudat venalis qui vult extrudere merces:
 res urget me nulla; meo sum pauper in aere:
 nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi; non temere a me
 quivis ferret idem. semel hic cessavit et, ut fit,
 in scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae. 15
 des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga laedit':
 ille ferat pretium poenae securus, opinor.
 prudens emisti vitiosum; dicta tibi est lex:
 insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua?
 dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi 20
 talibus officiis prope mancum, ne mea saevus
 iurgares ad te quod epistula nulla rediret.
 quid tum profeci, mecum facientia iura
 si tamen attemptas? quereris super hoc etiam, quod
 expectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax. 25
 Luculli miles collecta viatica multis
 aerumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
 perdiderat: post hoc vehemens lupus, et sibi et hosti
 iratus pariter, ieiunis dentibus acer,
 praesidium regale loco deiecit, ut aiunt, 30
 summe munito et multarum divite rerum.
 clarus ob id factum donis ornatur honestis,
 accipit et bis dena super sestertia nummum.
 forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere praetor
 nescio quod cupiens hortari coepit eundem 35
 verbis quae timido quoque possent addere mentem:

8 imitaberis $\alpha\lambda\beta'\sigma\epsilon g$: imitabitur $\lambda\lambda d$: imitabimur $R\phi\psi\pi$. 'Qui-
 dam imitabitur legunt quod est a puero alienum: melius ergo imitaberis
 legimus' Acr. 11 excludere $R\lambda\lambda d\phi\psi\pi\epsilon$ 16 laedit V Bentl.:
 laedat *plerique* 3a honestis] opimis Vg

EPISTYLARVM LIB. II. II

'i, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto,
 grandia laturus meritorum praemia. quid stas?'
 post haec ille catus, quantumvis rusticus, 'ibit,
 ibit eo quo vis qui zonam perdidit' inquit. 40
 Romae nutriri mihi contigit, atque doceri
 iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
 adiecere bonae paulo plus artis Athenae,
 scilicet ut vellem curvo dinoscere rectum,
 atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum. 45
 dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,
 civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma
 Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
 unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
 decisis humilem pennis inopemque paterni 50
 et laris et fundi, paupertas impulit audax
 ut versus facerem: sed quod non desit habentem
 quae poterunt umquam satis expurgare cicutae,
 ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?
 singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes; 55
 eripuerunt iocos, Venerem, convivia, ludum;
 tendunt extorquere poemata; quid faciam vis?
 denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque:
 carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur iambis,
 ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro. 60
 tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur,
 poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
 quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu, quod iubet alter;
 quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.
 praeter cetera me Romaene poemata censes 65
 scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores?
 hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta relictis
 omnibus officiis; cubat hic in colle Quirini,
 hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque;

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intervalla vides humane commoda. verum 70
 purae sunt plateae, nihil ut meditantibus obstat.
 festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
 torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum,
 tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustis,
 hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus : 75
 i nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros.
 scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem,
 rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra :
 tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
 vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatū? 80
 ingenium sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas,
 et studiis annos septem dedit insenuitque
 libris et curis, statua taciturnius exit
 plerūque et risu populum quatit; hic ego rerum
 fluctibus in mediis et tempestatibus urbis 85
 verba lyrae motura sonum conectere digner?
 frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut alter
 alterius sermone meros audiret honores,
 Gracchus ut hic illi, foret huic ut Mucius ille.
 qui minus argutos vexat furor iste poetas? 90
 carmina compono, hic elegos. 'mirabile visu
 caelatumque novem Musis opus!' aspice primum,
 quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum-
 spectemus vacuum Romanis vatibus aedem!
 mox etiam, si forte vacas, sequere et procul audi, 95
 quid ferat et quare sibi nectat uterque coronam.
 caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem
 lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
 discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis?
 quis nisi Callimachus? si plus adposcere visus, 100

71 purae aL80E Porph. : plures codd. plerique 80 'contacta
 legitur et contracta' Porph. : cantata V 83 curis] Curii aL80 'nam
 Curius taciturnissimus fuit' Porph. 87 frater] fautor Schütz 89
 huic . . . ille ex Britannici con. recepit Bentl. : hic . . . illi codd.

EPISTVLARVM LIB. II. II

fit Mimnermus et optivo cognomine crescit.
 multa fero, ut placem genus irritabile vatum,
 cum scribo et supplex populi suffragia capto ;
 idem, finitis studiis et mente recepta,
 obturem patulas impune legentibus auris. 105
 ridentur mala qui componunt carmina ; verum
 gaudent scribentes et se venerantur et ultro,
 si taceas, laudant quidquid scripsere beati.
 at qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema,
 cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti ; 110
 audebit, quaecumque parum splendoris habebunt
 et sine pondere erunt et honore indigna ferentur,
 verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant
 et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestae :
 obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque 115
 proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
 quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis
 nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas ;
 adsciscet nova, quae genitor produxerit usus :
 vehemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni 120
 fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite lingua ;
 luxuriantia compescet, nimis aspera sano
 levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet,
 ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui
 nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur. 125
 praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
 dum mea delectent mala me vel denique fallant,
 quam sapere et ringi. fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
 qui se credebat miros audire tragoedos,
 in vacuo laetus sessor plausorque theatro ; 130
 cetera qui vitae servaret munia recto
 more, bonus sane vicinus, amabilis hospes,

112 ferentur *RA* $\lambda\phi\psi\pi R^6$: feruntur *adv* *DLE* 114 intra *ex con.*
 9 editores plerique : inter *codd.* omnes nisi quod *R* in habet

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comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis
 et signo laeso non insanire lagoenae,
 posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patentem. 135
 hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque refectus
 expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco,
 et redit ad sese, 'pol me occidistis, amici,
 non servastis' ait, 'cui sic extorta voluptas
 et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.' 140
 nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis,
 et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum,
 ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
 sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.
 quocirca mecum loquor haec tacitusque recorder : 145
 si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphae,
 narrares medicis : quod quanto plura parasti
 tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audeſ ?
 si vulnus tibi monstrata radice vel herba
 non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herba 150
 proficiente nihil curarier. audieras, cui
 rem di donarent, illi decedere pravam
 stultitiam ; et cum sis nihilo sapientior ex quo
 plenior es, tamen uteris monitoribus isdem ?
 at si divitiae prudentem reddere possent, 155
 si cupidum timidumque minus te, nempe ruberes,
 viveret in terris te si quis avarior uno.
 si proprium est quod quis libra mercatus et aere est,
 quaedam, si credis consultis, mancipat usus ;
 qui te pascit ager tuus est, et vilicus Orbi, 160
 cum segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas,
 te dominum sentit. das nummos, accipis uvam,
 pullos, ova, cadum temeti : nempe modo isto
 paulatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis

158 mercatus et aere est *aE Porph.* : mercatus et aere *Rw* : mer-
 catur et aere *actt.* 161 daturus *aREg*

EPISTVLARVM LIB. II. II

aut etiam supra nummorum milibus emptum. 165
 quid refert, vivas numerato nuper an olim?
 emptor Aricini quondam Veientis et arvi
 emptum cenat holus, quamvis aliter putat; emptis
 sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat aenum:
 sed vocat usque suum, qua populus adsita certis 170
 limitibus vicina refugit iurgia; tamquam
 sit proprium quicquam, puncto quod mobilis horae
 nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte suprema
 permutet dominos et cedat in altera iura.
 sic quia perpetuus nulli datur usus, et heres 175
 heredem alterius velut unda supervenit undam,
 quid vici prosunt aut horrea? quidve Calabris
 saltibus adiecti Lucani, si metit Orcus
 grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?
 gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas, 180
 argentum, vestis Gaetulo murice tinctas,
 sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.
 cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungui
 praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus, alter
 dives et importunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu 185
 silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum,
 scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
 naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
 quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus et ater.
 utar et ex modico quantum res poscet acervo 190
 tollam, nec metuam quid de me iudicet heres,
 quod non plura datis invenerit: et tamen idem
 scire volam, quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti
 discrepet et quantum discordet parcus avaro.
 distat enim spargas tua prodigus an neque sumptum 195
 invitus facias neque plura parare labores,
 ac potius, puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim,

167 quondam *ψ^v* (*Parisinus* 8213 saec. xii) : quoniam *codd. plerique*

EPISTVLARVM LIBER II

exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.
 pauperies immunda domus procul absit: ego, utrum
 nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem. 200
 non agimur tumidis velis aquilone secundo,
 non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus austris,
 viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,
 extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.
 non es avarus: abi. quid, cetera iam simul isto 205
 cum vitio fugere? caret tibi pectus inani
 ambitione? caret mortis formidine et ira?
 somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
 nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?
 natalis grate numeras? ignoscis amicis? 210
 lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?
 quid te exempta iuvat spinis de pluribus una?
 vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
 lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti:
 tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aequo 215
 rideat et pulset lasciva decentius aetas.

199 domus procul absit *alvDLEg*: absit *om.* *R*: domus et absit *om.*
λδφπ: procul procul absit *unum codicem secutus Bentl.* 206
 fugere] fuge rite *VavβoEg* 212 iuvat] levat *Bentl.*

INTRODUCTION TO THE ARS POETICA

ON the difficult questions of the date of the 'Epistula ad Pisones,' of the persons to whom it was addressed, and of its relation to Horace's other writings, what I had to say has been said in the general Introduction to the three larger and literary Epistles. As was there noticed the earliest titles by which we find it called are 'Ars Poetica'¹ and 'Liber de Arte Poetica,' by both of which names it is quoted by Quintilian. These were natural titles to be given to it by those who were already using it as a school-book which served the double purpose of a masterpiece of literature and a manual of literary knowledge. They serve also well to characterize a poem of which the chief doctrine is that poetry is an art and must be treated as an art: but we may feel pretty sure that Horace, who shrank so sensitively from anything like pretension or pedantry, would not have given any sanction to such a title. In any case it is, as it was also called in early times², an Epistle, not a treatise in verse (like 'L'Art Poétique' of Boileau), but a letter in verse, with an immediate and personal as well as a literary purpose.

The address to the Pisones, father and sons, is not conventional or complimentary, but has a vital relation to the course of the poem. The appellations change and take colour from the context: 'Pisones,' 'pater et iuvenes patre digni,' 'O Pompilius sanguis.' The places where a name or other personal appeal occurs are always either where the chief points of the Epistle are to be enforced, as the necessity of unity in conception (v. 6), the danger of laziness in Roman poets (v. 291), the valuelessness of mediocre poetry (v. 366), or where Horace is evidently sweetening, after his wont, advice which he wishes to press (as in v. 22), or where there are other indications that some definite purpose, conceived or

¹ Cicero uses 'ars' as a term for a 'methodical treatise,' as on Rhetoric, de Fin. 3. 1. 4, de Inv. 1. 6; cp. Juv. S. 7. 177 'artem scindens Theodori.'

² By Charisius (fourth or fifth cent.).

INTRODUCTION TO THE

imagined, is in view (as in vv. 235, 385). We can distinguish the different relation which the three persons addressed hold towards the Epistle. The father figures rather as the critic on whom the young writer may lean, and who will enforce Horace's teaching, than as a poet or learner himself at the present time. The younger son is only included as making up the literary family. But as the poem goes on it becomes clear that the elder son is the person for whom the advice is intended, 'O maior iuvenum, quamvis et voce paterna Fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis,' &c., and that he is imagined as having not only literary ambitions, but definite poetical schemes.

Horace is putting on paper an old poet's advice to a young aspirant. He does not discourage him; but he would enlist him, if he is to be a poet, as a recruit in the severe and classical school. In an age of scribblers, he must give time to accumulate materials, time to understand his business; he must subject his work to honest and rigorous criticism; he must be slow to give it to the world.

We may distinguish perhaps three parts of the poem: but they pass naturally into one another, and a single thread binds them together in the repeated doctrine, that poetry is an art and as an art has rules, and supposes previous instruction and patient effort. Vv. 1-118 deal with general principles of poetry, unity of conception, choice of words, style of diction.

Vv. 119-284. When from diction he passes to characters it soon becomes evident that, for some reason unexplained, he has dramatic poetry specially in view; and various points are touched in relation to it, some larger, some smaller; but the leading principle throughout is that the best Greek practice is to be the rule.

Vv. 285-end. So we go back to what is applicable to all kinds of poetry; the comparison of the Greek and Roman temperament, the two aims of poetry, the necessity of excellence, the poet's high calling, the need of training, the folly of wilfulness.

Something of the same disproportion in the space given to the drama has been noticed in the Ep. ad Augustum. There it has been probably explained by the fact that dramatic writing had become popular again in the Augustan period. But the phenomenon is more marked in the Ars Poetica. It not only has

more than its share : it is the only kind of poetry specifically dealt with, and we find upon it detailed and practical rules. It is difficult not to think that the explanation lies in the line which the young Piso's literary ambition was taking. He was planning or writing a play. How closely Horace is touching his plans it seems impossible to define. Is he advising him (vv. 128 f.) to take a Homeric subject, or justifying him in doing so? Is he implying (vv. 234 f.) that Piso includes in his purpose a Satyric drama? These doubts are not more than those which remain in Epp. 1. 18, as to whether Lollius is actually the dependent of some great man or is only contemplating such a position. We do not exclude in either case the literary purpose. Horace writes not without consciousness of a larger audience. His Epistle has its close relation to Piso's circumstances; but in writing it, as in publishing it, he is thinking also of the general circumstances of Roman poetry, and adding another chapter to his *apologia* for the aims and methods of the school which he admired and to which he belonged.

Another interesting question, which has been often debated, is the extent and nature of Horace's indebtedness to particular writers, Greek or Latin, for the materials of his criticism. Porphyryon tells us that Horace, in the *Ars Poetica*, 'has put together precepts of Neoptolemus of Parium, not all, but the most important'; and he carries out this view into some detail in the earlier part of the poem by giving Greek names to succeeding 'precepts,' as vv. 1-9 *περὶ ἀκολουθίας*, v. 28 *περὶ εὐταξίας*, &c.

A. Michaelis, who published in 1857 an exhaustive dissertation on the subject¹, has again in the later treatise², from which I have quoted before, well characterized this statement, if it is to be interpreted at all literally, as 'impossible and contradictory both of the idea of an Horatian Epistle and of the whole tendency of Horace's poetry'.³ Porphyryon may have noticed some points of resem-

¹ 'De auctoribus quos Horatius in libro de Arte Poetica secutus esse videatur' Mohr, Kiel, 1857.

² In the 'Commentationes in honorem T. Mommseni,' Berlin, 1877.

³ It will be seen that I cannot accept the suggestion made by Nettleship (*Essays in Roman Literature*, p. 174 f.) that the framework of the poem is given by a series of texts from a Greek treatise paraphrased and then commented upon. The transitions seem to me to be natural and like those of Horace's other writings; the gaps and difficulties not to be different from those which belong to an Epistle; the poem on the whole not to be desul-

INTRODUCTION TO THE ARS POETICA

blance between Horace's treatment of the subject and that of Neoptolemus, and it is possible that they may have been due to direct imitation, but on the one hand Horace's poem is an Epistle, with the links of thought, the proportion of topics, the personal purpose, which belong to an Epistle; on the other hand we may be sure that in criticism, as in philosophy, he puts himself into the hands of no single master, 'nullius addictus iurare in verba.' His eye throughout is primarily on Roman poetry, not on Greek. He has his own purpose, which could not be that of Neoptolemus, and everything contributes to this. He is bringing to bear on a literary question the same shrewd judgment, and the same standing principles, which he has applied in other poems to moral questions. A large part of Michaelis' treatise is taken up with disproving propositions which would now scarcely be advanced, as that the Epistle was built upon Plato's Phaedrus or Aristotle's Poetics. The same general answer holds towards these as is made to Porphyryon's statement about Neoptolemus, with the additional weight given by the fact that in these cases we have the works which he is said to have taken as his guides, and can measure exactly his debt to them. But some debt there is. The figure with which the poem opens is most probably due to a remembrance of Plat. Phaedr., and the parallelisms, both in thought and expression, between Horace and the Poetics, though they are always accompanied by divergences which show that he is writing independently, are yet probably too close not to imply some memory of the text of Aristotle¹. In one passage (vv. 161-174) we seem to find not slavish imitation, but full remembrance of some chapters in the Rhetoric.

tory, but to have a distinctly marked thread of continuous purpose. As an extreme instance of the difficulties in the way of such an explanation, we may notice that it is thought necessary to make vv. 24-31 one of the paraphrased texts. These verses have, as much as any lines in the Epistle, Horace's own stamp both on form and substance. There is all the artifice with which he knows how to make advice palatable—the personal appeal, the association of himself with those whom he lectures; 'we are beguiled,'—and of them with himself,—'most of *us* poets.' And the substance is the application to literature of the doctrine, so habitual in his moral writings, that follies arise from inartistic attempts to avoid their opposites, the text of Sat. 1. 2. The same doctrine is to be detected in his warnings to the writer of Satyric drama, vv. 230 f.

¹ See especially the notes on vv. 81, 82, 128, 144, 148, 191-193, 195.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

ARS POETICA

HVMANO capiti cervicem pictor equinam
 iungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas
 undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
 desinat in pisces mulier formosa superne,
 spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici? 5
 credite, Pisones, isti tabulae fore librum
 persimilem cuius, velut aegri somnia, vanae
 fingentur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni
 reddatur formae. 'pictoribus atque poetis
 quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.' 10
 scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;
 sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut
 serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.
 ineptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis
 purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter 15
 adsuitur pannus, cum lucus et ara Dianae

In Arte poetica notantur lectiones variae codicum BaRAlbψπuvLeγC et in nonnullis locis etiam codd. VBoR^a.

Post v. 439 deficiunt codd. BC et notantur lectiones cod. E; cod. v. deficit vv. 104-195

ARS POETICA. *Quintilianus Ep. ad Tryph. 2; Q. Terentius Scaurus apud Charisium. DE ARTE POETICA LIBER AlbψψuC Quintil. Inst. viii. 3. 60 'hunc librum qui inscribitur De Arte Poetica' Porph.*

7 aegri] aegris BaR

L

Q. HORATI FLACCI

et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros,
aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus.
sed nunc non erat his locus. et fortasse cupressum
scis simulare: quid hoc, si fractis enatat expes 20
navibus aere dato qui pingitur? amphora coepit
institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?
denique sit quodvis, simplex dumtaxat et unum.
maxima pars vatium, pater et iuvenes patre digni,
decipimur specie recti: brevis esse laboro, 25
obscurus fio; sectantem levia nervi
deficiunt animique; professus grandia turget;
serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae;
qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
delphinum silvis appingit, fluctibus aprum. 30
in vitium ducit culpae fuga, si caret arte.
Aemilium circa ludum faber imus et unguis
exprimet et mollis imitabitur aere capillos,
infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum
nesciet. hunc ego me, si quid componere curem, 35
non magis esse velim quam naso vivere pravo,
spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.
sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam
viribus, et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
quid valeant umeri. cui lecta potenter erit res, 40
nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.
ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici,
pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat;
hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor. 45
in verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis
dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum

23 quodvis vel quod vis *codd.*: quidvis *Bentl.* 32 imus *codd.*
plerique *Acr. Porph.*: unus *δ Bentl.* *Vid. ad Serm. i. 4. 87* 45
Hunc versum post v. 46 posuit Bentl.

ARS POETICA

reddiderit iunctura novum. si forte necesse est
 indicii monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
 fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis 50
 continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter ;
 et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem si
 Graeco fonte cadent, parce detorta. quid autem
 Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus ademptum
 Vergilio Varioque ? ego cur, acquirere pauca 55
 si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
 sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum
 nomina protulerit ? licuit semperque licebit
 signatum praesente nota producere nomen.
 ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos, 60
 prima cadunt : ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
 et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.
 debemur morti nos nostraque ; sive receptus
 terra Neptunus classis aquilonibus arcet,
 regis opus, sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis 65
 vicinas urbis alit et grave sentit aratrum,
 seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis
 doctus iter melius, mortalia facta peribunt,
 nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.
 multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque 70
 quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
 quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.
 res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
 quo scribi possent numero, monstravit Homerus.
 versibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum, 75
 post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos :
 quis tamen exiguos elegos emiseric auctor,
 grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est.

49 rerum *BaC* : rerum et *cett.* 65 diu palus *codd. omnes*
Servius (ad *Verg. Aen.* ii. 69, iv. 107) *Priscianus* : palus prius *con.*
Benil. : palus diu *Gesner et al.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo ;
 hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni, 80
 alternis aptum sermonibus et popularis
 vincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis.
 Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum
 et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum
 et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre. 85
 descriptas servare vices operumque colores
 cur ego si nequeo ignoroque poeta salutor ?
 cur nescire pudens prave quam discere malo ?
 versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult ;
 indignatur item privatis ac prope socco 90
 dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae.
 singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decentem.
 interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
 iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore ;
 et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri 95
 Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque
 proicit ampullas et sesquipedaliam verba,
 si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querela.
 non satis est pulchra esse poemata ; dulcia sunt,
 et quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto. 100
 ut ridentibus arident, ita flentibus adsunt
 humani vultus : si vis me flere, dolendum est
 primum ipsi tibi : tunc tua me infortunia laedent,
 Telephe vel Peleu ; male si mandata loqueris
 aut dormitabo aut ridebo. tristitia maestum 105
 vultum verba decent, iratum plena minarum,
 ludentem lasciva, severum seria dictu.
 format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem
 fortunarum habitum ; iuvat aut impellit ad iram
 aut ad humum maerore gravi deducit et angit ; 110
 post effert animi motus interprete lingua.

si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta,
 Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.
 intererit multum divusne loquatur an heros,
 matorusne senex an adhuc florente iuventa 115
 fervidus, et matrona potens an sedula nutrix,
 mercatorne vagus cultorne virentis agelli,
 Colchus an Assyrius, Thebis nutritus an Argis.
 aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge.
 scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem, 120
 impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,
 iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.
 sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
 perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.
 si quid inexpertum scaenae committis et audes 125
 personam formare novam, servetur ad imum
 qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.
 difficile est proprie communia dicere; tuque
 rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
 quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus. 130
 publica materies privati iuris erit, si
 non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
 nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
 interpres, nec desilies imitator in artum,
 unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex: 135
 nec sic incipies ut scriptor cyclicus olim:
 'fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.'
 quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
 parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
 quanto rectius hic qui nil molitur inepte: 140
 'dic mihi, Musa, virum, captae post tempora Troiae
 qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbis.'

114 Davusne δβ, *Porph. ut videtur in parte altera scholii* 120
 Homereum *coni. Bentl.* 139 parturient *codd. Kelleriani omnes:*
 parturiunt *Bentl.*

Q. HORATI FLACCI

non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
 cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,
 Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybдин. 145
 nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
 nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo :
 semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res
 non secus ac notas auditorem rapit, et quae
 desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit, 150
 atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
 primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.
 tu quid ego et populus mecum desideret audi :
 si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque
 sessuri donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat, 155
 aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores,
 mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.
 reddere qui voces iam scit puer et pede certo
 signat humum, gestit paribus colludere, et iram
 colligit ac ponit temere et mutatur in horas. 160
 imberbus iuvenis, tandem custode remoto,
 gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi,
 cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,
 utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris,
 sublimis cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix. 165
 conversis studiis aetas animusque virilis
 quaerit opes et amicitias, inservit honori,
 commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret.
 multa senem circumveniunt incommoda, vel quod
 quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti, 170
 vel quod res omnis timide gelideque ministrat,
 dilator, spe longus, iners, avidusque futuri,
 difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
 se puero, castigator censorque minorum.

161 imberbus *V7C comm. Cruq.*: imberbis *cett. codd. Vid. ad Epp.*
 ii. i. 85.

ARS POETICA

multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum, 175
 multa recedentes adimunt. ne forte seniles
 mandentur iuveni partes pueroque viriles,
 semper in adiunctis aevoque morabimur aptis.
 aut agitur res in scaenis aut acta refertur.
 segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem, 180
 quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae
 ipse sibi tradit spectator: non tamen intus
 digna geri promes in scaenam, multaque tolles
 ex oculis quae mox narret facundia praesens.
 ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet, 185
 aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
 aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.
 quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.
 neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu
 fabula, quae posci vult et spectata reponi. 190
 nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
 inciderit; nec quarta loqui persona laboret.
 actoris partis chorus officiumque virile
 defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus
 quod non proposito conducat et haereat apte. 195
 ille bonis faveatque et consilietur amice,
 et regat iratos et amet peccare timentis;
 ille dapes laudet mensae brevis, ille salubrem
 iustitiam legesque et apertis otia portis;
 ille tegat commissa, deosque precetur et oret, 200
 ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.
 tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta tubaeque
 aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine paucio
 adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis atque

178 morabimur *auLy Acr.*: morabitur *cett. codd.* 190 spectata
λδπυR⁹: spectanda *aRφγC*: expectanda *B*, 'spectanda alii spectata'
Acr. Vid. ad Serm. i. 10. 39 197 pacare tumentis *parva aliqua*
codicum auctoritate fretus Bentl.: pacare timentis *Holder* 203 paucio
BanvyC: parvo *cett. codd.*

3. HORATI FLACCI

condum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu ; 205
 quo sane populus numerabilis, utpote parvus,
 et frugi castusque verecundusque coibat.
 postquam coepit agros extendere victor et urbis
 atior amplecti murus vinoque diurno
 lacari Genius festis impune diebus, 210
 accessit numerisque modisque licentia maior ;
 indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum
 rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto ?
 hic priscae motumque et luxuriam addidit arti
 ibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem ; 215
 hic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis,
 et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia praeceps,
 stiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri
 orilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.
 armine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum, 220
 nox etiam agrestis Satyros nudavit, et asper
 incolumi gravitate iocum temptavit, eo quod
 illecebris erat et grata novitate morandus
 spectator, functusque sacris et potus et exlex.
 verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces 225
 conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,
 ne quicumque deus, quicumque adhibebitur heros,
 egali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
 nigret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas,
 ut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet. 230
 effutire levis indigna Tragoedia versus,
 ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus,
 ntererit Satyris paulum pudibunda protervis.
 non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum
 verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo ; 235
 nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,
 ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur et audax

208 urbem *Bentl.*

237 et audax *VB* : an audax *cett.*

ARS POETICA

Pythias emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
 an custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.
 ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis 240
 speret idem, sudet multum frustra laboret
 ausus idem : tantum series iuncturaque pollet,
 tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.
 silvis deducti caveant, me iudice, Fauni
 ne velut innati triviis ac paene forenses 245
 aut nimium teneris iuvenentur versibus umquam,
 aut immunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta :
 offenduntur enim quibus est equus et pater et res,
 nec, si quid fricti ciceris probat et nucis emptor,
 aequis accipiunt animis donantve corona. 250
 syllaba longa brevi subiecta vocatur iambus,
 pes citus ; unde etiam trimetris accrescere iussit
 nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
 primus ad extremum similis sibi. non ita pridem,
 tardior ut paulo graviorque veniret ad auris, 255
 spondeos stabilis in iura paterna recepit
 Commodus et patiens, non ut de sede secunda
 cederet aut quarta socialiter. hic et in Acci
 nobilibus trimetris apparet rarus, et Enni,
 in scaenam missos cum magno pondere versus 260
 aut operae celeris nimium cura que carentis
 aut ignoratae premit artis crimine turpi.
 non quivis videt immodulata poemata iudex,
 et data Romanis venia est indigna poetis.
 idcircone vager scribamque licenter ? an omnis 265
 viros peccata putem mea, tutus et intra
 spem veniae cautus ? vitavi denique culpam,
 non laudem merui. vos exemplaria Graeca
 nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.
 at vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et 270

252 accedere lemma Porph.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

laudavere sales, nimium patienter utrumque,
 ne dicam stulte, mirati, si modo ego et vos
 scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto
 legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
 ignotum tragicae genus invenisse Camenae
 dicitur et plaustis vexisse poemata Thespis,
 quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.
 post hunc personae pallaeque repertor honestae
 Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis
 et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.
 successit vetus his comoedia, non sine multa
 laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim
 dignam lege regi; lex est accepta chorusque
 turpiter obticuit sublato iure nocendi.
 nil intemptatum nostri liquere poetae,
 nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Graeca
 ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta,
 vel qui praetextas vel qui docuere togatas.
 nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis,
 quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum
 quemque poetarum limae labor et mora. vos, o
 Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite quod non
 multa dies et multa litura coeruit atque
 praeseptum decies non castigavit ad unguem.
 ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte
 credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas
 Democritus, bona pars non unguis ponere curat,
 non barbâ, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.
 nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poetae,
 si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile numquam
 tonsori Licino commiserit. o ego laevus,
 qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam!

277 quae] qui *coni. Bentl.* ora] atris *BC* 289 clarisqu
 294 praeseptum *VBC Bentl.* : perfectum *cett. codd. Acr.*

ARS POETICA

non alius faceret meliora poemata. verum
 nil tanti est. ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
 reddere quae ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi; 305
 munus et officium nil scribens ipse docebo,
 unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poetam,
 quid deceat, quid non, quo virtus, quo ferat error.
 scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons:
 rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae, 310
 verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
 qui didicit patriae quid debeat et quid amicis,
 quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes,
 quod sit conscripti, quod iudicis officium, quae
 partes in bellum missi ducis, ille profecto 315
 reddere personae scit convenientia cuique.
 respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo
 doctum imitorem et vivas hinc ducere voces.
 interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
 fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte, 320
 valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur
 quam versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.
 Grais ingenium, Grais dedit ore rotundo
 Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.
 Romani pueri longis rationibus assem 325
 discunt in partis centum diducere. 'dicat
 filius Albini: si de quincunce remota est
 uncia, quid superat? poteras dixisse.' 'triens.' 'eu!
 rem poteris servare tuam. reдит uncia, quid fit?'
 'semis.' an haec animos aerugo et cura peculi 330
 cum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
 posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso?
 aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae,
 aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.

328 poterat *αὐτοῦ Βενίλ.*
 ad att.

330 an VB: at duo Cruquii:

Q. HORATI FLACCI

quidquid praecipies esto brevis, ut cito dicta
 percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles. 335
 omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
 ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris,
 ne quodcumque velit poscat sibi fabula credi,
 neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo. 340
 centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis,
 celsi praetereunt austera poemata Ramnes :
 omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
 lectorem delectando pariterque monendo ;
 hic meret aera liber Sosis ; hic et mare transit 345
 et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum.
 sunt delicta tamen quibus ignovisse velimus ;
 nam neque chorda sonum reddit quem vult manus et mens,
 poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum ;
 nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus. 350
 verum ubi plura nitent in carmine non ego paucis
 offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
 aut humana parum cavit natura. quid ergo est ?
 ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque,
 quamvis est monitus, venia caret ; ut citharoedus 355
 ridetur chorda qui semper oberrat eadem :
 sic mihi qui multum cessat fit Choerilus ille,
 quem bis terve bonum cum risu miror ; et idem
 indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus ;
 verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum. 360
 ut pictura poesis : erit quae si propius stes
 te capiat magis, et quaedam si longius abstes.
 haec amat obscurum, volet haec sub luce videri,
 iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen ;
 haec placuit semel, haec decies repetita placebit. 365
 o maior iuvenum, quamvis et voce paterna

339 velit BayC Acr. : volet cett. codd. 355 ut citharoedus
 Lambini codices secutus Bentl. : et citharoedus codd. plerique 358
 terve B Bentl. : terque cett. codd.

ARS POETICA

fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis, hoc tibi dictum
 tolle memor, certis medium et tolerabile rebus
 recte concedi. consultus iuris et actor
 causarum mediocris, abest virtute diserti 370
 Messallae nec scit quantum Cascellius Aulus,
 sed tamen in pretio est: mediocribus esse poetis
 non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.
 ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors
 et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver 375
 offendunt, poterat duci quia cena sine istis,
 sic animis natum inventumque poema iuvandis,
 si paulum summo decessit, vergit ad imum.
 ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis,
 indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit, 380
 ne spissae risum tollant impune coronae:
 qui nescit versus tamen audet fingere. quidni?
 liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem
 summam nummorum, vitioque remotus ab omni.
 tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva: 385
 id tibi iudicium est, ea mens. si quid tamen olim
 scripseris, in Maeci descendat iudicis auris
 et patris et nostras, nonumque prematur in annum,
 membranarum intus positae: delere licebit
 quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti. 390
 silvestris homines sacer interpretisque deorum
 caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
 dictus ob hoc lenire tigris rabidosque leones;
 dictus et Amphion, Thebanarum conditor urbis,
 saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda 395
 ducere quo vellet. fuit haec sapientia quondam,
 publica privatis discernere, sacra profanis,

371 nec scit *V B*: nescit *att.* 378 vergit] pergit *BC* 393 rabi-
 dos *B omnes Cruquiani*: rapidos *codd. plerique* 394 urbis] arcis
aRVB Bant.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis,
oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno.
sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
carminibus venit. post hos insignis Homerus
Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella
versibus exacuit: dictae per carmina sortes,
et vitae monstrata via est, et gratia regum
Pieriis temptata modis, ludusque repertus
et longorum operum finis, ne forte pudori
sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo.
natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic
altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice.
qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam
multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
abstinuit Venere et vino: qui Pythia cantat
tibicen, didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.
nunc satis est dixisse 'ego mira poemata pango:
occupet extremum scabies: mihi turpe relinqui,
et quod non didici sane nescire fateri.'
ut praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
adsentatores iubet ad lucrum ire poeta
dives agris, dives positus in faenore nummis.
si vero est unctum qui recte ponere possit
et spondere levi pro paupere et eripere atris
litibus implicitum, mirabor si sciet inter-
noscere mendacem verumque beatus amicum.
tu seu donaris seu quid donare voles cui,
nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum
laetitiae: clamabit enim 'pulchre! bene! recte!'
pallescet super his, etiam stillabit amicis

416 nunc] nec u Bentl.
codicum auctoritate Bentl.

423 atris codd. fere omnes: artis

ex oculis rorem, saliet, tundet pede terram. 430
 ut qui conducti plorant in funere dicunt
 et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sic
 derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.
 reges dicuntur multis urgere culullis
 et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborant, 435
 an sit amicitia dignus: si carmina condes,
 numquam te fallent animi sub vulpe latentes.
 Quintilio si quid recitares, 'corrigere sodes
 hoc' aiebat 'et hoc': melius te posse negares,
 bis terque expertum frustra, delere iubebat 440
 et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.
 si defendere delictum quam vertere malles,
 nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem,
 quin sine rivali teque et tua, solus amares.
 vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertis, 445
 culpabit duos, incomptis allinet atrum
 traverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
 ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
 arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,
 fiet Aristarchus: non dicet 'cur ego amicum 450
 offendam in nugis?' hae nugae seria ducent
 in mala derisum semel exceptumque sinistre.
 ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urget
 aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana,
 vesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poetam 455
 qui sapiunt: agitant pueri incautique sequuntur.
 hic, dum sublimis versus ructatur et errat,
 si veluti merulis intentus decidit auceps
 in puteum foveamve, licet 'succurrite' longum
 clamet 'io cives!' non sit qui tollere curet. 460
 si curet quis opem ferre et demittere funem,

437 fallent] fallant *δρψυL* 441 tornatos] ter natos *Bentl.*
 450 non] nec *aRvγE* 458 si du: sic *cett*

ARS POETICA

'qui scis an prudens huc se proiecerit atque
servari nolit?' dicam, Siculique poetae
narrabo interitum. deus immortalis haberi
dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam 465
insiluit. sit ius liceatque perire poetis.
invitum qui servat idem facit occidenti.
nec semel hoc fecit, nec si retractus erit iam
fiet homo et ponet famosae mortis amorem.
nec satis apparet cur versus factitet, utrum 470
minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
moverit incestus: certe furit, ac velut ursus,
obiectos caveae valuit si frangere clathros,
indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus;
quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo, 475
non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo.

462 deiecerit avyE

NOTES

SATIRES. BOOK I

SATIRE I

THE FOLLY OF WISHING INSTEAD OF ENJOYING

THIS folly is seen in its extreme form in the hoarder of money. His case, his unreasonableness and the vanity of his excuses, are set out at length, but the Satire begins and ends more generally. Men are always wishing for what they have not, and so they do not enjoy what they have, and when life is over do not feel that they have had their share.

Verses 1-12 state the difficulty generally. The world is a scene of discontent—restlessness—every one wishing to be what he is not.

(13-40). The absurdity of this is shown by two considerations.

13-22. (a) That if you could imagine men's wishes granted, they would not make the exchange.

23-40. (b) That if you take the great object of wishing and motive of action, *money*, every one, whatever his profession, will tell you that he seeks it for an end—give him an assured competence and he looks to retire: he is like the ant storing for winter. Is he? The ant when winter comes, uses its store and ceases from work; but the seeker after money never stops while there is a man left richer than himself.

(41-107). Horace then proceeds to argue more fully with the man who accumulates but does not use, partly directly, partly imagining and replying to pleas which he may be supposed to urge for himself.

41, 42. What is the pleasure of storing, however large an amount of precious metal, in the earth?

43-51. 'If you once touch the heap it melts away.' But surely it is meant to be touched. The pleasure is measured not by the size of the store but by the capacity of enjoyment. However full your barns are, you can't eat more than I can.

51. 'It is pleasant to feel that you are drawing from a large store.'

52-60. It makes no difference, if the amount we draw is the same. Nay, it does make a difference in another way.

THE SATIRES OF HORACE

I prefer the clear and quiet little spring to the dangerous and turbid river.

- 61, 62. 'Where are we to stop? A man is estimated by his possessions.'
- 63-79. It is useless arguing—the miser is so wrapt in his self-esteem. If the people hiss him he will applaud himself. You are like Tantalus, thirsting amid water. Money has definite uses: you get none of its pleasures, all its pains.
- 80-83. 'At least money secures help in sickness.'
- 84-100. You are alienating the love ready found for you, and which you might so easily retain. Take care that you do not come to the same end as Ummidius.
- 101, 102. 'So you mean I must turn spendthrift and prodigal.'
- 102-107. There is something between a miser and a prodigal—a happy mean.
- 108-116. He returns to his original point. Life is spoilt by perpetual discontent—each trying to outdo his neighbour.
- 117-119. This is why we so rarely see Lucretius' picture of the 'satisfied guest,' ready to leave the banquet when his time comes and confess that he has enjoyed it.
- 120, 121. Enough: you will think I have been at Crispinus' stores.

The reference to Lucret. 3. 938 and 960 is made clear in v. 119 (see note on that line), but Horace has the whole passage from v. 931 in mind; v. 957 might serve as the text of this Satire, 'quia semper aves quod abest, praesentia temnis.'

1. *quam sortem . . . illa* = 'sorte illa quam,' the subst. being put with the relative instead of with the demonstr. Cp. Sat. 1. 4. 2, 1. 10. 16, and see on Epod. 2. 37.

2. *dederit . . . oblocerit*. The verbs are suited to the substantives. Deliberate choice assigns. Chance casts in one's way: her mode of distribution is after her kind, haphazard. The alternative means 'however they come by their lot,' whether they are responsible for the selection or not. 'Fors,' 'ratio' is a Ciceronian antithesis, ad Att. 14. 13 'sed haec fors viderit ea quae talibus in rebus plus quam ratio potest.'

3. *laudet*, μακαρίζει, 'commends,' i.e. not for their qualities but for their lot. From the negative 'nemo' a positive subject ('unusquisque') must be understood for 'laudet.' So below, v. 109. For instances in prose see Madv. § 462 b.

diversa sequentis: those who follow another path.

4. *gravis annis*. Virg. Aen. 9. 246: cp. Liv. 7. 39 of veterans, 'graves aetate.' On both sides Horace makes the moment of grumbling the moment of feeling the discomfort of the profession. The soldier when years and hard work begin to tell on him; the trader when he is caught by bad weather. For the latter cp. Od. 1. 1. 15, 2. 16. 1.

6. *iactantibus*. Epp. 1. 11. 15 'si te validus iactaverit Auster.'

BOOK I, SATIRE I, 1-17

7. **quid enim, τί γάρ;** Sat. 2. 3. 132. Cp. our elliptical use of 'why,' 'what,' 'Why! there is the battle shock.'

concurritur. Sall. Jug. 53 'utrumque magno clamore concurritur.'

horæ momento: the equivalent of 'puncto mobilis horæ' in Epp. 2. 2. 172, of a very short space of time. Cp. Liv. 5. 7 'horæ momento simul aggerem ac vineas . . . incendium hausit.'

9-12. Look into the law court. The lawyer when he feels the pinch of his profession, early and late, envies the countryman. The party to a suit, when he has to make a journey from the country to appear in court, thinks how much more convenient it would be to live in town:

9. **iuris legumque.** 'Ius' is opposed to 'lex' or 'leges' in several of its senses. It is 'law' or 'a body of law,' as opposed to a special enactment: It is used of departments of law, 'ius gentium,' 'ius honorarium.' It is used for processes of law, 'in ius ire,' 'iure agere.' In such cases as the present (cp. Epp. 1. 16. 41 'qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat') the conjunction is intended to express 'law on all its sides.'

10. **sub galli cantum,** 'at cockcrow,' an exaggeration, as when Cicero is laughing at the 'iuriconsulti,' pro Mur. 9. 22 'Vigilas tu de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas, ille (*the soldier*) ut eo quo intendit mature cum exercitu perveniat; te gallorum, illum buccinarum cantus exsuscitat.'

11. **ille, δεικνικῶς,** 'that poor fellow.'

dati vadibus: lit. 'having named sureties.' The person who had done so was bound 'respondere vadato, . . . quod ni fecisset, perdere litem,' Sat. 1. 9. 36.

13. **cetera de genere hoc,** τὰ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα. It is a formula familiar in Lucretius, as 4. 590, &c.

14. **Fabium.** He seems to be a Stoic teacher whom Horace is ridiculing as he does Crispinus.

15. **quo rem deducam.** The 'sum of the whole matter,' the conclusions to which what he has said so far has been leading. 'All this desire of change is unreal. They would not change if they could.'

si quis deus: the thought is repeated in Sat. 2. 7. 24 'Si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses.'

en ego . . . iam faciam. We need not separate the two clauses grammatically: 'See, here am I! I will,' &c. It is one sentence, but each word gives its own colour to it. 'En' calls attention to the speaker: 'ego,' the emphatic pronoun, gives the assurance that the promise can be fulfilled, 'you have the word of a god: 'iam,' 'this moment.'

17. **consultus,** absol. = 'iuriconsultus,' as Epp. 2. 2. 87, 159. 'Rusticus' is the pred. It was the lawyer who had wished (v. 9) to be a countryman. The countryman had only wished to live in town.

hinc . . . hinc. It is a complete metaphor from the theatre.

THE SATIRES OF HORACE

They are bidden to change their parts, and accordingly to change their places on the stage.

18. **eia!** 'Quick!' 'move on.' So Sat. 2. 6. 23 'Eia, Ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge.' It stands after the imperatives, as here, in Virg. Aen. 9. 38 'Ferte citi ferrum, date tela, ascendite muros: Hostis adest, eia!'

19. **nolint.** The construction returns to a proper apodosis to 'si quis deus . . . dicat' v. 15.

licet esse beatis: for the dat. cp. A. P. 372 and see Madv. § 393 c.

20. **quid causae.** Madv. 285 b. It is found in prose, as Cic. de Or. 2. 22. 92.

ambas buccas inflet. A comic description of the expression of anger. The Greek *τὰς γνάθους φουῶν* (Dem. de Fals. Leg. 442), is used rather of the grimaces of self-importance; but *φουῶν* is used in both senses. Plautus (Bacch. 4. 2. 21) has 'sufflari' of an angry soldier.

illis: it is indifferent whether we consider it as a dat. after the anger of 'iratus' or after the expression of anger in 'buccas inflet.'

ambas: like the Greek emphatic dual (as *χαίρε, δάσε*), giving a rhetorical force, although it is one which will not bear pressing logically, as though he could actually puff one cheek without the other.

23. **praeterea:** another Lucretian formula of transition. He passes, with an apology for his satirical tone, to the second proof of the unreality of the wish for change, namely, that though men of all trades profess to toil for the sake of attaining the power to rest, they are never satisfied to take the rest.

ut qui iocularia: sc. 'percurrit,' or perhaps some more colourless verb to be supplied from 'percurram.' For the ellipse cp. Sat. 1. 3. 9, 1. 8. 32.

iocularia. Cic. de Leg. 1. 20. 53 'ioculare istuc quidem et a multis saepe derisum,' sc. a saying of jest, a drollery.

24. **percurram,** 'pass lightly, rapidly, by.'

25. **olim,** the indefinite time of similes or fables: Epp. 1. 10. 42, 2. 2. 197, and see on Erod. 3. 1.

crustula. Sat. 2. 4. 47, dim. of 'crustum,' small pastry.

blandi, 'coaxing.' Horace is no doubt thinking of Lucretius' simile 1. 936 foll.

26. **elementa:** their 'alphabet.' Epp. 1. 1. 27.

27. **sed tamen:** not introducing the apodosis or leading clause to 'ne sic . . . percurram' (that is to be looked for in the continuance, in an altered key, of the direct statement, 'Ille gravem,' &c., see on Od. 1. 33. 1, but a conclusion of the parenthesis; 'but yet, though satirical humour has its place and use, let us for the moment be grave.'

28, 29. **ille . . . hic,** *ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἄλλος*. Cp. v. 11.

gravem duro for the location of the epithet, see on Od. 1. 3. 10: the plough had need to be tough if the ground is heavy: cp.

BOOK I, SATIRE I, 17-38

also Epod. 5. 30. It is the hard toil of the ploughman which is in point.

perfidus caupo. Cp. Sat. 1. 5. 4 'cauponibus malignis.' The purpose of the epithet adds to its sting. He is naming in the case of each profession what costs the most toil and risk. The tavern-keeper's cheating is set off against the countryman's ploughing, the soldier's campaigning, the trader's dangerous voyages.

30. **currunt:** of sailing, as Virgil's 'vastum trabe currimus aequor.' So Od. 1. 28. 36; Epp. 1. 1. 45, 1. 11. 27.

hac mente: Sat. 2. 2. 90.

32. **aiunt.** The position of the verb seems to imply that these are their own expressions.

cibaria: used of a soldier's rations or the allowances in kind made to other public servants, and so the meaning here is 'enough for a bare and measured maintenance'; **congesta** suggests the similitude which follows.

33. **exemplo:** the model, the stock example, as in the Book of Proverbs 6. 6-8, 30. 25, and Virg. G. 1. 186 'inopi metuens formica senectae'; Aen. 4. 402 'formicae . . . hiemis memores.'

parvula . . . magni laboris recalls the antithesis which pervades the fourth Georgic, 'ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant.'

36. **quae.** As the editors say = 'at ea'; cp. 'quod si comminuas' v. 43. The adversative force is of course in the thought, not in the pronoun. It is a reply. What the relative does is to make us feel the identity of the subject in the two statements. Horace takes the money-getters on their own ground. They appeal to the example of the ant. This very ant condemns them. There is the same force (whatever be the case or construction of 'quod.') in the ordinary use of 'quod si,' 'whereas if,' 'yes, but if': it puts the new conditional statement and the original statement at the same starting-point.

inversum . . . annum, 'the inverted year,' is a phrase which has been adopted into English poetry by Dryden, Thomson, Cowper. It seems to have grown from a generalizing of the phrases used of the succession of day and night, 'verti' or 'inverti caelum,' Ennius, Ann. 218, Virg. Aen. 2. 250, 11. 201.

contristat Aquarius. Virg. G. 3. 279 'pluvio contristat frigore caelum'; ib. 304 'cum frigidus olim iam cadit extremoque irrorat Aquarius anno.' The sun entered the sign of Aquarius on Jan. 16.

37. **usquam:** with a verb of motion, as we say 'where' for 'whither.' Cp. Sat. 2. 7. 30, Epp. 1. 7. 25.

et: after a negative clause; see on Od. 1. 27. 16.

illis: those of which you were speaking.

38. **sapiens.** The balance of external evidence is nearly even between this reading and 'patiens.' The same confusion exists in Epp. 1. 7. 40. 'Sapiens' is more in Horace's style, summing up his view of the ant's conduct in the last word, before he proceeds to contrast with it that of her professed imitator; 'patiens,' although Sat. 2. 6. 91 ('praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso') and

THE SATIRES OF HORACE

Epp. 1. 17. 13 ('si pranderet holus patienter') show that it might well stand for 'contenta,' would not be as pointed.

fervidus aestus . . . hiema. The expression is at first taken from the case of the ant, 'she rests in winter, you rest never': in **ignis, mare, ferrum** it is proverbial. See Od. 1. 16. 10, Epp. 1. 1. 46. Orelli quotes Eupolis (Frag. Com. ed. Meineke. 2. p. 487) οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ σιδηρος οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπειργεῖ μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δειπνον.

40. **dum ne**='dummodo ne,' as Sat. 2. 3. 31.

alter, 'any second person'; cp. Sat. 1. 5. 33, 42; Epp. 1. 6. 32; Madv. § 496.

43. **quod**: see on v. 36 'quae.' 'Yes, but this mass of which you speak, if you were once to break in upon it, would dwindle to a paltry "as."' This is the first answer of the hoarder.

44. **nī id fit**: i. e. 'nisi comminuis.'

45. **mīlia frumenti centum**: sc. 'modiorum.'

triverit area: the conditional use without a conditional particle; cp. Sat. 2. 3. 292. For the expression itself cp. Virg. G. 1. 298 'terit area fruges,' and cp. Sat. 2. 8. 46 'pressit cella.' The expressions resemble two lines of Lucilius (18. 1 and 2) 'Mīlia ducentum frumenti tollis medimnum, vini mille cadum,' . . . 'aeque fruniscor ego ac tu'; lines which may very possibly come from a similar argument.

46. **hoc**, 'for that reason.' Sat. 1. 3. 93 'minus hoc iucundus'; 1. 9. 8; Madv. § 256, obs. 3.

capiet, 'hold'; 'you will not be able to eat more.'

47. **reticulum**, a bag made of netting. Cp. Juv. S. 12. 60 'cum reticulis et pane et ventre lagoenae'; he is speaking as Horace is of the things carried on a journey. We may remember the travellers' difficulties and niceties about bread, Sat. 1. 5. 89-91, and see on Epp. 1. 15. 14.

venalis='servos.' For the picture of the train of slaves following a great man on a journey cp. Sat. 1. 6. 108.

49. **referat . . . viventi**: 'viventi' is best explained as a dative of reference, analogous to the dative used with adjectives to signify a person in respect to whom the property exists, as in 'onus grave ferentibus,' 'what does it matter in the eyes of, in respect of, one who lives,' &c.?

intra naturae finis: if the wishes and indulgences of life are limited to what nature requires. Cp. Od. 3. 1. 25-32.

51. **at suave est . . . acervo**. This is the second apology for accumulating.

52. **relinquas**: still allow, do not prevent.

53. **cumeris**: cp. Epp. 1. 7. 30 'in cumeram frumenti.' The Schol. explains 'cumera' as a box or bin of wickerwork or sometimes of earthenware in which corn was kept, also as a vessel of measurement containing five or six 'modii.'

54. **urna . . . cyatho**: both liquid measures; the 'urna' being 24 'sextarii' or half an 'amphora,' i. e. a little less than 3 gallons, the 'cyathus' being $\frac{1}{12}$ of the 'sextarius,' half a wine-glass.

BOOK I, SATIRE I, 38-72

56. **tantundem**: though it be exactly the same quantity.
eo fit, 'so it comes to pass.' The similitude has passed into a fable.

58. **Aufidus acer**, 'violens' Od. 3. 30. 10, 'longe sonans' Od. 4. 9. 2, cp. 4. 14. 25; the Aufidus stands with Horace generally for a mountain torrent in flood.

59. **neque limo turbatam**: a point added to the original image. The flooding river is muddy as well as dangerous; 'allegorice sordidos quaestus,' Acr.: of the dirt which has to be swallowed by one who makes haste to be rich.

61, 62. The third argument of the hoarder.

61. **bona pars**: cp. A. P. 297: 'bona pro magna dictum, ut saepe Ennius et alii veteres,' Porph. Lucretius (5. 1025) and Terence (Eun. 1. 2. 43) have 'bona magnaue pars'; Cic. de Or. 2. 3. 14 'bonam partem sermonis.'

cupidine falso, as 'cupidinis pravi' Od. 3. 24. 51; 'mistaken': for the gender see on Od. 2. 16. 15.

62. **tanti quantum habeas sis**. The miser is quoting (it seems) Lucilius (incert. 5. 22 'quantum habeas tantum ipse sies tantique habearis.') The mood is probably the same as in the original, 'sis' = *ἄν εἴης*.

63. **illi**, the man who as the representative of the 'bona pars' is supposed to have answered 'nil satis est.' For the dat. cp. Cic. pro Caec. 11. 30 'quid huic tu homini facias?'

64. **quatenus**, 'inasmuch as,' Od. 3. 24. 30; Sat. 1. 3. 76, 2. 4. 57. It is a frequent use in Lucretius; see Munro on 2. 927.

id facit: sc. 'miser est,' Sat. 1. 4. 79. 'Such self-delusion is impenetrable; bring home to him the fact that the world does *not* estimate him the higher for his wealth, he only falls back on his own approbation.'

68-79. All the time you are getting none of the pleasure of your wealth, though you get all its inconvenience.

68. Horace begins as in epic vein ('commendandum est hoc pronuntiatione' Acr.), he is interrupted by a smile from his auditor. Cp. Sat. 2. 5. 3. He hastens to explain that it is an allegory; myth though it be, 'change only the name and it is strictly true and of yourself.'

71. **indormis**: cp. Virg. G. 2. 507 'condit opes alius defossoque incubat auro'; Aen. 6. 610 'qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis.'

inhians: keeping even in sleep the look of eager attention.

tamquam sacris: Sat. 2. 3. 110 'metuensque velut contingere sacrum,' where see note.

72. **pictis tabellis**, which please no sense but the eye. For 'picta tabella' = a picture, cp. Epp. 2. 1. 97.

73-78. Horace is possibly imitating some lines of Menander (Κυβερνῆται 1-4) τὴν γύριον εἶναι μεράκιόν σοι φαίνεται | οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καθ' ἡμέραν μόνον | τιμὴν παρασχεῖν δυνατόν, ἄρτων, ἀλφίτων, | δέξουσ', ἐλαίων, μείζονός τ' ἄλλου τινός.

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74. **vinī sextarius**: about a pint; a temperate man's allowance. It was Augustus' maximum; Suet. Oct. 77.

75. **doleat negatis**: Sat. 1. 2. 112 'quid [natura] sit dolitura negatum.'

77. **malos fures**. It is noticed that Horace is fond of using the adjective 'malus' in cases where it seems scarcely needed: cp. Sat. 1. 5. 14 'mali culices,' 2. 1. 56 'mala cicuta,' 2. 3. 135 'malis Furiis.' There seems in each case to be some irony or play in it. Here it is the epithet which the miser himself would use, 'those wicked thieves.'

78. **hoc**, summing up the previous infinitives; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 60.

79. **bonorum**: sc. 'vigilare,' 'formidare,' &c.; it points the irony of the question 'hoc iuvat?' is this your idea of pleasure? For the gen. after 'pauperrimus' cp. Od. 3. 30. 11 'pauper aquae,' Sat. 2. 3. 142 'pauper . . . argenti,' and so 'dives' Epp. 2. 2. 31, &c.

80-83. The fourth apology for accumulating.

80. **condoluit**, from 'condolesco,' the inchoative form; the preposition is intensive: Plaut. Truc. 2. 8. 2 'mihi de vento miserae condoluit caput.'

temptatum: the usual word for attacks of disease: Od. 1. 16. 23, Epp. 1. 6. 28.

81. **adfixit**, 'has nailed you,' 'made you a prisoner,' to your bed. Perhaps a case where (with Bentley) we may prefer the reading of a minority of MSS., the majority reading 'adfixit.' There is a similar variety where there can be little doubt that 'adfigit' is the true reading in Sat. 2. 2. 79 'adfigit (adfligit) humo divinae particulam aerae.' Cp. Seneca, Ep. 67 'ago gratias senectuti quod me lectulo adfixit.'

84. **omnes**: best taken (as by Kiessling) by itself; being then expanded into 'neighbours, acquaintances.'

85. **pueri atque puellae**. Sat. 2. 3. 130 'Insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae.' It has the air of a proverbial expression, and probably means like 'old and young,' 'man and maid,' and the like, 'all the world.'

88. **an si**. This is the reading of B, and it is interpreted by Porphy. If with Bentley we accept it, the sense is plain. Horace has said, 'Do you wonder at finding that no one pays you the love which you are not earning?' He adds an alternative suggestion, 'Or can it be that you imagine that, though Nature gave you the love of kin without asking for any toil on your part, it would be a ridiculously impossible task for you to try to keep it?' Bentley justifies the taking 'nullo labore' for 'with no labour to you' by Sen. Apocolocyntosis 'Sponte sua festinat opus nulloque labore Mollia contorto distendunt stamina fuso,' and id. Epist. 84 'quod in corpore nostro videmus sine ulla opera facere naturam.' More difficulty is introduced if we adopt the alternative reading 'At si.' This still leaves it open to us to point the sentence as a question (as Munro) and to take it substantially as before. The majority however of those who accept it take the sentence cate-

BOOK I, SATIRE I, 74-100

gorically: 'Nay, if you think at no cost of labour on your part to keep the love of the kin whom nature gives, you would be wasting your pains as utterly as one who should try,' &c. Bentley objected to this, (1) the involved order of the words 'natura quos tibi dat' interrupting the construction of 'nullo labore retinere,' a harshness hardly met by the reference to Sat. 1. 5. 72 and 2. 1. 60, (2) the apparent contradiction of 'nullo labore,' 'operam perdas.' How can you waste your labour if you spend none? (3) the want of correspondence in the similitude 'si quis asellum,' &c. The difficulty in that case lies with the intractable nature of the material; but according to this interpretation the difficulty in the thing to be illustrated lies with the insufficient trouble of the operator.

90. **asellum currere.** The Comm. Cruq. vouches for the existence of a proverbial expression 'docere asinum currere,' and it has been supposed to be alluded to in Scipio's jest on Ti. Claudius Asellus, 'agas asellum et cetera' (i. e. 'and the rest of the proverb'); Cic. de Or. 2. 64. 258 with Wilkins' note.

91. **doceat,** 'were to try to teach.'

parentem frenis, as if it was a horse, 'equus frenis, asinus fusti paret.' Düntzer.

92. **denique,** 'The sum of my answer is.' It is intended to introduce the last word on the general subject of hoarding, although the miser interrupts with yet one more plea, so that there is room (v. 106) for a second 'denique': but Horace is still specially answering the argument that money would secure attention in sickness. The futility of the plea has been exposed. He adds a picture of the end of the miser's friendless life, murdered by his venal attendant, not without some kind of approbation from the world.

finis quaerendi: the expression is from Lucilius, fragm. incert.

1. 6 'Virtus quaerendae rei finem scire modumque.'

plus answers to 'minus,' 'since you have more [than you had], fear penury less [than you did].'

94. **ne facias quod:** the colourless use of 'facere,' standing, as our 'to do,' for some more definite verb; see on v. 64; 'lest that befall you which befell Ummidius.'

95. **quidam,** as our 'once upon a time' is meant to give the air of beginning a story.

96. **ut metiretur:** to the point of estimating his money by weight instead of by counting—a proverbial expression. Cf. Xen. Hellenic.

3. 2. 27 τὸν λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον: 'dives ut metiretur' would be Horatian, see Sat. 2. 7. 10: but here 'ita' is probably supplied from the second clause.

100. **divisit medium.** Virg. Aen. 9. 750 'Et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem Dividit.'

fortissima Tyndaridarum, as Bentley explains it, lit. 'bravest of the children of Tyndarus'—i. e. 'a second Clytemnestra'—*γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ*. The epithet 'fortissima' therefore properly belongs to Clytemnestra, not to her imitator, but the reference to

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heroic precedent is meant to make the fate of Ummidius somewhat ridiculous, as though the world would smile at it and think it served him right, rather than be indignant at it.

101. The miser's last plea, 'What! you wish me to be a spend-thrift.'

vivam Naevius: 'sic ut' is to be borrowed from the following clause. See on v. 96, and cp. the similar omission of 'ut' in the second clause in Epod. 1. 34.

102. **Nomentanus**. Cp. Sat. 1. 8. 11, 2. 1. 22, 2. 3. 175, 224. The Scholiasts call him Cassius Nomentanus, 'adeo sine respectu calculorum suorum prodigus ut septuagies gulae ac libidini impenderit,' and make him belong to Horace's generation, giving a story that Sallust the historian hired his cook for 100,000 sesterces a year. The form of Acron's note however betrays its little value, 'aliter, Nomentanus aut nomen proprium est aut gentile de Nomentana civitate.' In reality the name is from Lucilius (fragm. 2. 4 and 5).

pergis, 'you proceed to set together forehead to forehead things that fight one another,' i.e. to set off against one another, as if there was no neutral third alternative, contradictory opposites.

103. **frontibus adversis**: as in the bull-fight, Virg. Aen. 12. 716. Lucretius uses the phrase of two clouds meeting, 6. 116.

componere is used of making a match between two gladiators: cp. Sat. 1. 7. 20.

104. **feri** belongs to both clauses.

vappam ac nebulonem. Horace puts the two titles together again in Sat. 1. 2. 12. 'Vappa' is properly wine which had lost its flavour: so Sat. 1. 5. 16, 2. 3. 144. Catullus 28. 5 applies it in special opposition to the name 'Frugi' (see Ellis in loco) to a man whose character is gone. 'Nebulo' is a word of Lucilius: 14. 20 'lucifugus nebulo'; 20. 9 'nugator ac nebulo.'

105. According to the Scholiasts Horace has put real names (Tanaïs being a freedman of Maecenas) to a coarse Greek proverb which expresses the alternative of excess and defect.

106. **est modus in rebus**: i.e. 'in omnibus rebus,' 'modus,' 'measure,' 'moderation,' the Greek μέτρον, μεσότης. Horace perhaps has in mind the verse of Lucilius quoted on v. 92, where 'modus' and 'finis' are brought together. As the 'denique' seems to show he is returning to what he said there.

108. **qui nemo, ut**. This was the reading of V. There is in favour of it (1) that this is 'the point from which he started,' 'Qui fit, Maecenas,' &c. The following words 'laudet diversa sequentis' show that we are going back to the very question propounded in vv. 1-3; (2) that the accidental omission of 'qui' will explain 'nemo ut,' and (for the purpose of avoiding the hiatus) 'nemon ut.' It is hard to see how 'qui' can have arisen from either of the other readings. The difficulty lies in explaining 'ut avarus.' The choice seems to lie between (1) connecting it not so much with 'nemo' as with the positive 'unusquisque' which is the subject

BOOK I, SATIRE I, 100-120

of the other verbs and, in sense, of the whole sentence (see above on v. 3) 'how it comes that every one, being as he is ('ut' = 'ut-pote') bent on gaining more, fails to be satisfied,' &c.: (2) supposing the phrase 'se probet,' which alone does not come from vv. 1, 2, is meant to take us back to the special story of the miser at Athens, v. 66 'at mihi plaudo': 'why no one imitates the miser in my story.'

111. *tabescoat*: cp. Epp. 1. 2. 57 'invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis.'

112. *huno atque huno*, 'one and then another.'

113. *sic* with 'festinanti'; one who is started on this race always finds a richer man than himself to compare himself with, just as in a chariot-race each driver's eyes are set on the one before him, not on those he has passed.

114. The resemblance of the commencement 'Vt cum carceribus,' followed by 'Instat equis auriga,' to Virg. G. 1. 512 foll. 'Vt cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae . . . Fertur equis auriga' is too great to be accidental. Whether any argument can be drawn from this as to the date of either poem may be doubted. See Sellars, Roman Poets, Virgil, ch. 5, note on p. 174. He thinks Virgil was the imitator.

115. *illum praeteritum*, 'that other competitor whom he has passed': 'illum,' perhaps with some sense of contempt: 'extremos inter euntem,' the expression of his contempt, 'as amongst the hindmost in the race.'

117. *inde fit ut*, 'this is why.' Kiessling points out that 'inde fit' answers to 'qui fit' in v. 1 and 'qui nemo' (which repeats it) in v. 108. This is the final answer to the problem proposed. Men are unsatisfied because they are always thinking of what they have not got rather than of what they have.

119. *uti conviva satur*: cp. Epp. 2. 2. 214. It is from Lucret. 3. 938 'Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis Aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?' and ib. 959 'nec opinanti mors ad caput astitit ante Quam satur ac plenus possis discedere rerum.' See Munro on the first of these passages. He points out that 'verbum non amplius addam' is a verbal echo of another line from this passage, though the sense is different, 'cur amplius addere quaeris?' v. 941. Notice that Lucretius is tracing the unreadiness to die to the same cause as Horace, 'quia semper aves quod abest, praesentia temnis.' We have in fact the germ of the Satire.

120. *Crispini*: Sat. 1. 3. 139, 1. 4. 14, 2. 7. 45. From these passages we gather that he was a fluent writer (perhaps, as the Scholiasts say, of verses) and a Stoic, and that he had incurred Horace's contempt; see above on v. 14. There is nothing to be added to this from external sources.

scrinia: Epp. 2. 1. 113. Cylindrical cases for rolls of papyrus. It seems to mean here 'the cases (Crispinus is so voluminous that he needs more than one) which contain Crispinus' writings.'

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lippi, probably in a moral sense 'purblind': cp. Sat. 1. 3. 25, where it is part of a definite metaphor, and see Conington on Pers. S. 1. 79. Bentley, taking it literally, and thinking that Horace could not ridicule in another an infirmity which attached to himself (Sat. 1. 5. 30), wished to read 'lippum.'

SATIRE II

A FOOL'S WAY OF AVOIDING ONE FOLLY IS TO FALL INTO ANOTHER

THIS is the text of the lines here printed, and, though the thread is not kept perfectly, of the rest of the Satire. It is a text on which Horace is fond of dwelling—we have already had it in Sat. I. 101 f.

The general view is no doubt right which makes this a specimen of Horace's earliest attempts at Satire. It is the Satire which, by quoting v. 27 in Sat. 1. 4. 92, he makes the typical instance of the personal attacks by which he had raised alarm and enmity. The Scholiasts tell us that the real Maltinus of v. 25 was Maecenas. If this tradition is true, it must follow that the Satire was written before Horace had made Maecenas' acquaintance, and that it was by Maecenas' wish that the line was left as it had stood. Such a liberty was certainly never repeated.

For the Tigellius of v. 3 see introduction to the next Satire.

1. **Ambubaiarum**. The word occurs again in a similar connexion in Suet. Ner. 27 'ambubaiarum ministeria.' It is explained by the Scholiasts as a designation of Syrian women who played the flute, from the Syriac name of the instrument. Cp. Juv. 3. 62 'Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes Et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas . . . Vexit.'

collegia, 'guilds,' 'fraternities,' a term used ironically.

pharmacopolae: vendors of drugs. They would have a bad name both as quacks and as purveyors of poison: such a 'pharmacopola circumforaneus' is mentioned as an agent in 'murder' in Cic. Clu. 14. 40.

2. **balatrones**. The word 'balatro' occurs in Lucretius 3. 955, where it is a word of contempt. In Sat. 2. 8. 21 it is the name or nickname of a 'scurra,' Servilius Balatro. It is perhaps the same word as 'blatero,' and so meant properly an idle or random talker. It is usually taken here as the designation of some class of mime-actors.

4. **quippe**: gives their reason, and in their own words, and like 'scilicet' with a tone of irony. They called him 'generous.'

hic: as 'hunc' in v. 7 'another.'

8. *ingrata*, 'thankless,' 'insatiable.'

stringat: as a bough is stripped of leaves.

9. *conductis*, 'borrowed,' as Juv. S. 11. 46 '*conducta pecunia*.'

11. *laudatur ab his*, as Tigellius by the street-singers, &c.

The point is not that his conduct is variously judged, but that he only attains the praise of one party at the expense of incurring blame from another. In his dread of being thought mean he becomes extravagant.

12. *Fufidius*, 'avarus quidam fenerator' Schol.

vappae ac nebulonis: Sat. 1. 1. 104.

13. The line recurs in A. P. 421. For *positis* cp. Epod. 2. 70.

14. *quinas mercedes*: five interests, i.e. five times the usual interest, which was '*centesimae usurae*,' one per cent. per month, or 12 per cent. per annum. With the expression cp. '*binae centesimae*,' i.e. 24 per cent. Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 71. 165.

capiti exsecat. Porph. explained, 'slices off,' 'deducts from the capital,' i.e. in lending the money he deducts at once the first month's interest. It is otherwise taken in a more general sense as a stronger form of 'extorquet.' In that case it recalls Seneca's phrase (Benef. 7. 10) '*sanguinolentas usuras*,' 'that draw blood.' 'He draws from his principal, even if it takes a knife to do it, five times the usual interest.'

16. *nomina sectatur*: i.e. he tries to get their names into his books as borrowers. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 105 '*cautos nominibus rectis nummos*.'

17. *numum*. The words '*tiro*' and '*tirocinium*' are used frequently of the moment when a young man exchanged the '*prae-texta*' for the '*toga pura*' or '*virilis*,' and especially of a ceremony with which the change was accompanied when he was led into the Forum by his father, '*deductus in Forum tiro*,' Suet. Ner. 7.

19. *pro*, 'in proportion to.'

20. *pater ille*: Menedemus in the Heautontimorumenus.

24. The key line of the Satire. Cp. the argument in Sat. 1. 1. 101 foll. It is implicitly the Aristotelian doctrine of virtue lying in the mean: see Epp. 1. 18. 9.

25. *Maltinus*. The MSS. and the Scholiasts are divided between the forms Maltinus (or Malthinus) and Malchinus. Maltinus is said to be derived from '*malta*,' a Lucilian word for an effeminate person, but Maltinus is a Roman name found in history and in inscriptions. For the traditional reference of the line to Maecenas see Introduction. Seneca, Epist. 114. 6, says that it was recorded of Maecenas that he always walked in Rome '*solutis tunicis*.'

est qui: sc. '*ambulat*.'

26. *facetis*: it is his idea of elegance to wear a tunic so short as to be indecent.

27. *pastillos*: dim. of '*panis*,' of lozenges meant to perfume the breath. Cp. Mart. 1. 87. 1 '*Ne gravis hesterno fragres, Fescennia, vino, | Pastillos Cosmi luxuriosa voras*.' The line is quoted in Sat. 1. 4. 92 as a specimen of Horace's personal satire.

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SATIRE III

SATIRE IS ONE THING, PERSONAL CENSORIOUS- NESS ANOTHER

HORACE begins with a satirical picture of Tigellius as the type of a character made up of contradictions and inconsistencies (vv. 1-19).

He supposes himself interrupted (v. 19) with the question 'Have you no faults of your own?'

vv. 20-28. I pretend; he answers, to no immunity. That is the vice of the censorious in private life. They are blind to their own faults, keen of sight to their neighbours'.

29-37. Little faults of temper or manner or dress overshadow sterling merits.

38-40. Contrast the lover turning his mistress's defects into beauties.

41-54. If friendship cannot go as far as that, it can imitate a father making the best of his boy's deformities.

55-66. But we even turn virtues into vices.

66-69. This censoriousness recoils on ourselves—for we have our own faults too.

69-75. We need (1) mutual forbearance.

76-79. (2) some discrimination of the relative gravity of faults.

80-95. We see this in other cases. We should think a man mad who crucified a slave for a peccadillo. Is it not worse to break off a friendship because of some trifling accident or impropriety? What are we to do when it comes to graver offences?

96-98. The Stoic indeed will tell you that all offences are equal; but this doctrine will not square with life, neither with moral feeling nor with utility, the true basis of moral distinction.

99-112. Historically the sense of justice is posterior to the experience of injustice.

113-117. The Stoic is wrong in assuming a natural criterion of right and wrong, wrong in his conclusion that one breach of law is as bad as another.

117-124. We need a just apportionment of punishment to offence. Not that I fear too great leniency. It is the rule of Draco that we are promised when the Stoic is king.

124-126. 'When he is king,' do I say? Why, he is king, so he tells us, as he is everything else that is good.

126-133. A Stoic is supposed to reply, 'You forget Chrysippus' explanation of the paradox.'

BOOK I, SATIRE III, 1-5

133-142. 'Well,' Horace answers, 'it is a poor sovereignty. It does not save you from humiliations. No one recognizes it except Crispinus. I shall leave you your throne, contented for myself to live on terms of mutual forbearance with my unphilosophical friends.'

The connexion of vv. 1-19 with the rest of the poem is not made perfectly clear; but the comparison in the following Satire (vv. 78-103), between the innocent sallies of Satire, half playful and directed against types rather than persons, and the licence given to real malignity in private conversation, seems to show that this is the link here also, and the true subject of the Satire.

The musician *Tigellius* of this Satire (vv. 3-19) and of the last (vv. 1-4) is identified with the *Tigellius* of Cicero's letters (ad Att. 13. 49, 50, and 51, ad Fam. 7. 24). He was the nephew (or grandson) of Phamea (named in these letters and ad Att. 9. 9; 9. 13, and ad Fam. 9. 16), a rich freedman from Sardinia. He had quarrelled with Cicero because he thought him slack in a cause of Phamea's which the great orator had undertaken, but was prevented from pleading by the fact that the case of P. Sestius came on the same day. We gather from the letters that he was a favourite of the dictator Caesar. Cicero speaks (to Gallus, ad Fam. 7. 14) with contempt of his Sardinian origin, 'hominem pestilentiorum patria sua.' 'Habes Sardos venalis: alium alio nequiorum.' He calls him 'salaconem' (σαλακωνα), 'a swaggerer,' and speaks of him as 'addictum Calvi Licinii Hipponacteo praeconio.' Porph. (on this Satire, v. 1) has preserved a line of that lampoon, 'Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit.'

The Scholiasts identify him with the 'Hermogenes Tigellius' of 1. 4. 72, 1. 10. 80, the 'Hermogenes' of v. 129 of this Satire and of 1. 9. 25, 1. 10. 18, and the 'Tigellius' of Sat. 1. 10. 90. It seems clear however that this was another and a younger person. The *Tigellius* of Sat. 1. 2. 3 and 1. 3. 4 is already dead. The *Hermogenes Tigellius* of 1. 4. 72 and 1. 10. 80 is still alive, although Sat. 1. 4 contains internal evidence of having been composed later than Sat. 1. 2 (cp. 1. 2. 27 and 1. 4. 92), and Sat. 1. 10 of having been composed later than Sat. 1. 4 (see 1. 4. 11 and 1. 10. 50). We may add that whereas the elder *Tigellius* was lampooned by Calvus, *Hermogenes Tigellius* in Sat. 1. 10. 19 is said to sing Calvus's songs.

2. **cantare**: an instance of the government ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. It follows both 'inducant animum' and 'rogati'; see on Od. 1. 3. 6.

3. **Sardus**. See the quotations in the introd. to this Satire. Its emphatic position shows that the epithet is meant to be contumelious: 'a true Sardinian.'

habebat hoc. Cic. Phil. 2. 32. 78 'habebat hoc omnino Caesar,' 'this was his way.' It is a colloquialism.

4. **qui posset**, 'though he could.'

5. **peteret . . . proficeret**. Often referred to as instances of the

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impft. for the plpft. subj.: but is it not rather an instance of the pure hypothetical 'si petat . . . proficiat,' thrown into a past tense, the force of the subj. being not to express a doubt, but to generalize; 'if at any time he asked he would gain nothing'? Cp. the Greek use of *ἄν* with the impft. answering to the relative with the optative, as Soph. Phil. 290 *πρὸς δὲ τοῦθ', ὁ μοι βάλαι | νευροσπαδῆς ἀτρακτος, αὐτὸς ἂν τάλας | εἰλυόμην*. There is none of the force of 'as is (or 'was') not the case' which belongs to the regular use of the impft. or plpft. subj. in conditional sentences. In 'collibuisse' we have the plpft. because the word to be dealt with was not 'collibeat' but 'collibuerit,' the verb never being found in the present. See on Sat. 1. 6. 79.

amicitiā patris: i.e. of his father by adoption, the dictator C. Julius Caesar: for Tigellius' relation to him see above in introduction to the Satire.

6. **ab ovo usque ad mala:** i.e. from the beginning to the end of the banquet. It began with the 'gustus,' also called 'promulsis,' dishes supposed to whet the appetite, served sometimes immediately on leaving the bath. Amongst them are mentioned eggs: Mart. 12. 19. 1 'In thermis sumit lactucas, ova, lacertum'; Plin. Epist. 1. 15 of a supper prepared for himself and one friend, 'Paratae erant lactucae singulae, cocleae ternae, ova bina.' The apples are part of the dessert, 'mensae secundae.' Mart. 10. 48. 18, at the end of the description of a supper, 'saturis mitia poma dabo.' In the gastronomic lecture of Sat. 2. 4, eggs are the first subject treated, v. 11; apples come at the end, v. 70.

7. **citare.** Cp. 'paeānem citare,' Cic. de Orat. 1. 59. 251. 'Io Bacche' in this case represents the accusative. 'Citare' is probably the frequentative of 'cico' in the sense of 'ciere vocem, murmur, tinnitum,' &c., 'to sing over and over.'

Io Bacche: the reading is doubtful, the MSS. being divided between 'Bacche' and 'Bacchae.' Hymns to Bacchus were called from their first words *Ἰόβακχοι* and *Βακχέβακχοι* (cp. *ἱππαιωνίσαι καὶ βακχέβακχον ἔσαι* Arist. Equ. 408). The lengthening of the short 'e' is justified by the metrical ictus; cp. 'Hyla, Hyla omne sonaret' Virg. E. 6. 44. It is possible that the effect of the voice dwelling on the note is imitated. Many recent editors prefer 'io Bacchae.' No instance of such a cry is quoted except from Eur. Bacchae, where the Bacchae are personages in the drama.

modo summa voce: i.e. now in a high key, now in a low one: another instance of his changeableness.' There is some difficulty in the expression. In Greek *ἡ ὑπάρτη* [*χορδή*] = *ἡ βαρυτάτη*, the string which gives what we should call the 'lowest' note, and *ἡ νεάτη* = *ἡ ὀξυτάτη*, that which gives the 'highest'; and 'summa' and 'ima' have been very frequently explained here, in the same sense, 'summa' as the lowest, 'ima' as the highest. But it has been pointed out (1) that there is no proof of such use in Latin, (2) that in respect of the human voice Quintilian distinctly uses 'summa vox' of a high-pitched voice, and 'ima' of a low-pitched one:

BOOK I, SATIRE III, 5-12

'Vox ut nervi quo remissior hoc gravior et plenior, quo tensior hoc tenuis et acuta magis. Sic ima vim non habet, summa rumpi periclitatur.' Quintil. 11. 3. 41.

8. *chordis*. There is a question also as to the construction of 'chordis.' Is it the abl.? In that case 'voce' is the 'note': 'on the highest note or on that which sounds lowest of (or 'from') the tetrachord.' Or is it the dat., following 'resonat' (as 'locus voci resonat,' Sat. 1. 4. 76)? In that case 'voce' will be 'voice,' 'with the voice at its highest pitch or that which echoes lowest to the tetrachord,' i. e. is in harmony with the lowest note on the scale.

9. *aequale*, 'uniform,' 'equable.' Cp. 'inaequalis' in describing a similar character, Sat. 2. 7. 10.

saepe velut qui. The construction is 'saepe currebat velut qui [curreret] fugiens hostem, persaepe [incedebat] velut qui Iunonis sacra ferret.' With the ellipsis of a verb to the first 'qui' cp. Sat. 1. 1. 23. The verb which describes a particular form of movement ('currere'), having been transferred from its proper place in the first relative clause to the leading clause, makes it necessary to understand a colourless verb, or one which describes another kind of movement, with the second leading clause. Cp. the zeugma with 'crepat' in Od. 1. 18. 5, 6.

11. *Iunonis sacra ferret*. 'Κανηφόρου apud Athenas hodieque dicuntur quae sacra in capite portant et sensim incedunt et lento gradu' Porph. Cp. Sat. 2. 8. 13 'ut Attica virgo Cum sacris Cereris procedit,' and Cic. de Off. 1. 36. 131 'Cavendum est ne tarditatibus utamur in ingressu mollioribus ut pomparum ferculis similes esse videamur.'

12. *decem servos*: a small household, it would seem. Cp. Val. Max. 4. 4. 11 'M. Scaurus quantulam a patre hereditatem acceperit in primo libro refert eorum quae de vita sua scripsit. At enim sibi decem sola mancipia totumque census centum quinquē ac triginta milium numorum relictum.' Cp. Horace's own establishment, which he looks on as very modest, 'Cena ministratur pueris tribus,' Sat. 1. 6. 116.

reges atque tetrarchas: an habitual combination, as Cic. pro Mil. 28. 76. The two terms together describe the native princes of protected states (of some of whom we hear so often in Cicero's orations and letters, as mixing in Roman politics and causing a flutter in Roman society), the Ptolemies of Egypt, Deiotarus of Galatia, Antipater and the Herods, &c. Τετράρχης was properly used in relation to sovereignties actually shared between four, as in Galatia (and in Thessaly in earlier times—Admetus is made to call his dominion *τετραρχία* in Eur. Alc. 1154). By the Romans it was used more loosely of the ruler of part of a country. Deiotarus (see Cic. pro Rege Deiotaro) was properly a 'tetrarch,' and was raised by the Senate to the title of 'rex' for his services against Mithridates. In the same way Herod the Great was confirmed as 'Tetrarch of Judea' with his brother Phasael by M. Antony in B. C. 41, and in the next year made 'king' by a decree of the Senate.

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13. **loquens**: having their names in his mouth, as though he was intimate with them. Cp. Ulysses' rebuke of Thersites Hom. II. 2. 250 τῷ οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων ἀγορεύουσ. For the form cp. Cic. ad Att. 9. 2 'nihil nisi classes et exercitus loquens.' Cp. Epp. I. 7. 84 'sulcos et vineta crepat mera.'

mensa tripes. The shape seems to imply simplicity of fashion, moderate size, and common material. Cp. Martial's 'simplex Delphica' (12. 66. 7). For the extravagance lavished on tables see Mayor on Juv. Sat. I. 137. The most costly were 'orbes,' i. e. round slabs or solid sections of the trunks of trees, esp. the 'citrus,' resting on a single foot of ivory.

14. **concha salis puri**: 'pauperiores in marina concha salem tritum habere solent' Porph. It may be doubted whether 'concha' necessarily meant an actual shell; see Od. 2. 7. 23. The modesty of the requirements lies in the short list of his necessities, a table, a vessel which will hold his salt and keep it clean (cp. Pers. Sat. 3. 25 'purum et sine labe salinum'; a saltcellar is the one piece of ancestral plate in a humble home there and in Od. 2. 16. 14), and a gown which, however coarse in material, will keep out the cold. With 'toga quamvis crassa' contrast 'tenues togae,' Epp. I. 14. 32.

15. **decies centena**: sc. 'milia sestertiorum.' Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 237, 240. It stands for 'a good round sum.' Cp. Juv. S. 10. 335.

dedisses. See on Sat. I. 1. 45, 2. 3. 292.

16. **quinque diebus**: as Epp. I. 7. 1, for a short period: we should say 'in a week': the use shows that the hebdomadal division of time, though not unknown (see on Sat. 2. 3. 291), had not yet got possession of language.

17. **erat** for 'esset'; Madv. § 348 c. obs.: but the indicative gives reality, as though it were a thing that often happened.

loculis: a casket used to carry money and other valuables. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 146, Epp. 2. 1. 175; and see Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 89.

19. **aliquis**. The person supposed is some one who dislikes Satire, such as those with whom Horace argues in Sat. I. 4 and 2. 1.

20. **immo . . . fortasse**: 'Nay,' I do not imply that. I have my faults, but not the special one which I speak of, 'for all I know' less serious ones. Horace proceeds to contrast Satire with the censoriousness of private life. That does imply self-righteousness.

21. **Maenius . . . Novium**. Maenius is the name of a Lucilian spendthrift. Is Novius here, as in I. 6. 121, a usurer; the two extremes blackening one another? Or is Horace referring to some familiar scene in a play, or to two characters from Lucilius?

carperet, 'was picking to pieces.'

22. **dare verba**: 'verba' being opposed to 'res,' mere words, the phrase = 'to cheat'; Ter. Andr. I. 3. 6, Cic. ad Att. 15. 16.

23. **ignosco**. Horace plays on the etymology. 'Is it that you

BOOK I, SATIRE III, 13-37

are blind, or that you think us blind?' 'I shut my own eyes'; 'non ignoro sed ignosco.'

24. *improbatus*, ἀναδίσ, the leading idea being, as often, of excess.

amor: the love shown by that answer, i. e. 'self-love.'

notari: properly of the censor's mark affixed to the name by way of ignominy, thence metaphorically; cp. Sat. I. 4. 5, 106, I. 6. 14, 2. 7. 8; Epp. I. 17. 15.

25. *pervideas* has its natural sense, 'to look all through,' as Ov. Pont. I. 8. 34 'Cunctaque mens oculis pervidet illa suis.' For the oxymoron 'pervideas lippus' cp. Od. 3. 7. 21 'scopulis surdior Icarì Voces audit.'

inunctis: while they are still smarting from the application of the ointment, and so incapable of sight.

27. *aquila*. Hom. Il. 17. 674 ὥστ' αἰετός, ὃν ῥά τέ φασιν | δέξεται οὐρανίαν πετηνών.

Epidaurius. The snakes of Epidaurus would be helped to become proverbial in the mouths of Romans by the story of the snake of Aesculapius brought from Epidaurus to Rome in B.C. 291, and lodged on the island in the Tiber.

contra = 'vicissim,' 'in return.'

29. The Scholiasts have a story that this picture of the passionate and slovenly man of genius is intended for the poet Virgil. This may rest upon some early tradition, but it is unlikely in itself. Such guesses are easy to make and impossible to disprove. Cp. the identification of the poet Propertius with the 'bore' in Sat. I. 9.

aptus = 'such as to suit, satisfy.'

acutis naribus: of delicate perception; cp. 'emunctae naris' Sat. I. 4. 8.

30. *horum*, 'of our time'; a common usage, Liv. I. 55 'horum magnificentiae operum.' Cp. infr. v. 60 'hoc genus vitae.'

eo, 'for the reason,' Sat. 2. 8. 65.

31. *rusticius* with 'tonso.' Cp. 'curatus inaequali tonsore' Epp. I. 1. 94.

defluit, 'slips from the shoulder.' Cp. Epp. I. 1. 96 'toga disidet impar.' For the great pains taken in adjusting the 'toga' see Quintil. II. 3. 137 foll.

male with *haeret*, or ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with 'haeret' and 'laxus': for its use with an adj. see below v. 45. Cp. Ov. A. A. I. 516 'Nec vagus in laxa pes tibi pelle natet.'

32. *at ... at ... at*. The repetition of the particle 'yet,' 'yet,' 'yet,' gives rhetorical emphasis. So 'sed' in Juv. Sat. 5. 61, 8. 149. For 'at' in this sense, urging a plea in arrest of judgment, cp. Od. 2. 18. 9.

35. *concutite*, 'shake,' as a dress, to see if anything is concealed in it. Cp. for the same metaphor, though with a different purpose, Virg. Aen. 7. 338 'fecundum concute pectus.'

37. *filix*. Virg. G. 2. 189 'flicem curvis invisam pascit aratris.'

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38. *illuc praevertamur quod*, 'let us take refuge in the thought that.'

39. *decipiunt*: *λανθάνουσι*.

40. *Balbinum*. The Scholiast's note is 'Luciliana urbanitate usus in transitu amaritudinem adspersit,' but there is no tradition, or conjecture of value, as to the personality of the persons mentioned.

polypus. Horace lengthens the first syllable, following therein Lucilius (29. 114). It is noticed that the word occurs in Greek literature usually in the form *πολύπους*: see Liddell and Scott, s. v.

42. *virtus*: the personified judgment of the virtuous man. See on Od. 2. 2. 19.

43. *at*, 'but at least, if that cannot be' (cp. 'at' after 'quamvis' or 'si' as Virg. G. 4. 208, 241): the form 'vellem erraremus' implies that it is a hopeless wish. If we cannot reach the complete blindness of a lover, we may the partiality of a father.

pater ut gnati: understand 'si quod sit vitium non fastidit.'

44. *strabonem* . . . *paetum*: two terms used to express different degrees of squinting: 'paetus' expressing the lighter and one which was thought almost a beauty, so much so that it was attributed to Venus. Cic. de N. D. 1. 29. 80 'Ecquos (deos) si non tam strabones at paetulos arbitramur?' Varr. quoted by Priscian, p. 684 'de Venere paeta strabam facit'; but see below on v. 48.

44-48. With these lines may be compared Ovid's advice to the lover to make the best of his mistress' defects: 'Nominibus mollire licet mala. Fusca vocetur Nigrior Illyrica cui pice sanguis erit: Si straba sit, Veneri similis: si rava, Minervae: Sit gracilis, macie quae male viva sua est. Dic habilem, quaecumque brevis,' &c. A. A. 2. 657 foll. Both are imitations of Lucr. 4. 1160 foll.

45. *pullum*, 'a chicken.' The word is found as a cognomen. L. Junius Pullus was consul in B. C. 250, and there is a Q. Numitorius Pullus mentioned in Cic. de Inv. 2. 34, de Fin. 5. 22. 62.

male parvus, 'small to a fault'; for the use of 'male' with an adj. see on Od. 1. 17. 25 and Sat. 1. 4. 66.

47. *Sisyphus*: according to the Schol. 'a dwarf' kept by M. Antony 'intra bipedalem staturam, quem ipse Sisyphum appellabat ob ingenii calliditatem.'

48. *balbutit*: 'calls fondly his "Varus," his "Scaurus."' The point seems to be with these as with 'paetus' and 'pullus,' not only that they were mild adjectives to describe the deformity, but also that they were adjectives which give a certain heroic character to it as recalling the names of distinguished Roman families.

49. *ineptus* describes a man wanting in tact. Cp. Cicero's definition de Or. 2. 4. 17, which Horace has possibly in mind, 'qui aut tempus quid postulet non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus esse dicitur,' where 'plura loquitur aut se ostentat' recalls 'iactantior' in this place.

BOOK I, SATIRE III, 38-65

50. **concinuus**: of the desire to please, to 'make good company.' Cp. the opposite, 'asperitas inconcinna' in Epp. 1. 18. 6.

amiciis: best taken after 'videatur,' 'claims to be thought by his friends,' &c.

52. **simplex** answers to 'plus aequo liber,' 'fortis' to 'truculentior.'

53. **caldior**, 'hot-headed.' Cic. de Inv. 2. 9. 28 'idcirco aliquem calidum vocari quod temerario et repentino consilio sit.' For the syncopated form cp. 'soldum' Sat. 2. 5. 65, 'valdius' Epp. 1. 9. 6, A. P. 321, and see on Od. 1. 36. 8.

aoris, 'men of spirit and energy.'

opinor: parenthetical, as in Epp. 1. 16. 78, 2. 2. 17.

55. **invertimus**, 'turn the wrong way upwards.' Orelli illustrates from Liv. 22. 12 '[M. Minucius L. Fabium] pro cunctatore segnem, pro cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat.'

56. **sincorum vas**: Epp. 1. 2. 54-

incrustare, 'to cover with a film,' 'to foul.' Porph. quotes from Lucilius (3. 28) 'incrustatus calix.'

57. **multum demissus homo**: 'demissus,' in a good sense 'unassuming,' as in Cic. de Or. 2. 43. 182 'ea omnia quae proborum, demissorum, non acrium sunt, benevolentiam conciliant'; pro Mur. 40. 87 'sit apud vos modestiae locus, sit demissis hominibus perfugium.' Some have taken 'multum demissus homo' as the judgment of the censorious. 'If we have amongst our friends a man of sober worth, he is of a poor spirit; to another who is slow we give the nickname of stupid.' Bentley's objection to this is a sound one, viz. that Horace is illustrating a disposition 'virtutes ipsas invertere,' not merely to give a blacker colour to failings. 'Tarditas' may not be a great fault, but it would never be spoken of as a virtue. The virtues chosen are 'probitas,' 'prudentia,' 'simplicitas.' With 'multum demissus' cp. 'multum celer' Sat. 2. 3. 147, 'multum similis' Sat. 2. 5. 92, 'multum dissimiles' Epp. 1. 10. 3, 'multum diversa' Epp. 2. 2. 62.

58. **tardo . . . pingui**: for the dat. see Madv. § 246, obs. 2.

59. **malo**: probably masc.

60. **hoc**: for the use see above on v. 30 'horum hominum.'

61. **pro bene sano**. Orelli quotes from Liv. 22. 39 'sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli vocent.'

63. **simplicior quis et est**. 'Et' couples 'simplicior' and '[tal]is' qualem.' For the position cp. v. 61 and Sat. 1. 6. 65 'Atqui si vitis mediocribus ac mea paucis Mendosa est natura.'

libenter obtulerim, 'I should never mind having shown myself.' Some editors in criticizing this passage have credited Horace with less than his usual irony.

65. **impellat**: in the sense of 'disturb,' 'call his attention,' much as its frequent use with 'auris' Virg. G. 4. 349, Pers. Sat. 2. 21 'lovis aurem impellere.'

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66. **communi sensu**, 'the social sense,' the added sense or tact which comes from living with others and which fits a man for so living. There is an exhaustive account of the meanings of 'sensus communis,' both in classical and in later Latin, in Sir W. Hamilton's Notes on Reid (p. 756 foll.). He pointed out that this is its meaning in the present passage as also in Cic. de Or. 1. 3. 12, 2. 16. 68, and Juv. Sat. 8. 73. Quintilian (1. 2. 20) gives as a reason for preferring a school education to home education that a boy learns 'sensus communis.' It prevents him from becoming, as we say, an egotist.

69. **dulcis**, 'indulgent'; inf. v. 139.

70. **cum** has been taken either as a preposition or as a conjunction. The first seems preferable. 'Let him weigh my virtues with [against] my failings': this is the meaning we require. 'Compenset vitiis bona,' if 'vitiis' is abl., would give a wrong sense, for it would mean 'make my failings counterbalance my virtues'; and as Kiessling points out, if 'vitiis' be taken as a dative and so as = 'cum vitiis,' there is no reason then for the subj. 'compenset.' With the position of 'cum' cp. Ov. Fasti 5. 551 'Vltor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores,' Madv. § 474, c. obs.

72. **hac lege**, 'on this condition.'

76. **quatenus**: Sat. 1. 1. 64, 'since.'

77. **stultis**, ἀφροσιν. Horace begins his definite reference to the Stoic doctrines. He humorously accepts for himself and the mass of mankind the title the Stoic would give to all but the perfect man or 'sapiens.' Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 32 'insanis et tu stultique prope omnes.'

78. **suis**, 'its own weights and measures,' such as Reason ought to have, i.e. reasonable ones. It should not be led away by the undiscerning judgments of men at large, nor should it (v. 115 foll.) endorse the philosophical folly which makes all offences equal.

79. **suppliciis coeroet**: both words express some severity of punishment; 'proportion the severity to the true offence'; for 'coerct' cp. infr. v. 134.

80. **tollere**, 'to remove from table.'

81. **līgurrierit**: the desiderative form, 'has been tempted to lick.'

ius is the sauce in which the fish had been served up. Cp. Sat. 2. 4. 38, 63, 2. 8. 45 foll.

82. **Labeone**. Schütz is probably right in the suggestion that the person intended is one of whom we read in the Epitome of Livy, Bk. 59 (of the year B.C. 131) 'C. Atinius Labeo tribunus plebis Q. Metellum censorem, a quo in senatu legendo praeteritus erat, de saxo deiçi iussit: quod ne fieret ceteri tribuni plebis auxilio fuerunt.' Bentley wished to read 'Labieno,' supposing the reference to be to an orator described by the elder Seneca (Praef. ad lib. 5 Controv.), who, from accesses of furious temper, was nicknamed 'Rabienus,' and who slew himself from vexation on the destruction of his books by his enemies. But the Scholiasts had the reading 'Labeone,'

BOOK I, SATIRE III, 66-91

and explained it, no doubt wrongly, of M. Antistius Labeo, the great jurisconsult (see Tac. Ann. 3. 75) who died in A.D. 20, and who therefore would have been a young man when this Satire was written.

inter sanos = 'apud sanos,' 'a sanis,' as Livy 6. 34 'haud-ququam inter id genus contemptor habebatur.'

83. hoc: the nom. case; 'this which follows.'

85. concedas, 'excuse.' In the next Satire (I. 4. 140) it is used in this sense with a dative. '**acerbus**' is a stage beyond 'insuavis.'

86. Eusonem. Mayor on Juv. Sat. 3. 9, in his exhaustive note on Recitation, compares a similar story told by Philostratus, the author of the 'Lives of Sophists,' of one Varo, whose debtors were allowed to count attendance at his declamations as a set-off against interest due to him. Polemon, whose biography he is giving, found the task too severe, 'sprang up, held out his hands and cried *φέρε τοῖς τίμους*, "bring the writ." Macaulay's story of the criminal, who chose the galleys in preference to listening to Guicciardini's history, is a descendant of these older jests.

87. tristes Kalendae: see on Epod. 2. 69.

88. mercedem aut nummos, 'interest or principal.' The price paid for the use of the money, or the money itself. For 'merces' in this sense see Sat. 1. 2. 14.

unde unde = 'undecumque.' Catull. 67. 27. So 'ubi ubi,' 'quis quis.'

89. porrecto iugulo, as a conquered gladiator offering his throat to be cut (Cic. Mil. 11. 31 'dare iugulum'). For the metaph. cp. (of Horace at the mercy of the bore) 'me sub cultro linquit' Sat. 1. 9. 74, and the 'recitator acerbus' of A. P. 474, who 'tenet occiditque legendo.'

90. catillum. Sat. 2. 4. 75.

91. Euvandri manibus tritum: i.e. of some absurdly exaggerated antiquity. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 20, where Damasippus is said to have hunted up the brazen foot-pan used by Sisyphus; also Martial's epigram upon the rage for old curiosities (8. 6) 'Archetypis vetuli nihil est odiosius Eucti . . . Hoc cratere ferox commisit proelia Rhoetus Cum Lapithis; pugna debile cernis opus. Hi duo longaevo censentur Nestore fundi, Pollice de Pylio trita columba nitet.' The Scholiasts explain it to mean that the plate was the work of Aulanius Evander, an artist contemporary with Horace; and it is to be noticed that this is one of the places where Porphyryon refers definitely to earlier authorities, 'qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt aiunt,' &c. The identification was natural and tempting to those to whom the name of Evander was familiar as that of a worker in bronze; but it does not follow that it is right. There is some difficulty as to date. Evander is not said to have come to Rome till after the capture of Alexandria in B.C. 30, when he was brought among the captives. The parallels quoted make strongly for the other interpretation. Martial's

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'Pylio pollice trita' is very possibly an echo of this place. If we adopted the Scholiast's explanation we must take 'tritum' as = 'tornatum' (Virg. G. 2. 444 'radios trivere rotis'), but with an extension of meaning similar to that with which Virgil uses 'tornus' in E. 3. 38 of the instrument with which a wooden cup was ornamented with the vine and ivy. The 'catillus' is doubtless of metal, which might be dented by a fall, not earthenware, which would be destroyed.

92. **ante**. It is doubted whether this is to be taken with 'positum,' as a tmesis, 'anteponere' having its sense, frequent in Plautus, of 'to set before,' 'to place on table';—Cicero uses 'ponit ante' (but for the purpose of emphasis) for 'anteponit' in Off. 3. 17. 71;—or with 'sustulit,' 'has snatched first—before me.' There is the same uncertainty in Tibull. 1. 1. 13 'Et quodcumque mihi pomum novus educat annus, Libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo.'

95. **fide**: archaic form of dative. See on Od. 3. 7. 4.

sponsum negarit, 'has denied a pledge'; said that the pledge which has been given has not been given. 'Spondere' is the legal term covering many kinds of engagements.

96. **quis**, 'quibus,' i.e. the Stoics. Cp. Cic. de Fin. 4. 19. 55, a passage which the resemblance of expression makes it probable that Horace had in mind: 'Recte facta omnia aequalia, omnia peccata paria esse: quae cum magnifice primo dici viderentur, considerata minus probabantur: sensus enim cuiusque et natura rerum atque ipsa veritas clamat quodam modo non posse adduci ut inter eas res quas Zeno exaequaret nihil interesset.'

ferē with 'paria,' 'much on a level.' He takes the general tendency of the Stoic doctrine, guarding himself against the answer that they admitted certain differences. Compare other instances in which a qualifying particle is added to the enunciation of broad doctrines, 'ferē' Epp. 1. 6. 9, 'prope' Sat. 1. 3. 98, 2. 3. 32.

laborant: ἀποροῦσι.

97. Horace appeals against the Stoic dogma first to the moral feelings ('sensus moresque') of mankind; secondly to public utility. This, he says (following the Epicurean doctrine), is the highest source of our distinction of social right and wrong; and it is evident that offences are not all equal as judged by that standard. If right and wrong were a distinction of nature and self-evident, the Stoics might have more to say for themselves. His view of the utilitarian origin of all law he supports by a sketch of the origin of society based both in substance and expression on Lucret. 5. 925 foll.

98. **iusti et aequi**: the double expression means justice of all kinds and degrees, in rule and in sentiment.

99. **prorepserunt . . . animalia**. Though speaking of the human race, he purposely, in describing its first state of savagery, uses terms which apply to it in common with the animal world.

primis terris: as 'prima tellus,' Sat. 2. 2. 93.

BOOK I, SATIRE III, 91-116

100. **mutum et turpe pecus.** All the words describe man as not yet distinguished from the lower animals; 'mutum' has reference to the invention of language v. 103.

glandem. Lucr. 5. 939, Virg. G. 1. 8, the suitable food of men as imagined in their primeval forests, 'silvestris homines' A. P. 391.

101. **ita porro,** 'so on progressively.'

102. **usus,** 'need.'

103. **verba . . . nominaque:** A. P. 234, the Greek *ῥήματα καὶ ὀνόματα*, a rough classification of parts of speech; the two standing together for language—language with all its apparatus. Language was the first necessary step towards law. Before that, they had felt the inconvenience of unrestrained desires, but had not learnt to classify and name their annoyances (theft, &c.). It is evident then, Horace argues, that law is not an original part of our nature but an invention slowly attained and for the practical end of restraining the lawlessness of a state of nature.

voces sensusque notarent: 'notarent' is used by a kind of zeugma, 'give meaning to their sounds and expression to their feelings.' It is a variation of 'vocibus sensus notarent,' but the phrase is from Lucr. 5. 1058 'Pro vario sensu varias res voce notaret.'

106. **fur . . . latro.** The second adds the idea of violence, so that the line generally describes the sanctity given to property, life, wedlock.

107, 108. For a new setting of the thought of these lines see Od. 4. 9. 25, &c. 'Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.'

109. **incertam,** 'lawless.'

110. **editior,** 'the superior'; not found elsewhere in this sense.

111. **iniusti.** The use of the word involves *ex hypothesi* an anachronism, but it helps to make the point clearer. Horace argues that there is no transcendental, preexistent, 'ius' or 'iustum.' They are afterthoughts, resorted to for the purpose of stamping a state of things which existed before them, and the vexations of which had been felt. Certain actions were inconvenient: men invented 'iura,' and stamped those actions as 'iniusta.' Notice the Lucretian phrase 'fateare necesse est.'

112. **tempora fastosque,** 'the history with its dates.' Which of the two came first, 'ius' or 'iniustum,' is a question of chronology.

113. **nec . . . nec,** 'as not,' 'so not.' As the line that separates the just and unjust is not one of nature's drawing, so philosophy will not persuade us that it is a hard and fast line, admitting no shades or varieties on either side of it.

114. **bona, ἀγαθά,** 'things advantageous,' not in a moral sense.

115. **vincet.** Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 225. A Lucretian use, 5. 735 'ratione docere et vincere verbis'; but it is found in Cicero, as pro Clu. 44. 124; so 'evincet' Sat. 2. 3. 250.

116. **fregerit,** 'plucked.' Cp. 'fragili myrto,' Od. 3. 23. 16. The instances were probably proverbial, as Plutarch (Solon. 17) says of

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Draco's laws, that the same penalty, death, was fixed τοῖς λάχανα κλέψασιν and τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις.

117. *nocturnus*: so 'vespertinus' Epod. 16. 51; Sat. 1. 6. 113; Madv. § 300, obs. 2.

sacra legerit: 'legere' is used by Lucilius in the sense of 'to steal.' The meaning remains in the adj. 'sacrilegus.'

119. *scutica*, 'a leather thong,' an instrument, like the 'ferula,' of school punishment, 'si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit' Dom. Marsus apud Sen. gramm. 9.

flagello. Epod. 4. 11 'sectus flagellis.' It was the extreme instrument of punishment. Cic. pro Rab. 4. 12 contrasts it in a climax with 'virgae.'

120. *ferula*: the stem of the *νάρθηξ* or giant fennel, used as a cane. See Mayor's note on Juv. Sat. 1. 15.

ut caedas . . . non vereor. If the construction were quite continuous this should mean, according to the well-known usage, which Horace adopts at least once (see Sat. 2. 1. 60), 'I am not afraid of your not striking,' which is clearly the contrary to what he means to say. Palmer on this ground alters 'non' to 'nunc,' and other ways, none of them at all successful, have been suggested of evading the difficulty. No exact parallel is quoted, but it seems clear that 'ut caedas' means (as, indeed, in any case it would) 'as for your striking': it stands not in sequence on 'vereor,' but in the emphatic place, as putting at once the alternative to the conduct spoken of in v. 119: 'illud' might have been, and should in thought be, added as an object to 'vereor': 'As to your striking with a cane what deserves a more severe chastisement, I have no fears of that.'

121. *cum dicas*: the conj. because it is in orat. obl., qualifying the clause that follows 'non vereor'; 'when you hold that doctrine of the equality of offences, I well understand that it means a levelling up, not down; a doctrine of severity, not laxity.'

122. *furta latrociniiis*: (cp. 106) theft without, to theft with, violence.

magnis: dat. after 'simili'; in exact language it would be 'ei falci qua magna recisurus sis.'

123. *falce*, 'pruning-hook.'

124 foll. Having put into the mouth of the Stoic the profession of what he would do if he were made king, Horace takes the occasion, which he has made, to laugh at a second Stoic paradox—that the wise man is a king (see notes on Od. 3. 2. 17-20, 4. 9. 39; Epp. 1. 1. 107). The Scholiasts quote from Lucilius (inc. 134) 'nondum etiam qui haec omnia habebit, Formosus, dives, liber, rex solus feretur?'—a passage which it seems clear Horace has in view.

dives. Cicero (Paradox 6) discusses the Stoic paradox 'solum sapientem esse divitem.' Cp. id. ad Fam. 7. 16.

125. *sutor bonus*: an *ad invidiam* illustration of the doctrine that the ideal wise man is the master of every art.

BOOK I, SATIRE III, 116-140

126. **pater**: in the sense in which Cic. (N. D. 2. 9. 33) calls Zeno 'Stoicorum pater.' A Stoic is speaking.

127. **Chrysippus**: Sat. 2. 3. 44, 287; Epp. 1. 2. 4; the second founder of Stoicism; *εἰ μὴ ἦν Χρύσιππος οὐκ ἂν ἦν Στόα*, Diog. Laert. 7. 183. He was born at Soli in Cilicia, B. C. 280, and died in 207.

crepidas, soleas: the Greek and the Roman slippers.

128. **sapiens**: the subject repeated and in the emphatic place is meant to be characteristic of the speaker. The Stoic is for ever talking of the 'sapiens.'

129. **Hermogenes**: see introd. to this Satire.

130. **Alfenus**. There is an Alfenus Varus, a 'iurisconsultus' of eminence, of whose legal writings there are excerpts in the Digest. The Scholiasts say that Horace is speaking of a native of Cremona who practised there as a 'tonsor' (acc. to one MS.) or as a 'sutor' (acc. to the others), and who removed to Rome and became the pupil of Servius Sulpicius, and eventually famous in the law. Whether the identification is right there is nothing to show.

132. **tonsor**. This was the original reading of V. Other MSS. have 'sutor.' Bentley argues strongly for 'tonsor,' on the ground that Horace's thesis is that the wise man is a cobbler; he is illustrating this from other arts, that of the singer and the barber. It would be dull to take an instance of the very art in question.

133. **vellunt**: perh. 'are plucking' all the time that you are declaiming on the royalty of the wise man.

barbam: affected by philosophers; Sat. 2. 3. 35 'sapientem pascere barbam,' Juv. Sat. 14. 12 'barbatus . . . magistros.'

134. **fuste**: also appropriate; cp. Apul. Inst. 11. 8 'qui pallio, baculoque, et baxeis, et hircino barbitio philosophiam fingeret.'

136. **rumperis** (sc. 'ira') **et latras**: the picture of impotent rage, with allusion to the title 'Cynic'; cp. Epp. 1. 17. 18 'mordacem Cynicum.'

137. **quadrante**: the customary price at the public baths; cp. Sen. Epist. 86 'balneum res quadrantaria.'

138. **stipator**: the proper term for one of a royal suite.

139. **Crispinum**: Sat. 1. 1. 120.

et: answered by 'que' in v. 141. This passage is quoted by Madv. on Cic. de Fin. 5. 22. 64 'quis est quin intellegat et eos qui fecerint dignitatis splendore ductos immemores fuisse utilitatum suarum, nosque cum ea laudemus nulla alia re nisi honestate duci.' He holds them as rare instances of a careless juncture of clauses.

dulces: supr. v. 69.

140. **stultus**: not being a philosopher.

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SATIRE IV

AN APOLOGY FOR WRITING SATIRE

It should be noticed that Horace in v. 71 foll. expressly repudiates the idea of publishing his Satires. He composes them for his own pleasure and profit, and only reads them to friends, and when pressed to do so.

With this Satire should be compared Sat. 1. 3. and 2. 1.

Verses 1-7. Satire in Lucilius' hands came straight from the great comic poets of Greece, who, when they saw a rogue, had no scruple in painting him as such. The spirit is identical, the metre only changed.

7-13. In spite of high merits he failed in point of form, from thinking of quantity rather than quality.

13-21. That is the mistake of people like Crispinus, not mine.

21-38. Yet this does not secure me popularity. Poetasters, like Fannius, have fame, but I have not ventured to publish, and I have not the courage to read my writings in public. Why is Satire unpopular? Because so many people know that its shafts may fairly be aimed at them. They accuse the poet of trading on the weaknesses of his friends.

38-56. Hear my reply. Let me say first that they do me too great honour if they call me a 'poet.' I do not claim the name. It is an old question whether comedy is poetry. Its language is the language of common life: its passion the passion of common life.

56-62. Take to pieces a line of Ennius, and the fragments are the fragments of a poet. Do the same for Lucilius, and you have nothing that marks the poet.

63-65. But we will leave this question, and ask again why Satire is looked on so jealously.

65-78. You suggest that my trade is that of the informer. I might answer that it is the guilty, not the innocent, who dread even the informer. But I am very unlike an informer. I seek no publicity, even in days when no place is sacred from recitations.

78-79. You say I take pleasure in giving pain.

79-91. You must ask my friends about that. True malignity is to be found in the gossip of private life. But you who are so much on the look out for malignity listen with pleasure to the ill-natured buffoonery of the supper table.

91-103. You see rancour in my playful and general Satire, and yourself defend an old friend who is under a cloud in such a way as without sneering to teach the world to sneer.

103-129. My Satire contains nothing of that sort. It is only a

BOOK I, SATIRE IV, 1-8

following out of the method by which my excellent father taught me morals—by examples.

129-139. I have carried on the practice in my own self-training. My Satires are notes of it.

139-end. At worst it is an innocent weakness; you must pardon it. If you do not, beware—lest we poets come in force, for there is a host of us, and convert you against your will into a poet like ourselves.

1. These three are put together by Quintilian (10. 1. 65) as the most famous names of the 'comœdia vetus' (as contrasted, according to the Alexandrine classification, with the Middle and New). Horace possibly recognizes the division by the use of the term 'vetus comœdia' in A. P. 281. 'Prisca' here and in Sat. 1. 10. 16 has probably no such technical sense. Cp. 'priscus' of Cratinus himself in Epp. 1. 19. 1. At the same time there is no doubt the feeling that comedy 'in early days' was more personal and free-spoken than it became afterwards. This is the point of the passage in A. P. 281 foll.

2. **virorum**: with emphasis, 'true men' (just as 'poetae' in v. 1 is emphatic, 'true poets'). Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 247 'Vergilius Variusque poetae.' Cp. perhaps Lucr. 3. 372 'Democriti quod sancta viri sententia ponit.' There is special reference to the manliness of their freedom. So Sat. 1. 10. 16 'Illi scripta quibus comœdia prisca viris est.' That line also illustrates the construction of the gen. as in agreement with the relative instead of the antecedent, for which cp. Sat. 1. 1. 1 'quam sortem . . . illa,' and see on Epod. 2. 37.

3. **describi**. Epp. 2. 1. 154, A. P. 18 'pluvius describitur arcus.' It seems to be a metaphor from drawing, 'delineated.'

5. **famosus**: 'infamous' Od. 3. 3. 26.

notabant: Sat. 1. 3. 24 n.

6. **hinc**, 'from them.' Od. 3. 17. 2. So 'unde,' Sat. 1. 6. 12.

7. **pedibus numerisque**. A general description of metre, feet and their rhythmical disposition. Lucilius adopted (though not universally) the Hexameter.

faustus, 'witty,' as Cicero calls Aristophanes 'facetissimus poeta veteris comœdiae' Leg. 2. 15. 37.

8. **emunctae naris**: 'no driveller,' 'with all his wits about him'; especially of keen perception. Phaedr. 3. 3. 14 'Aesopus naris emunctae senex.' Quintilian speaks of the Attic writers (12. 10. 17) as 'limati et emuncti.' So 'nares acutae' Sat. 1. 3. 30. Cp. the use of *κορυφαῖα*, see Liddell and Scott, s.v.

durus componere. Explained by Sat. 1. 10. 1 'Nempe incompósito dixi pede currere versus Lucili' and ib. v. 58 'Versiculos . . . magis factos et euntis Mollius': 'harsh in the construction of his verse': 'durus' as 'poeta durissimus' Cic. ad Att. 14. 20. 3. In A. P. 446 we have 'duros versus.' For the infin. see App. II to vol. i.

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9. **hoc**, 'in this that follows,' viz. his rapidity of composition. With this picture cp. the boast of Horace's interlocutor in Sat. 1. 9. 23 'quis me scribere pluris Aut citius possit versus?'

10. **dictabat**: Epp. 2. 1. 110, as to an amanuensis; but it takes its place side by side with 'scribere' (see vv. 12, 13), as a verb describing literary composition, without special consideration at the moment of the method used.

stans pede in uno: probably explained as a proverbial expression meaning 'as an easy thing,' something that you could do without needing both feet. Cp. (with Palmer) Quintil. 12. 9. 18 'in his actionibus omni, ut agricolae dicunt, pede standum est.'

11. **cum flueret**, 'as he flowed along in a muddy stream'; for metaph. cp. Od. 4. 2. 5-8; Sat. 1. 7. 28.

lutulentus. Contrast the description of the poet who is to be a true classic in Epp. 2. 2. 120 'Vehemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni.'

tollere: as 'tollenda' in Sat. 1. 10. 51, 'to remove.' Cp. Quintilian 10. 1. 94 'Ego ab Horatio dissentio qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum et esse aliquid quod tollere possis putat.'

13. **ut multum**: sc. 'scripserit,' 'that he wrote much is nothing to me.' The construction is probably Cicero's 'concedere ut,' 'to grant that.' The more usual construction of 'nihil moror' in this sense is the acc. and inf. 'nil moror eum tibi esse amicum,' Plaut. Trin. 2. 2. 56. Cp. Horace's use of it with an obj. acc. Epp. 1. 15. 16. Palmer suggested that it might also be taken as '= 'how much he wrote.'

14. **Crispinus**: cp. on Sat. 1. 1. 120.

minimo me provocat. Porph. explains this by a proverbial expression, 'minimo digito provocare,' which he vouches for as existent in his own time ('solemus dicere') with the meaning 'to challenge contemptuously'; 'cum volumus quem intellegi tantum valere minimo digito quantum alium viribus.' Acr. repeats this, but adds the alternative explanation, 'Minimo provocare dicuntur hi qui in sponsione (in laying a wager) plus ipsi promittunt quam exigant ab adversario,' so that the construction would be as 'sponsione provocare,' and the sense 'offers me long odds.' It would seem, in spite of the definiteness of their statements, that both Scholiasts were feeling their way to an explanation of a difficult phrase, and in that case we can hardly be more confident. No fresh light has been thrown on it. Bentley wished to read 'nummo' for 'minimo' (a confusion of writing found elsewhere), 'would lay me a sesterce,' i.e. (as he explains) such a sum as his poverty allows.

17. **inopis quodque pusilli** = 'quod inopis pusillique,' &c. See note on Od. 1. 30. 6. There is a good note on the subject in Dissen's Tibullus on 1. 1. 51.

inopis: of want of ideas.

pusilli: of want of spirit, so that perhaps they answer in inverse

BOOK I, SATIRE IV, 9-28

order to 'raro,' 'perpauca'; he rarely finds the spirit to speak, and when he does he finds little to say. The construction which attaches *loquentis* to *animi* may be compared as a more prosaic form of the same trope with *Od.* 4. 9. 34-44, note on v. 39. For the qualitative gen. after *finxerunt me*, an extension of its use with 'sum,' cp. *Sat.* 2. 8. 84 'redis mutatae frontis.'

19. The similitude expresses both windiness and length. The metaphor is imitated by *Pers.* *Sat.* 5. 10 and *Juv.* *S.* 7. 111.

21. *beatus*. Cp. *Epp.* 2. 2. 108 'quidquid scripsere beati,' of the happiness of self-satisfaction.

Fannius: 'ineptus Hermogenis . . conviva Tigelli,' *Sat.* 1. 10. 80. He is not mentioned otherwise in extant Roman literature. The meaning of the following words can only be guessed. The Schol. offer us several guesses, some evidently wrong, as that the senate presented Fannius with his bust and some book-cases; or that his heirs sent his bust and book-cases to some public library;—but Fannius surely was alive in *Sat.* 1. 10. *ultro* should mean that the act, whatever it was, was one of his own self-sufficiency. When Pollio founded, out of the spoils of his Illyrian campaign, the first public library in Rome, he put into it 'imagines' of the great authors, but admitted Varro alone of living writers (*Plin.* *N. H.* 7. 31). Pollio's campaign and triumph were in B.C. 39. It is possible therefore that the reference is to some story of Fannius having volunteered for the same honour. Or it may mean that he presented his bust and books to private libraries. For 'imagines' in private libraries see Mayor on *Juv.* *S.* 7. 29.

22. *capsis*: cases put to the same use as 'scrinia' (see on *Sat.* 1. 1. 120), but apparently the smaller. *Sat.* 1. 10. 63, *Epp.* 2. 1. 268.

mea . . timentis. *Madv.* § 297 a.

nemo legat . . . recitare timentis. Cp. vv. 71-74. They are not published and are not read to mixed audiences.

24. *sunt quos iuvat*: see on *Od.* 1. 1. 3.

genus hoc: sc. *Satire*.

utpote pluris: ὡς πλείους ὄντας τοὺς ψόγου ἀξίους. An attraction, more Greek than Latin, of the causal clause 'quippe cum plures culpam digni sint' into apposition to the pronoun 'sunt quos.' These 'some' are, or belong to, the majority who know that they deserve the satirist's lash.

26. *ob avaritiam*. 'Laborare ob' is a construction not found elsewhere. Bentley would therefore read 'ab avaritia,' which has since been found in a single MS. There is some MS. authority for another change, 'miser' for 'misera,' i.e. 'miser ob avaritiam aut ambitione.' 'Laborare' is used absolutely, so that there is no inherent impropriety in the construction 'laborare ob avaritiam.' Any harshness is softened by the distance and the intervention of a second construction.

28. *argenti*. *Epp.* 1. 6. 17 'argentum et marmor vetus aeraque

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et artis.' Cp. Od. 4. 11. 6; Epp. 1. 16. 76, 2. 2. 181; of works of art in silver, plate, &c. see Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 76.

stupet. Sat. 2. 7. 95 'Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,' Virg. G. 2. 508 'Hic stupet attonitus rostris.'

Albius: whose son is beggared by this extravagance, v. 109. That the name belonged to Horace's friend, the poet Tibullus (Od. 1. 33 and Epp. 1. 4), who of course is not meant, is perhaps a proof that it is not taken at haphazard, but would have to a reader definite associations with some person either in real life or in previous literature.

29. The 'mercator,' the standing example of a man who 'makes haste to be rich.' With this description cp. Epp. 1. 1. 45, 46.

31. **fertur**: as though he were run away with. Virg. G. 1. 514 'Fertur equis auriga.'

32. **aut ampliet ut**: probably a final clause, giving another motive, rather than in construction after 'metuens.'

33. They hate the poet because they are afraid of what he writes.

34. Porph. vouches for its having been a custom in his time to warn passers-by against a dangerous bull by fastening a wisp of hay to its horns. A metaphorical allusion to the same practice is found in Plutarch, Vita Crassi. For the satirist as an angry bull cp. Epod. 6. 11 'in malos asperimus Parata tollo cornua.'

35. **excutiat**: of drawing out something that does not come readily, so 'excutere lacrimas,' Ter. Heaut. 1. 1. 115. **sibi**, Dat. commodi.

36. **illeverit**. The expression seems to imply haste and carelessness. He will not even be at the pains to think carefully of what he writes.

37. **furno . . . lacuque**. 'The bakehouse (Juv. S. 7. 4) and the tank.' Agrippa had made 700 such 'lacus,' reservoirs filled from the aqueducts.

39. **primum**: the second question, though not formally introduced by 'deinde,' begins at v. 64.

poetas: so the MSS. It was altered to 'poetis' by Bentley on the authority of Comm. Cruq., who on Sat. 1. 6. 25 supports 'tribuno' by quoting 'dederim quibus esse poetis.' Both constructions are possible, though perhaps the dative is more in Horace's way; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 19 'licet esse beatis,' A. P. 372 'mediocribus esse poetis Non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.'

40. **concludere**: as 'pedibus quid claudere senis' Sat. 1. 10. 59, 'pedibus claudere verba' Sat. 2. 1. 28. 'To round off,' 'to make the feet fit in exactly.'

41. **dixeris**, 'You are [not] likely to say,' Madv. § 550 b and 370.

42. **sermoni**: as often in Cicero, 'ordinary conversation,' see inf. v. 48. With the whole passage cp. Cic. Orat. 20. 67 'video visum esse nonnullis Platonis et Democriti locutionem, etsi absit

BOOK I, SATIRE IV, 28-52

a versu, tamen quod incitatus feratur et clarissimis verborum luminibus utatur, potius poema putandam quam comicorum poetarum, apud quos, nisi quod versiculi sunt, nihil est aliud cotidiani dissimile sermonis.

43. **ingenium**. 'The native gift'; cp. its contrast with 'ars' A. P. 295. What particular gift, must be settled by the context, but it is specially used for the gift of the poet—imagination, fancy; cp. A. P. 323 'Grais ingenium, Grais dedit ore rotundo Musa loqui.' Horace claims it for himself, Od. 2. 18. 9.

mens divinator, what we call 'inspiration,' something which raises him above the ordinary condition of human intelligence. The poet is 'divino quodam spiritu inflatus' Cic. Arch. 8. 18.

os magna sonaturum, i. e. a correspondent diction; cp. Virg. G. 3. 294 'magno nunc ore sonandum.' For the use of 'os' cp. Od. 4. 2. 8, A. P. 94, 323.

45. **quidam**, the 'nonnulli' of Cicero, Orat. 20. 67, quoted on v. 42. The reason given applies to the new comedy of manners, Menander and his Latin imitators, not to the old Attic comedy.

46. **acer spiritus**. See on Od. 2. 16. 38. It is the result and manifestation of the 'mens divinator'; 'the fire and force of inspiration.'

47. **rebus**: a wide word for the matter as opposed to the diction, including Aristotle's *διάνοια*, 'sententia,' 'thought,' as well as *μῦθος*, 'fabula,' 'plot'; cp. A. P. 89 'res comica,' 322 'versus inopes rerum.' Cp. Quintil. 10. 1. 27 'ab his [poetis] et in rebus spiritus, et in verbis sublimitas . . . petitur.'

pede certo, i. e. laws of rhythm, fixed succession of quantities. So 'tempora certa' v. 58.

48. **at, &c.**, an interruption, answered in v. 52. 'Surely there is fire in the scenes where a father storms at his son,' &c. Cp. A. P. 93 'Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,' &c. The cases imagined are commonplaces of Latin comedy.

49. **meretrice**, for the relation of the ablative cp. Od. 3. 5. 6 'turpis maritus coniuge barbara.' **nepos**, Epod. 1. 34.

51. Persius seems to have this among other passages in view, 5. 163 'an siccis dedecus obstem Cognatis? an rem patriam rumore sinistro . . . frangam, dum Chrysidis udas Ebrius ante foris exstincta cum face canto?' So that the 'faces' would be the 'funalia' of Od. 3. 26. 7, and the picture of a tipsy serenade.

52. Horace answers, 'After all, this is only the language of passion in real life: for poetry we want not metre only but poetical diction; no one would mistake Ennius for prose even if you destroyed the metre.'

52. **Pomponius** may be a real person whose circumstances would be known to the readers. Or he may be the person in comedy alluded to; 'pater si viveret' in that case meaning 'if it were a father in real life,' opp. 'personatus pater' v. 56.

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54. **puris**, 'plain,' 'unadorned.' Quintilian, 8. 3. 14, recommends, as the suitable style for cases heard in private or before a small bench, '*purus sermo et dissimilis curae*.' Cp. the use of '*purum*' with '*argentum*,' 'not chased.' It translates *ψαλός* Arist. Poet. 1. 7.

56. **personatus**, adj. from '*persona*,' wearing a mask; 'the father on the stage.'

58. **tempora certa modosque**. The adj. belongs to both subst. Cp. the equivalent '*pedibus numerisque*' of v. 7, 'regularity in quantities and rhythm.'

60. The Schol. here, and Servius on Virg. Aen. 7. 622 '*Bellicatos rumpit Saturnia postis*,' attribute these verses to Ennius.

62. **etiam** with **disiecti**: 'in our case you would not recognize, as you would in the case of Ennius, the limbs, even though you had dismembered him, of a poet.'

63. **iustum**, 'proper,' 'legitimate.'

65. **Sulcius** . . . **Caprius**. It is usually supposed that the persons meant are professional accusers (such as are called '*quadraplatores*' Cic. Div. in Caec. 7. 24 et al.). The names here may possibly be literary. Caelius occurs in Lucil. 30. 117, and in a context ('*ut semel in Caeli pugnas te invadere vidi*') which is not unsuitable to a '*latro*.'

acer, as '*canis acer*,' 'of keen scent.' Perhaps Horace has actually in mind the comparison of accusers to watch-dogs, which is in view in Epod. 6, and which forms the subject of an elaborate paragraph in Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 20. 55-57, a passage which well illustrates the view that the class here spoken of are men who made a trade of accusation.

66. **rauci male**, 'valde,' Schol., the adverb intensifying the unpleasant signification of the adj. See on Od. 1. 17. 25, Sat. 1. 3. 45. Perhaps 'with ill-omened croak.' They are hoarse with bawling in court.

libellis, notes of the case, depositions, or other documents which the accusers would carry into court, as Juv. of the '*causidicus*,' Sat. 7. 107 '*comites in fasce libelli*.'

69. **ut**, concessive, 'even suppose that;' Madv. § 440 a, obs. 4.

70-73. The moods in this passage have caused considerable discussion. '*Sim*' has been altered (as by Heind. and Orelli) to '*sum*.' On the other hand Bentley, following some inferior MSS. of Lambinus, would read '*recitem*.' If we keep '*sim*' it is possible either to make it the apodosis to '*ut sis*,' 'even though you be like Caelius I need not be like Caprius,' or perhaps better (with Lambinus) to make it a further supposition in the concessive clause, the apodosis being '*cur metuas me?*' 'If you had clean hands you might laugh at the informers, but supposing that you are like Caelius, while I am not like Caprius, why should you fear me?' The mutual opposition of the two clauses

BOOK I, SATIRE IV, 54-82

under 'ut' is expressed by the emphatic 'sis tu,' 'non ego sim,' 'you are, I am not.' In 'habeat' we are still feeling the hypothetical construction of 'ut sis,' &c. 'It does not follow that my writing should lie in any bookseller's shop.'

71. **taberna** . . . **pila**: cp. A. P. 373; variously explained of a pillar erected opposite a shop and of shops under arcades, such as are common in Italian towns now. The pillar opposite the shop would be used both as a support for an additional stall for exposing the wares, 'armaria quae apud pilas sunt' Porph., and for hanging advertisements and specimens: cp. Mart. 1. 117. 10 'Contra Caesaris est forum taberna Scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis Omnis ut cito perlegas poetas,' ib. 7. 61. 5 'Nulla catenatis pila est praecincta lagonis.'

72. **Hermogenis Tigelli**, Sat. 1. 3. 129, 1. 9. 25, 1. 10. 18, 80, 90; see Intro. to Sat. 1. 3. He is the representative of the foppish and effeminate taste of the day in music and poetry. So that Horace says 'I do not mean to court popularity either with the crowd or with the would-be critics whose taste I value no higher.'

73. **recito**: absol. as in Juv. S. 3. 9 'Augusto recitantis mense poetas.'

75. **lavantes**, as Martial, 3. 44. 12, of the egotistical poet, 'In thermas fugio: sonas ad aurem.'

76. **suave**, &c., an ironical excuse, imagined for them. 'It is such a good room for sound.' Cp. Sen. Epist. 56 speaking of the noise endured by one who lodges near a bath; 'adice illum cui vox sua in balneo placet.'

inanis, 'frivolous,' a Lucretian use, 1. 639, &c. This is the comment on the excuse.

77. **sensu**: cp. the use of 'sensus communis' Sat. 1. 3. 66.

79. **inquit**, sc. 'aliquis,' of an imagined answer, even when the passage is generally in the second person; so Sat. 2. 2. 99. It is a prose usage. Bentley quotes Cic. pro Clu. 34. 92 and pro Flacc. 23. 55.

studio, with **facis**; 'with zeal.' As Cicero 'studio accusare' Rosc. Am. 32. 91.

pravus: as we say 'from a crook in your nature.'

80. **quis**, 'aliquis,' as Sat. 1. 3. 63.

denique: the same use as in an ordinary climax, though, as not unfrequently, there are only two steps in the ascent. Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 127.

81-103. Horace first gives a picture of true malignity of disposition. Then, in the light of this, he contrasts with his own comments on his neighbours, first the readily-conceded licence of the jester at the banquet, then the innuendoes of a 'candid friend.'

82. **defendit**: for the lengthened syllable cp. Sat. 1. 5. 90 'soleat,' 1. 9. 21 'subiit,' 2. 1. 82 'condiderit,' 2. 2. 47 'erat,' 2. 3. 1 'scribis,' 187 'velit,' 260 'agit,' see on Od. 1. 3. 36.

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85. **niger**, 'malignant.' Compare the use of μέλας; see Liddell and Scott.

Romane. The emphatic 'tu' calls attention to the import of the name. 'Tu qui vere Romanus sis.'

86. **quaternos**, four on each. It looks as if *three*, the number commonly found in the references of literature, was the limit only in the more luxurious society. On the other side, five is spoken of as an excessive number, 'Cic. in Pis. 27. 67. 'Graeci stipati, quini in lectulis.' The contrast of numbers, 'quaternos' 'unus,' seems to mean 'some one in a large party.'

87. **amet**. The majority of MSS. have 'avet.' 'Amet' the reading of one of the Bland. and of g., is preferred by Bentley, Munro, and Kiessling. The subjunctive is more fitting in what technically is a relative clause in the *orat. obl.* dependent on 'videas,' and substantially is the most important statement in the sentence: the less important additions, 'qui praebebat,' 'cum aperit' may stand in the *indic.*, see *Madv.* § 369. For 'amet' cp. *Sat.* 1. 10. 60, and see on *Od.* 2. 3. 10.

quavis, as Catullus (40. 6, 76. 14) used 'qualibet,' sc. 'ratione': but by the choice of the designation for 'the host' in the next line 'qui praebebat aquam,' a reflected force is thrown on 'quavis,' as though it were 'aqua' that was to be understood, 'with water whether clean or foul.'

88. **qui praebebat aquam**. The expression must have come from an ἑρπας, where the guests brought all but the water; as in *Od.* 3. 19. 6 'quis aquam temperet ignibus,' and cp. *Sat.* 2. 2. 69.

post, 'postea.'

89. Cp. *Epod.* 11. 13, *Epp.* 1. 5. 16 'operta recludit.'

91. **infesto nigris**: though you hate the character described above as 'malignant.'

92. From *Sat.* 1. 2. 27, and standing generally as a type of the personalities of Horace's Satires. Similarly in *Sat.* 2. 1. 22 he quotes 'Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem' from *Sat.* 1. 8. 11.

93. **lividus**, 'spiteful.'

mordax: for the figure cp. *Od.* 4. 3. 16, *Epp.* 1. 18. 82, and especially *Epod.* 6. 15, where 'atro' = 'livido.'

94. **Capitolini Petilli**, *Sat.* 1. 10. 25 'cum Dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli,' the subject of a *cause célèbre* in Horace's time not elsewhere mentioned. We should naturally think of some trial 'de peculatu.' The Scholiasts complete the story: 'Fingit se loqui cum quodam qui amicus sit Petillii, amici Caesaris, qui accusatus quod coronam Iovis Capitolini rapuisset absolutus est.' 'Cum Capitolio praesesset coronam rapuit. Ex crimine Capitolinus Petillius vocabatur.' The account is discredited by two facts, (1) Capitolinus is known to have been a proper 'cognomen' in the gens Petillia. (2) The crime of robbing Capitoline Jove of his crown is *proverbial* as early as Plautus, *Trin.* 1. 2. 46, *Menaechm.* 5. 5. 38.

BOOK I, SATIRE IV, 85-123

See Intro. to Satires. For the inversion of family and gentile name see on Od. 2. 2. 3 'Crispe Sallusti.'

96. *amicoque*: for the hypermeter, cp. Sat. 1. 6. 103 'peregreve,' Virg. G. 1. 295.

100. *nigrae*, recalling the 'niger' of vv. 85, 91. This is blackness itself.

101. *aerugo mera*. Horace uses the expression again A. P. 330 of avarice, 'aerugo et cura peculi,' fixing the meaning here as a 'poisonous canker' of the mind. Martial's use of the word 10. 33. 5 'viridi tinctos aerugine versus,' and 2. 61. 4 are recollections of this passage.

102. *prius*, to go still further back.

ut, sc. 'promitto,' 'as I promise if I can promise anything else with sincerity,' i.e. 'as sincerely as I can ever make a promise.'

105. *hoc* may be the abl. as in Sat. 2. 2. 109 'pluribus assuerit mentem,' or a cogn. accus. after the precedent of the double accusative with 'docere,' &c.

106. *notando* describes the father's mode of teaching the lesson; 'branding by means of examples the vices one by one, that I might avoid them.' There is a curious parallel to this account of the way in which Horace's father taught morality by concrete examples in Ter. Adelph. act 3, sc. 3, where Demea describes to Syrus the pains he had taken to bring up Ctesiphon well.

D. praeceptorum plenus istorum ille. S. Phy!

Domi habuit unde disceret. D. Fit sedulo:

Nil praetermitto: consuefacio, denique

Inspicere tamquam in speculum in vitas omnium

Iubeo, atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi.

Hoc facito' S. Recte sane. D. Hoc fugito. S. Callide.

D. Hoc laudi est. S. Istaec res est. D. Hoc vitio datur, &c.

109. *male vivat*, 'has a bad life of it.' Epp. 1. 17. 10, opp. 'bene vivere;' see below on v. 135.

Albi filius: see above on v. 28.

110. *inops*, sc. 'sit.'

115. *quid . . . causas*, a brachylogy='causas cur hoc vel illud melius sit vitatu petitive.' For the position of 'que' see on Od. 1. 30. 6. 'A philosopher will explain to you the grounds of moral choice. My aim is only practical, for myself to keep traditional rules of conduct; and for you, to preserve your life and your good name till you are old enough to take care of yourself.'

118. *custodis*, that is, παιδαγωγού. Cp. A. P. 161, 239 and see on Sat. 1. 6. 81. Horace's father discharged the duty himself.

122. *quo*, sc. 'auctore'; 'a pattern for so acting.'

123. *iudicibus selectis*. The expression describes the register ('album') of 'iudices' for the 'Quaestiones Perpetuae' drawn up for the year by the 'Praetor Urbanus.' To be so selected was a proof of respectability. Cic. Clu. 43. 121 'praetores urbani qui iurati debent optimum quemque in selectos iudices referre.' Ovid uses the expression in a similar way Am. 1. 10. 38, Trist. 2. 132.

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obiciebat, 'suggested.'

124. **an**, to be taken before 'addubites,' 'What, can you doubt?' or 'Can you, then, doubt?' Madv. § 453 has collected examples from Cicero and the Comic dramatists of this rhetorical use of 'an,' asking a question which is represented as absurd or certainly to be answered in the negative, as though it were the only alternative, supposing what has been already said or implied be brought into doubt. Cp. Sat. 1. 10. 74, 2. 3. 134, 312, 9. 109.

inhonestum et inutile, offending against both canons at once of conduct, 'honestum' (τὸ καλόν), and 'utile' (τὸ συμφέρον). Epp. 1. 2. 3 'quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe; quid utile, quid non.' Cp. Cic. de Off. 3. 2.

125. **flagret**, as Cic. commonly, 'flagrare invidia, infamia,' &c., 'to be in the full glow of,' i.e. to be the conspicuous object of. Its more simple use is with passions, &c., 'amore' Epod. 5. 81, 'desiderio,' 'cupidine,' which may be supposed to cause the 'glow' from within.

126. **avidus**, sc. 'edendi,' as in Od. 3. 23. 4 and Sat. 1. 5. 75: the object of the 'eagerness' is to be inferred from the context: cp. Od. 3. 4. 58, where 'avidus' = 'avidus pugnae.'

127. **sibi parcere**, 'to be careful of themselves,' as Epp. 1. 7. 11 'sibi parcat.'

128. **teneros**. As Virgil when he is making the ways of young trees into a parable, 'adeo in teneris consuescere multum est,' G. 2. 272, so here 'teneros' = 'young,' but also indicates the characteristic of youth which is in point—the young are 'not yet hardened' against reproaches. If they are like the greedy, they are like the greedy when they are sick and alive to the meaning of a neighbour's funeral.

129. **ex hoc**, 'thanks to this'—to my father's plan of education.

sanus ab. 'Sanus' may be taken as a more coloured rendering of 'liber,' and as taking the construction of that word, or we may compare 'securus ab,' 'metuere ab,' of the quarter, i.e. the respect, in which the danger exists.

132. **liber**, as above, v. 90, 'free-spoken.'

133. **lectulus**. Suet. Oct. 78 'A cena lucubratoriam se in lecticulum recipiebat. Ibi donec residua diurni actus aut omnia aut ex maxima parte conficeret, ad multam noctem permanebat, in lectum inde transgressus.' So Ovid. Trist. 1. 11. 37 'Non haec in nostris ut quondam scripsimus hortis, Nec, consuete, meum, lectule, corpus habes.' Horace spent the morning till ten o'clock on his couch, Sat. 1. 6. 122.

134. **porticus**. Epp. 1. 1. 71, one of the colonnades, of which there were so many in Rome (a fragment remains of the Porticus Octaviae) in which the citizens walked, or were carried in litters (Juv. S. 7. 178), and even drove (ib. 4. 5).

135. **melius**. It covers both 'better' and 'more happily'; see above, v. 109, and compare the use of 'bene vivere' in a

BOOK I, SATIRE IV, 123-143—SATIRE V

quasi-philosophical sense in the Epistles, Epp. 1. 6. 56, 1. 11. 29, 1. 15. 45.

137. 'olim,' 'some day,' A. P. 386; see on Epod. 3. 1.

139. *illudo chartis*, 'I play with (waste) some paper.' For the depreciatory use of 'ludere' of a man's own compositions cp. Sat. 1. 10. 37 and see on Od. 1. 32. 2. Horace is giving a final account of his writing of Satire. It is his playful and childlike method of self-rebuke and self-instruction.

141. *veniat*. The coming is put hypothetically; the result, if they do come, as a certain future.

142. *multo plures*, a comic exaggeration (Palmer well compares Juv. S. 14. 276 'plus hominum est iam In pelago,' 'there are more men nowadays at sea than on land'), which serves the purpose of bringing the Satire to a close, suggesting at the same time Horace's familiar ironical plea for writing (Od. 1. 1, Sat. 2. 1. 24 foll.), that he claims the freedom of taste that all others claim. Here it is 'more than half the world write poetry of some kind, and we should make common cause.'

143. *Iudaei*: the ref. is to their proselytizing spirit, S. Matt. 23. 15.

in hanc turbam, sc. 'in manum poetarum.'

concedere. There is a certain play in keeping the same verb in slightly different senses: 'If you won't yield to us in one way you will have to do so in another.'

SATIRE V

THE JOURNEY TO BRUNDISIUM

THE idea of the Satire was from Lucilius. 'Lucilium hac satira aemulatus Horatius iter suum a Roma usque ad Brundisium describens quod et ille in tertio libro fecit, primum a Roma Capuam usque et inde fretum Siciliense.' A few fragments of the model exist.

A chief purpose doubtless of the Satire is to give a picture of the poet's relations to Maecenas, the freedom and absence of servility which characterize them; the literary circle with which they were shared, the absence, even at a critical moment in state affairs, of any political bearing in the intimacy.

So strongly is this last characteristic reflected in the poem that it lacks any reference to public events by which we might have fixed the occasion and date of the journey.

The only occasion on which we know of an arrangement having been concluded at Brundisium between Octavianus and Antony was the so-called peace of Brundisium in B. C. 40 (the occasion of Virgil's 4th Eclogue), when Maecenas represented Octavianus, Pollio Antony, and Cocceius was added as a referee (κοινὸς ἀμφοῖν Ἀππian, Bell. Civ. 5, 709). This is excluded by the conditions of

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the case, as Horace was certainly not admitted to Maecenas' circle before B.C. 38; see *Intro.* to *Satires*. It is however alluded to in v. 29, where Maecenas and Cocceius are called '*legati aversos soliti componere amicos*.' Kirchner (followed by Franke, Orelli, and Ritter) maintained that the journey belongs to the 'treaty of Tarentum' in the spring of B.C. 37. Antony came on that occasion to Brundisium, as though that were the place appointed for meeting, but being ill received by the inhabitants went on to Tarentum, where eventually terms were arranged through the intervention of Octavia, who called in the help of Maecenas and Agrippa as friends of Octavianus (*Plut. Ant.* 35). There is no further evidence as to any journey of negotiators on behalf of Octavianus to Brundisium, and if they also went on to Tarentum it is not explained why Horace stops the story where he does. Schütz suggested, with great probability, that the reference is to the previous mission of Maecenas to Antony, then probably at Athens, in the autumn of 38 (*Appian, B. C.* 5. 728). Horace would then have accompanied him to the place of embarkation. It is natural that Maecenas should associate with himself for such a purpose Capito, who was a personal friend of Antony, and Cocceius, who had been previously employed by both sides as an impartial adviser. Cocceius is probably the M. Cocceius Nerva who was consul in B.C. 36, the great-grandfather of the Emperor Nerva. L. Fonteius Capito was 'consul suffectus' in B.C. 30. We find him immediately after the 'treaty of Tarentum' in Antony's company, and employed by him to bring Cleopatra to Syria. It will be remembered that to the Romans a journey to Brundisium was what a journey to Dover was a generation or two ago to Englishmen. Brundisium (Brindisi) was to them, as it still is, the port from which the passage to Greece was made.

- 1-6. Horace starts with Heliodorus and travels along the Via Appia, the first day to Aricia, the second to Appii Forum, reaching it in the evening.
- 7-26. The journey is continued through the night by boat along the canal [which had been part of a scheme of Octavianus for draining the Pomptine marshes (see A. P. 65)]. They land late in the morning, and have three miles to climb to Anxur on its cliffs.
- 27-33. Here the negotiators join them, coming possibly by sea.
- 34-38. Starting again they pass through Fundi, where the chief magistrate is fulsome and consequential, and after a long day reach Formiae, where they sleep at a house belonging to Murena, Maecenas' brother-in-law, Capito (who probably also had a 'villa' there) finding cook and dinner.
- 39-46. On the fifth day, as they pass through Sinuessa, Plotius Tucca, Virgil, and Varius join them. They sleep at a 'villula,' on the border of Latium and Campania.
- 47-49. On the sixth day they reach Capua early.

BOOK I, SATIRE V, 1-3

- 50-70. The seventh night is spent at Cocceius' 'villa' beyond Caudium. [They are now beginning to cross the Apennines.] Here the amusement of the evening is described, the encounter of the two 'scurrae.'
- 71-85. On the eighth day they reach Beneventum in the upper valley of the Volturnus. [From this point the Via Appia proceeds through Venusia to Tarentum and from thence to Brundisium. Maecenas and his party go by a cross road which diverges from this and makes more directly for the Adriatic coast.] The night is spent at a 'villa' near Trivium. On the road they have been catching sight of the hill outlines of Horace's old neighbourhood.
- 86-93. They have now crossed the pass and descend rapidly (tenth day) to a little town with a name intractable for hexameter verse, and which cannot be identified. The eleventh day takes them to Canusium, where Varius leaves them.
- 94-end. The twelfth to Rubi, a long stage in bad weather. The thirteenth to Barium. We are now on the coast. The fourteenth and fifteenth to Egnatia and Brundisium.

1. *accepit*, 'welcomed,' Sat. 2. 6. 81, Virg. Aen. 3. 78. The verb is specially used with 'hospitio,' in the sense of 'hospitality,' 'entertainment,' as Cic. ad Att. 2. 15. 4. Some good MSS. have 'exceptit'; cp. Liv. 38. 41 'postero die Priaticus campus eos excepit.' If we retain 'accepit,' the fact that Aricia was the 'first stopping-place' is left to 'egressum . . . Roma,' and the emphasis is laid entirely on the contrast 'magna,' 'modico,' the exchange of the splendours of Rome for the first experience of a country inn.

Aricia. Virg. Aen. 7. 762 foll., Juv. S. 4. 117 (Mayor, n.), Cic. Phil. 3. 6. 15. A town sixteen miles from Rome, one mile and a half beyond the modern Albano. The present town of Lariccina, which is on the hill, covers the site of the ancient citadel, Aricia itself having lain in the valley to which the 'Via Appia' descended by the 'clivus Aricinus,' the haunt of beggars, Juv. l. c. and Pers. 6. 56.

2. **Heliodorus**: otherwise unknown. He has been identified by some with a writer on metre much praised by Marius Victorinus (fourth cent.) 'inter Graecos huiusce artis antistes aut primus aut solus.' For another conjectural identification see introd. to Od. 3. 19.

3. **Graecorum longe doctissimus**. Some good MSS. have 'linguae,' but the Schol. had 'longe'; 'linguae' may have been due to Od. 3. 8. 5 'docte sermones utriusque linguae,' and to a sense of hyperbole in 'Graecorum longe.' 'Graecorum' to Horace would be almost equivalent to 'rhetorum et grammaticorum,' but the hyperbole is intended and is playful.

Forum Appi. Cic. ad Att. 2. 10. There, as in St. Paul's journey to Rome (Acts 28. 15), it is mentioned in conjunction with 'Tres Tabernae' as among the stopping-places on the Via Appia. The ruins still exist at the forty-third milestone from Rome.

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4. **nautis, cauponibus**, because it was the stopping-place where travellers embarked on the canal. Strabo 5. 3. 6 describes the canal which ran by the side of the Via Appia through the Pomptine marshes to within a short distance of Tarracina. It was used chiefly for night travelling, the boats being dragged by mules.

malignis: see Sat. 1. 1. 29 n.

5. **hoc iter**, i. e. the journey from Rome to Appii Forum.

altius praecinctis = 'expeditioribus,' a humorous adaptation of the measurement of distance in Hdt. and Thuc. *εὐζώνῃ ἀνδρῶν*, as though all travellers went on foot.

6. **minus gravis**. Horace speaks, Epp. 1. 17. 53, of the roughness ('salebras') of the road to Brundisium.

tardis: those who take it in short stages.

7. **detrerrima**. 'Hodie quoque in Foro Appii viatores propter aquam quae ibi detrerrima est manere vitant' Porph. The badness of the water is explained by the neighbourhood of the marshes. Notice that the custom of mixing water with wine is so fixed that Horace does not get out of the difficulty by drinking his wine neat, but goes without his supper.

9. **comites**. Not his own party, for at present Heliodorus alone was with him, but others, possibly who had arrived before, who were to share the boat.

iam nox, etc. The heroic tone of this verse and the next is meant to heighten by contrast the humour of the Dutch picture which follows, just as the 'Musa, velim memores' of v. 53 introduces the vulgar sparring of the clowns.

11. **pueri nautis**. The scene shifts from the supper room to the landing-place of the canal. 'Pueri' are the slaves in attendance on travellers, 'nautae,' men in charge of the barges in which the journey was made.

12. **huc appelle**, of a slave hailing a boat.

trecentos inseris. Not an answer to 'huc appelle,' but another utterance distinguished in the babel of voices, of a boatman whose boat is boarded by a party larger than it will hold, or larger than was bargained for. 'Trecentos,' hyperbole for a large number, Od. 2. 14. 5, 3. 4. 79.

ohe! Sat. 2. 5. 96 'donec ohe iam . . . dixerit.'

14. **mali**, 'comice vituperantis': cp. Sat. 1. 1. 77 n., 'the rascally mosquitoes.'

15. **avertunt**, 'keep at a distance.'

ut, 'whilst.' Some editors put a stop at 'somnos,' and connect this clause with the following sentence: 'whilst they are singing . . . there comes at last a hush and the bargeman sees his opportunity.'

16. **prolutus**. Sat. 2. 4. 26.

vappa. Sat. 2. 3. 144.

viator. One of the passengers, as we should say, in the steerage.

21. **cerebrosus**, a word of Lucilius, 15. 18 = ἀκρόχολος.

BOOK I, SATIRE V, 4-30

prosilat, 'leaps ashore.' The bargeman is asleep on the bank.

22. **saligno**: cut for the purpose from the willows on the bank.

23. **dolat**. A comic word, as it seems properly to have been used of 'hewing,' 'trimming' with an axe.

quarta. As an 'hour' in the Roman sense was a twelfth part of the time between sunrise and sunset, the meaning of the 'fourth hour' will vary with the time of year. If the journey was made, as seems likely, near the equinox, it will correspond nearly with the hour between nine and ten of our time. There is the further doubt whether 'at the fourth hour' means at the beginning of it or at the end of it.

24. **tua, Feronia, lympa**. A shrine with a grove and fountain at the foot of the hills skirting the Pomptine marshes some three miles from Tarracina. Virgil mentions it in connexion with Circeii and Anxur, Aen. 7. 800 'viridi gaudens Feronia luco.' Feronia was an Italian goddess, who had a shrine also at the foot of Mount Soracte, Liv. 1. 30.

25. **pransi**: the usual morning meal, Sat. 1. 6. 127.

repimus. An expressive word for the pace of carriages being dragged up a hill.

26. **Anxur**. The old (Volsian) name of Tarracina. It is the point at which the Volsian hills, and also the Via Appia strike the sea. For its lofty situation see Liv. 5. 12 'alto loco situm' (although elsewhere (4. 59) he describes it as 'urbs prona in paludes,' 'sloping down to the marsh'), cp. 'praecipites . . . Anxuris arces,' Lucan. 3. 84. For the white rocks Mart. 5. 1. 6 'candidus Anxur.' Porph. speaks of the city as having descended in his day to the lower level, although there were still remains of building, even of the city walls, on the top of the hill where it stood in Horace's time.

27. **huc venturus**, probably by sea.

optimus. It has been doubted whether the epithet belongs to Maecenas or to Cocceius. Bentley is doubtless right in taking it with the latter. The same question has been raised at Sat. 1. 10. 82 'Valgius et probet haec Octavius optimus atque Fuscus,' where the rhythm more imperatively than here requires the pause before 'optimus' for 'atque Fuscus' would be intolerable. It is also probably true that for Maecenas 'optimus' would be, as Bentley says, 'compellatio paullo familiarior': it is a higher compliment to leave his name without an epithet. 'The worthiest of men' is then almost an apology for bringing the name of Cocceius into such near relation with that of Maecenas.

29. **soliti**. As the previous peace of Brundisium had been due to their offices. For Cocceius and for the reference of this verse see above in Introd. to the Satire.

30. **hic . . . ego**. This is Horace's personal reminiscence of Tarracina, in contrast with the high affairs with which Maecenas and Cocceius were occupied.

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nigra. Celsus (6. 6. 7) distinguishes two kinds of eye-salve, one called *τέφριον*, from its ashy colour. This and v. 49 are the only places where Horace speaks of himself as suffering from this weakness of the eyes, but he speaks as if it would be recognized as characteristic by his friends. Dillenburger, who thinks that it is only meant as a temporary effect of the night in the marshes, recalls Hannibal's loss of an eye from inflammation in the marshes of the Arno, Liv. 22. 2.

32. **Capito Fonteius**; see Introd. to the Satire. For the order of the two names see on Od. 2. 2. 3.

ad unguem factus, 'perfect,' in accomplishments and refinement; cp. A. P. 294. The metaphor is explained by Porph. as taken from workers in marble who test the finish of junctures by passing the nail over them. So Pers. S. i. 64 'per leve severos Effundat iunctura unguis.' There are parallel phrases in Greek (see Liddell and Scott, s. vv. *ὄνυξ*, *ὄνυχίζειν*, *ἐξὀνυχίζειν*).

33. **non ut magis alter.** Cp. Sat. i. 7. 19 'uti non Compositum [par] melius cum Bitho Bacchius,' 2. 8. 48 'sic convenit ut non Hoc magis ullum aliud.' It may be doubted in such cases whether 'ut' = 'that,' the verb understood being subj., 'to such an extent that no second person is more so,' or 'as,' the verb being indic., 'as no one else is in a greater degree.' The comparison of the constr. of v. 41 'qualis neque candidiores Terra tulit' is in favour of the latter. For the position of 'non' we may compare 'non qui' in Epp. i. 15. 28. 29.

34. **Fundos**, *hod.* 'Fondi,' a town five miles inland, and halfway (thirteen miles from each) on the Via Appia, between Tarracina and Formiae. The Aufidia gens appears from Suet. Calig. 23 to have been native to Fundi, although some members of it attained office at Rome.

praetore. Acron's note is 'praetorem pro magistratu dixit, id est duumviro,' and Heindorf quotes Cic. de Leg. Agr. 2. 34. 92 'cum venissem Capuam coloniam deductam L. Considio et Sext. Saltio, quem ad modum ipsi loquebantur, praetoribus . . . Nam primum cum ceteris in coloniis duumviri appellantur hi se praetores appellari volebant.' Other details follow, of their making their lictors carry 'fasces' instead of wands, &c. Fundi is named by Festus as one of the 'Praefecturae' to which the Praetor Urbanus sent yearly a 'Praefectus iuri dicundo,' an officer who stood in the place of 'duumviri' elected by the people. Aufidius Luscus would be the 'Praefectus.' The more dignified title of 'Praetor' seems to be given to him in derision, perhaps as assumed by himself, as it was by the 'duumviri' at Capua. The abl. absol. 'A. L. praetore' is regular, and 'libenter' goes closely with it. Fundi was not a place to stay long in during the 'praetorship' of Aufidius.

35. **praemia scribae**: the preferment which this clerk from Rome has attained. Possibly Horace, himself a 'scriba,' knew him at Rome.

36. The 'praetexta,' or 'toga' with purple border, belonged to

magistrates at Rome, and even in 'coloniae' and 'municipia' (Liv. 34. 7). The 'latus clavus,' or broad purple stripe down the front of the 'tunica' (Sat. 1. 6. 28), was the distinctive mark of the Senatorian order. Whether Aufidius had a right to the 'praetexta' may be a question. Perhaps he is represented as assuming every possible distinction of dress, lawful and unlawful.

vatillum. What was the purpose of the 'shovel of hot charcoal' is a matter of guessing. Porph. speaks of his having it carried to his house from the public baths, apparently as a perquisite. The Comm. Cruq. says it was with the view of offering incense 'pro felici hospitum adventu.' Various other purposes have been suggested by editors early and late: the heating of branding irons for criminals who came before him, incense for the inauguration of his court; some have thought that 'fire-shovel' is a contemptuous name for something carried before the 'praetor,' perhaps a clumsy imitation of the 'scipio eburneus' of the consul. It was proposed early to read 'bacillum,' a 'little staff' or 'wand,' which Cruquius supported by reference to the passage quoted above from Cic. de Leg. Agr. 2. 34, where there is mention of the 'baculi' carried before the magistrates of a country town. To suit this 'prunae' has been further altered to 'pruni,' 'a wand of plum-tree wood.'

37. Mamurrarum urbe. A satirical description, 'the city of Mamurra and his like,' as though it would be best known to the world as the birth-place of one whose wealth and scandals were still in men's thoughts, the favourite of Julius Caesar, Suet. Jul. Caes. 73, 'decoctor Formianus' of Catull. 41. The place is Formiae (hod. Mola di Gaeta) on the Sinus Caietanus.

38. Murena: see Od. 2. 10, introd., 3. 19. 11. They lodged in the house of Murena, Maecenas' brother-in-law, who it would seem was absent. The supper was provided by Fonteius Capito, one of the company, who also may have had a villa at Formiae, or who may have brought cook and materials for the entertainment.

40. Plotius. Plotius Tucca, who was one of Virgil's two literary executors, Varius being the other. The three friends come together. Cp. the conjunction in Sat. 1. 10. 81 'Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque.' Horace owed his own acquaintance with Maecenas to Varius and Virgil, Sat. 1. 6. 54.

Varius, see on Od. 1. 6. 1.

Sinuessa, near the modern Mondragone. Here the Via Appia turns sharply inland.

41. qualis neque candidiores. For constr. see on Epod. 5. 59, and cp. above note on v. 33, 'souls of such sort as have never walked the earth more purely white.'

42. terra tulit. Sat. 2. 2. 93, Virg. Aen. 11. 285.

neque quis: answering not to 'qualis,' but to 'neque candidiores'; 'nor to whom any is more closely bound than I.'

44. contulerim, potential, Madv. § 350 b; 'sanus' involves a condition 'so long as I am in my senses,' as in Sat. 1. 6. 89 'Nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius.'

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45. **Campano ponti**, a bridge over the Savo (hod. Savone), which here was the boundary of Latium and Campania. It was three miles beyond Sinuessa. There is nothing to indicate whether the 'villula' was a private house or a public place of reception, whether an inn or a posting-house where travelling officials ('qui reipublicae causa iter faciunt' Porph.) received such entertainment as the 'parochi' were bound to supply. This was limited, by a 'lex Iulia de repetundis,' to beds, fuel, salt, and fodder for horses; see Cic. ad Att. 5. 16. The beginning of the practice is described in Liv. 42. 1, and other allusions to it are found in Cic. ad Att. 5. 10 and 21. Porph. gives 'copiarii' as the proper Latin name of these 'parochi.' 'Parochus' is used in a transferred sense in Sat. 2. 8. 36.

47. **tempore**, 'in good time,' 'early'; see Kritz on Sall. Jug. 56.

48. **lusum**, sc. 'pila.' For the game of ball see on Sat. 1. 6. 126. It is noticed that Horace dwells on what shows the individual freedom allowed in Maecenas' circle.

49. **lippiis**: see above on v. 30. Horace had no infirmity which prevented him from playing ball at times; see Sat. 2. 6. 49, where he speaks of playing with Maecenas.

inimicum. Sat. 2. 4. 53.

crudis, 'those suffering from indigestion,' Epp. 1. 6. 61. The author of the life of Virgil which bears Donatus' name mentions among his ailments that 'plerumque stomacho laboravit.'

51. **super**, the meaning is fixed by 'Caudi cauponas': they overshoot the usual halting-place, the inns of Caudium. It is worth noticing that a large number of good MSS. (all the Bland. included) read 'Claudi,' an illustration of the untrustworthiness of MSS. in the case of proper names; see on Od. 3. 16. 41, 3. 20. 15. The mistake is later than the scholia of Porph., who has without hesitation 'supra tabernas Caudi oppidi.' It has begun to infect those of the Pseudo-Acron, which has side by side 'Caudium est civitas Samnii. Lucan. Vltra Caudinas speravit vulnera furcas,' and 'supra Caudi (some MSS. 'Claudi') cuiusdam cauponas.'

nunc mihi paucis, a mock heroic commencement. Cp. Juvenal's introduction of the story of the great fish, 4. 34 foll. Horace describes an encounter of wit between two 'scurrae' (much like two jesters of feudal times), one of whom (Sarmentus) is travelling in Maecenas' suite—the other (Messius) is a native of the neighbouring country (the Oscan language covered Samnium as well as Campania, see Liv. 10. 20), and belongs probably to Cocceius' household.

52. **Sarment.** Juv. S. 5. 3 'Si potes illa pati quae nec Sarmentus iniquas Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset,' on which the Scholiast tells us that he was of Etruscan origin, a slave of M. Favonius, who, on the proscription and death of his master, passed into Maecenas' possession, and was freed by him; he became a 'scriba' and sat in the knights' seats, which exposed him to a prosecution. He fell again eventually into indigence.

BOOK I, SATIRE V, 45-68

Cicirri, *kikippos* acc. to Hesychius meant 'a cock.'

54. **contulerit litis**, a modification of 'conferre certamina,' to suit the wordy fray.

clarum: ironical, as the Osci were looked down upon: cp. the use of 'Opicus'='clownish.'

Osci: prob. the gen. sing. and predicative, 'for he was an Oscan.'

55. **domina**, sc. the widow of Favonius; see on v. 52.

58. **accipio**. 'Be it so.' Mr. Yonge compares Soph. El. 668 *ἐδεξάμην τὸ ῥηθέν*.

movet, i. e. as acting the part.

cornu ni foret exsecto, in reference probably to the supposed 'unicorn,' which Pliny N. H. 8. 21 describes as 'asperrima fera reliquo corpore equo similis.'

60. **at** opposes the true explanation to the humorous one given by Sarmentus. Cp. Epp. 1. 2. 42.

61. **saetosam**: the picture of his bristly hairs low on the forehead helps the resemblance to the wild horse.

62. **Campanum morbum**. The Scholiasts were puzzled. The Comm. Cruq. connects it with the verse before, explaining it of warts or excrescences which grew on the forehead, and which when removed would leave a scar. Heindorf's note suggests its probable connexion with the jest which follows, through the name given (by Aristotle and Galen) to a similar complaint *στυφλαῖς*. Compare the connexion in Epp. 2. 2. 125 of the Satyr and the Cyclops-dance, and notice that Horace kept in mind the etymological connexion of 'tragicus' with *τράγος*, 'a goat,' A. P. 220.

63. **pastorem Cyclopa**, the accusative as in Epp. 2. 2. 125. For the nature of these dances see Dict. Ant. s. v. 'Pantomimus.'

64. **larva**, here of the mask with white paint and gaping mouth ('personae pallentis hiatus'), which, according to Juvenal (3. 175), frightened children from a rustic stage.

65. A satirical reference to the practice of dedicating to some god implements that their owner has done with (as the gladiator in Epp. 1. 1. 4, and the lover in Od. 3. 26. 3); perhaps specially, as the Scholiasts say, to the custom among freeborn youths, on attaining manhood, of consecrating to the Lares their 'bulla.' Martial has a similar gibe (possibly with reference to this passage), on a man who from slavery had become an 'eques': 3. 29 'Has cum gemina compede dedicat catenas, Saturne, tibi Zoilus, anulos priores.' The 'catenae' would imply that he had run away and been sentenced to the 'ergastulum' to work in chains.

67. **nihilo**, a disyll., as always in Lucret.; see Munro on Lucret. 1. 159.

68. **una farris libra**. Heindorf points out, from Aul. Gell. 20. 1, that this was by the Twelve Tables the minimum allowance to be made to a debtor in prison. Cato, De R. R. 56, fixes the usual allowance of slaves in the country at from four to five 'modii' a month. This would give as the daily portion about three times

THE SATIRES OF HORACE

what is mentioned here. Slaves, it would seem from this, ran away on account of bad fare.

71. **recta**, 'without halts.' This seems to be mentioned because the stage is a short one, twelve miles. Beneventum owed to its position on the Appian road much of its historical importance, and especially the triumphal arch in memory of Trajan's Dacian triumph which still adorns it.

hospes, of an innkeeper. The picture is comic; the bustling host, the roaring fire, the skinny fieldfares.

72. **macro**s. Contrast Epp. 1. 15. 41 'obeso Nil melius turdo'; cp. Sat. 2. 5. 10. The host has got what is reckoned a dainty, but they are in poor condition.

arsit, set himself (i.e. his house) on fire. As Virg. Aen. 2. 311 'iam proximus ardet Vcalegon,' Juv. 3. 201 'Vltimus ardebit.' The confused order of the words 'Paene macros arsit dum turbos versat' may be compared with Sat. 1. 3. 70, 2. 1. 60, 2. 3. 211; and see note on Od. 1. 6. 2. For the tense of 'versat' cp. inf. v. 100 and Sat. 2. 4. 79; Epp. 1. 2. 21, 2. 1. 7, 2. 2. 27; A. P. 465: and see Madv. 336, obs. 2.

* 73. Note the mock heroic rhythm and phraseology, 'dilapso Vulcano,' &c. 'The firegod slipped abroad amid the old rafters of the kitchen, and the flame on its travels was wellnigh wrapping the roof-tree.'

75. **avidos**, **timentis**. The guests thought of their spoiling dinner, the slaves of the blame to be laid at their doors. The other touches are graphic. The first thought is to save the supper, the second to put out the fire. Note also the art which puts 'avidos' next to 'cenam.'

76. **videres**, the past tense of 'videas' and = 'videre licebat'; see on Sat. 1. 3. 5.

77. **notos**, the mountains which stood at the head of the waters of his own Aufidus.

78. **Atabulus**. It is named in Pliny (N. H. 17. 37. 8) as a hot dry wind peculiar to Apulia and destructive to vegetation. Cp. the Vultumus, a wind which blew on the plains of Apulia, 'torridis siccitate campis' Liv. 22. 46, and carried clouds of dust in the eyes of the Romans at Cannae.

79. **erepsemus**, of the slow pace in climbing to the top of the pass. For the form cp. Sat. 1. 9. 73 'surrexe,' 2. 3. 169 'divisse,' 2. 3. 273 'perousti,' 2. 7. 68 'evasti.' A similar list will be found in Conington's note on 'accestit' in Virg. Aen. 1. 201.

vicina, constructed as a subst. with **gen**.

Trivici. 'Trivicum' is not mentioned elsewhere. The modern town of Treviso is on the top of a hill; the farmhouse ('villa') where the travellers found refuge before their final ascent, lay, no doubt, below it in the valley.

80. **laetimoso fumo**. A grievance which would try Horace especially, v. 49. They were among the hills now and might need fires for warmth as well as cooking.

BOOK I, SATIRE V, 68-92

86. **rapimur**: of the pace at which they bowled down from the pass to the Apulian plain.

87. **quod versu dicere non est**. Ov. Met. 3. 478 'quod tangere non est,' Virg. G. 4. 447 'neque est te fallere quicquam.' Cp. Sat. 2. 5. 103, Epp. 1. 1. 32. The whole expression is from Lucilius, 6. 39, whom the Scholiast quotes, 'Servorum est festus dies hic, Quem plane hexametro versu non dicere possis.' The Scholiasts go on to say that the place in question was Equus Tuticus (or Equotuticus). This, however, has been clearly proved to be a mistake. They were misled by a change in the course of the eastern branch of the Via Appia which dates from the reign of Trajan. Equus Tuticus was a stage on this Via Traiana, twenty-one miles from Beneventum. Horace and his companions seem to have taken a line to the South of this. To have gone by Trivicum to Equus Tuticus would have been to follow two sides of a triangle. Walckenaer fixes on Asculum, which is about the right distance from Trivicum and on the road which they seem to have travelled, but if we remember that Trivicum would have been unheard of but for this reference, and that the Scholiasts were at fault, it will seem more likely that this 'oppidulum' is one of which the name has perished.

88. **venit vilissima**: what is usually the least expensive thing in the world has here to be bought. Cp. Plat. Euthydem. 304 *τὸ δὲ ὕδαρ εὐωδέτατον*. This is probably the contrast, not 'vilissima' and 'pulcherrimus.'

89. **ultra**: to further stopping places. For the carrying of bread on a journey see on Sat. 1. 1. 47.

90. **soleat**. For lengthening of the syllable see on Sat. 1. 4. 82.

91. **Canusi**, Sat. 1. 10. 30, 2. 3. 168. Near the south side of the Aufidus, fourteen miles from its mouth. In the immediate neighbourhood was the field of Cannae. Before reaching Canusium the old road fell into the line afterwards followed by the 'Via Traiana,' so that the travellers are again on a route recognized in the Itineraries.

aquae non ditior urna, agreeing with 'locus,' 'not richer in water by a three-gallon jar'; with 'aquae non ditior' cp. the parallel expression in which Horace makes the same complaint of Apulia generally, 'pauper aquae Daunus' Od. 3. 30. 11 (cp. 'siticulosae Apuliae' Epod. 3. 16). There are still some remains of an aqueduct which is said to have been built some 200 years later, to supply this deficiency, by the wealthy and munificent rhetorician, Atticus Herodes.

urna: the measure of capacity, as in Sat. 1. 1. 54.

92. Bentley (taking 'urna' in v. 91 as a nom.) would eject this line as dull and faulty. He criticizes especially the phrase 'condere locum,' but it may be justified probably (as Heindorf says) by the Greek *κτίζειν χώραν, νῆσον, κ.τ.λ.* Orelli thinks point was given to the line by its being an echo of Ennius, who in describing Cannae

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would have mentioned Canusium. Ritter would lay stress on 'forti,' the fit founder of a 'durum genus,' who can eat gritty bread and drink bad water. For the legend of Diomedes's settlement in Apulia see Virg. Aen. 11. 243 foll. Canusium was one of the towns whose foundation was attributed to him, Strab. 6. 283, 284. For its continuous Greek character cp. Sat. 1. 10. 30 'Canusini bilinguis.'

94. **Rubos**, hodie Ruvo.

longum iter, thirty Roman miles. This upper road from Beneventum to Brundisium is described by Strabo (6. 282) as not more than a bridle road (*ἡμιονική*), the carriage road (*ἀμαξήλατος μᾶλλον*) passing through Venusia and Tarentum.

95. **utpote carpentes** = 'quia carpebamus.' See a note of Kritz on Sall. Jug. 10. 2.

corruptius: 'iter' in this clause is the road itself.

96. **postera tempestas**, like 'postera lux' v. 39: 'the next day's weather.'

97. **Bari piscosi**. At Barium the road struck the coast, which thenceforward it follows. Bari is the first important station (seventy-five miles) on the railroad from Brindisi. It is, as it was, a fishing town.

Gnatia, or Egnatia, thirty-seven Roman miles from Barium. The miracle is mentioned by Pliny, N. H. 2. 111 'In Salentino oppido Egnatia imposito ligno in saxum quoddam ibi sacrum protinus flammam exsistere.'

Lymphis iratis, 'under the displeasure of the water-goddesses.' Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 8 'iratis natus paries dis.' Varro R. R. 1. 1. 6 has 'Lympha' as a water-goddess, and the appellation has been found in inscriptions. The word is apparently the same as Nympha (cp. Od. 1. 37. 14 'lymphantam'), an earlier or alternative transliteration from the Greek.

99. **dum . . . cupit**. For tense see supr. on v. 72.

100. **Apella**, the Roman form of the Greek Apellas or Apelles, as Marsya Sat. 1. 6. 120. It seems to be a special name taken at random for one of a class, as Dama, Davus, &c., a Jewish freedman. The name is frequent among 'libertini' in inscriptions; three of the name are mentioned in Cicero.

101. **namque deos didici**, 'I am one of those, of whom Lucretius speaks, who have learnt his lesson' (5. 83 and 6. 56) 'bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevum.'

103. **tristis** corresponds to 'securum' v. 101; the special view which he has unlearned is that natural phenomena are expressions of emotions in the mind of the gods. 'Tristis' is the opp. of 'laeti,' cp. Od. 3. 21. 21.

104. **que . . . que**: as of the journey so of the story.

BOOK I, SATIRE V, 95—SATIRE VI

SATIRE VI

THE FREEDMAN'S SON

- Verses 1-6. YOUR princely Etruscan lineage does not lead you, Maecenas, to do what many do, despise such humbly born people as me the 'freedman's son.'
- 7-18. You think if a man is himself freeborn it matters little what his parents were, and your historical reasoning is sound; Servius Tullius was not the first of no ancestry who lived honourably and climbed to great position; on the other hand not 'all the blood of all' the Valerii made even the Roman people, for all their worship of ancestry, think Laevinus worth anything. How much sounder should our judging be!
- 19-26. It is no doubt all fair in political matters. It serves me right, if I, though a Decius, am rejected in favour of a Laevinus, or if an Appius as Censor strikes me off the senate. Why can't I be contented with my own place? But the well-born have no monopoly of foolish ambition. You, Tillius, had better have rested without trying to regain your tribune's rank. You were less exposed to envy.
- 27-44. When a man gains a public position he makes the world ask about his birth, as a man who sets up as a good-looking fellow makes them pull his features to pieces. 'A slave's son going to order the execution of citizens?' 'Nay, Novius my colleague is a rank lower still.' 'That does not make you an aristocrat. Besides he has a stentorian voice, that is his claim on us.'
- 45-64. To go back to myself. People carped at me as 'a freedman's son' when I was commanding a cohort. They do so now because I am admitted to your house. The first perhaps was fair, the second is not. There was no luck about it. It was no chance introduction. Virgil and Varius told you what I was like. When I was introduced to you I was too much abashed to say much, but at least I made no pretensions. I said what was true about my birth and estate. You answered little, but nine months after you sent for me and gave me a place in your friendship. I value this because I take it as a compliment, not to my birth, but to myself.
- 65-84. At the same time any merits of character that I possess, I am eager to acknowledge, I owe to my father. Poor as he was he insisted on giving me the best education. He brought me to Rome, spared nothing on me, would trust me to no 'custos' but himself. He guarded me not only from actual evil but from breath of reproach.
- 85-97. He did not mind if it ended in my coming down to his own trade after all—I have not done so, and I owe him all the

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more credit and thanks. Never in my senses could I be ashamed of such a father. I have no inclination to apologize for him. I would not change him if I could.

97-109. The world may think this madness, but you will perhaps think it a proof of sense; for position brings burdens, duties, expenses. Now I may live as I like; no one will accuse me of meanness as they do Tillius.

110-end. I am freer than he—I walk out alone, amuse myself as I choose; come home to my simple supper, go to sleep without care, lie in bed as long as I like, spend the day according to my tastes. This is the life of those who are free from the pain and the burdens of ambition—a happier life than if my whole family had been quaestors.

Though the Satire is mainly concerned in explaining and defending his own position, it also aims, both in the general picture and in particular turns, at exposing that which Horace ranks next to avarice as a vice of Roman society (Sat. 2. 3. 165 f.), 'ambitio,' in the sense both of pretending to, and of seeking, greater position than belongs to you.

1. *Lydorum quidquid*, Epod. 5. 1 'deorum quidquid.' The Lydian origin of the Etruscans is a commonplace with the Latin poets, as Virg. Aen. 2. 781, 8. 479, 9. 11. The legend is given in Herod. 1. 94. For Maecenas' Etruscan origin see on Od. 1. 1. 1, 3. 29. 1.

4. *legionibus*: not in the technical Roman sense, for the reference is to Etruscan not to Roman armies. Cp. Virgil's use of 'legio' as in Aen. 8. 605, 9. 368, 10. 120. The rhythm of the verse is from Lucr. 3. 1028 'magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt.'

5. *naso suspendis adunco*. Sat. 2. 8. 64 'Balatro suspendens omnia naso.' Cp. *μυκκηρίσειν*. The suggestion that the purpose of curling the nose is to hang on it the object of contempt is a comic touch of Horace's, as Persius recognizes in his repetition of the phrase 1. 118 '[Flaccus] Callidus excusso populum suspendere naso,' 'with a sly talent for tossing up his nose and catching the public on it' Conington.

6. *ignotos*, as in vv. 24 and 36 'men of humble origin.'

8. *dum ingenuus*, 'provided he is freeborn,' the limit which Augustus set on admission to his table. Suet. Oct. 74 'neminem umquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo cenae, excepto Menae, sed asserto in ingenuitatem.'

vere, 'rightly.'

9. *ante potestatem Tulli*: the same formula as in Sat. 1. 3. 107 'fuit ante Helenam.' 'It is an older thing than the standing historic instances, it is a law of life': Liv. 4. 3 'Serv. Tullium . . . captiva Corniculana natum, patre nullo, matre serva, ingenio, virtute regnum tenuisse,' Juv. S. 8. 259 'Ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini Et fascis meruit.'

10. *nullis maioribus*: none that could be named, none who had 'imagines'; so Livy l. c. 'patre nullo.'

11. *vixisse*, like 'vixere fortes ante Agamemnona' Od. 4. 9. 25, 'there have been such people.' It goes with both clauses, 'et probos . . . et auctos.'

12. *contra*. The construction is continued from 'persuades hoc tibi vere.'

Laevinum. 'Hic P. Valerius [Laevinus] adeo foedis et proiectis in omnem turpitudinem moribus vixit ut provehi non potuerit ultra quaestoriam dignitatem' Porph. One Valerius Laevinus was distinguished in the war with Pyrrhus, another in the second Punic war, and a third triumphed over the Ligurians in B. C. 175. We are clearly to think here of a man of high lineage who on grounds of personal demerit failed to gain an election.

Valeri, sc. of P. Valerius Publicola the colleague of Brutus.

genus, of a single descendant, as 'Iapeti genus,' Od. 1. 3. 27, 'juvenis . . . ab alto demissum genus Aenea' Sat. 2. 5. 63.

unde, for 'a quo,' cp. esp. Od. 2. 12. 7, and see on Od. 1. 7. 7 and 1. 12. 17. But this is the instance of its use most nearly of agency, for 'a quo' rather than 'ex quo.'

superbus: an epithet, not merely a distinguishing 'cognomen.' 'Tarquin in his pride.' The 'pride' of Tarquin heightens the historic fame of the house which took a leading part in expelling him.

13. *fugit*. Madv. (Opusc. Academ. ii. p. 224) discusses the tense as an instance among many of the use of the present in relative clauses where the event is long past. Cp. Virg. Aen. 9. 266 'Cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido.' So 'mittit' 'dat' ibid. 361, 362, 'dat' 11. 172, also Pers. Sat. 4. 2 'magistrum . . . sorbitio tollit quem dira cicutae.' So Horace uses a present with 'cum,' Sat. 2. 3. 61.

unius assis . . . *licuisse*, 'was never estimated at more than the value of a single as.' Cp. Catull. 5. 2 'Rumores . . . Omnis unius aestimemus assis.' 'Pretio' has also been taken as the abl. of measure, 'was never estimated (on that account) at more by the value of a single as.' But the point is the absolutely low value set on him. Horace does not mean to say that birth went for nothing with the people;—otherwise it would contradict v. 9;—but that no birth would make up for worthlessness even in the eyes of the worst judges. The expression may be compared with Arist. Equ. 945 τοῖσι πολλοῖσι τοῦβολοῦ, 'the many for an obol,' i. e. the worthless crowd.

14. *notante iudicio*: there is no strict relation between the technical meaning of the two words. The people's adverse judgment involves disgrace as the mark of the Censor would. 'Notare' is a verb which Horace is fond of using in metaphors; see on Sat. 1. 3. 24.

15. *iudicio quo nosti*. This construction was helped very probably by a flavour of resemblance to the Greek attraction of the

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relative, but it may be doubted whether there is any real attraction. The instances quoted are all of one kind, and involving an ellipsis which it is at least possible so to supply as to account for the case apart from any attraction. In this case it is not the equivalent of 'quem nosti'; 'quo' is rather the indirect interrogative, there being substituted for a defining epithet of 'iudice' the compound clause 'quo-nosti' = *οὗ οἴσθα*, 'a judge, of what kind, you know.' Cp. Sall. Jug. 104 'confecto quo intenderat negotio redit'; where we may supply the ellipsis as well by writing 'quo confecto redire intenderat' as 'quod conficere intenderat'; Liv. 1. 29 'quibus quisque poterat elatis' = 'elatis iis, quibus elatis quisque poterat [exire].'

17. **stupet in.** Virg. Aen. 10. 446 'stupet in Turno.'

titulis to be closely connected with **imaginibus**, the waxen masks of ancestry and the names and titles of honour inscribed on the presses in which they were kept. 'Let us accept the judgment of the world, want of rank *is* a disqualification *à priori* for office, in the opinion of people and aristocrats alike; and not unreasonably; but the temptation to play the donkey in the fable is too strong for most of us.' The answer to the definite question 'quid oportet nos facere?' would be, 'to show our small esteem for rank more logically and thoroughly.'

18. **nos.** Maecenas and Horace. Their distance from the crowd is in feeling not in birth.

longe longeque. Ov. Met. 4. 325, and even in prose, Cic. de Fin. 2. 21. 68.

20. **Dedo . . . novo:** 'one with the devotion of a Decius, if he was at the same time "homo novus,"' i. e. had had no ancestor who had held a curule office. For the devotion of P. Decius Mus in the great Latin war see Liv. 8. 6. Cp. Virg. G. 2. 169, Juv. S. 8. 254 'Plebeiae Deciorum animae,' &c.

moveret, sc. 'senatu': 'strike from the list of the senate.' Cp. 'movere loco' Epp. 2. 2. 113, where the image is of the censor revising the list of the senate.

21. **Appius.** The reference is to Appius Claudius Pulcher, censor B. C. 50, who is named as exercising the office with severity by Cic. ad Fam. 8. 14.

22. **propria pelle,** from the fable of the ass in the lion's skin. Cp. Sat. 2. 1. 64, Epp. 1. 16. 45.

23. **trahit constrictos,** 'drags a captive bound at her chariot wheels.' The image of the personified love of glory (*φιλοτιμία*) in her triumphal car is repeated in Epp. 2. 1. 177 'ventoso gloria curru.'

24. An instance of this enslavement to the foolish desire of rank. **quo tibi.** See on the similar construction Epp. 1. 5. 12 'quo mihi fortunam?' 'why grant me fortune?' Madv. § 239. It may be questioned here whether the infinitives represent a nom. or an accus. case.

Tili. The Scholiasts say that the reference is to one Tilius, a Pompeian who was removed from the senate by J. Caesar, and

BOOK I, SATIRE VI, 15-41

who after his death resumed his dignities and became a 'tribunus militum.' There is nothing to complete or corroborate this account. He appears in v. 107 as a 'praetor.' The laticlave (see on Sat. i. 5. 36), like the sandal leathers of v. 27, is part of the senator's distinguishing garb. It has been explained in close connexion with 'feri tribuno' by reference to Suetonius' statement (Oct. 38) that Augustus allowed the sons of senators to wear the laticlave, and on joining the army to become at once 'tribuni'; but we gather from the context rather that Tillius was of humble birth, and in v. 110 emphasis is laid on the fact of his being a senator. He is represented as resuming his position both civil and military.

27. *ut*, from the time when. Od. 4. 4. 42, Epod. 7. 19, Sat. 2. 2. 128.

nigris pellibus. For the senator's shoe see Mayor on Juv. S. 7. 192. It was apparently red ('mulleus'), fastened higher up the leg than other shoes (cp. 'medium impedit crus') with four straps ('corrigiae') of black leather, and with a crescent ('luna' Juv. l. c.) attached in front.

29. *quo patre*. Cp. v. 36. 'What was his father's rank?' It would include the question 'had he (legally) a father?' i.e. was he freeborn? Cp. Epp. i. 7. 54 'quo sit patre quove patrono,' and A. P. 248 'quibus est pater.'

30. *morbo*: as 'mentis morbo,' Sat. 2. 3. 80. His 'disease' is the desire to be thought handsome.

34. *promittit*, 'undertakes,' i.e. in offering himself for high office.

35. *imperium*: see on Od. i. 2. 26. Here its conjunction with 'Italiam' marks its special reference to the foreign dominion, 'provinciae.'

38. *Syri*, &c.: three familiar names of slaves; for Damae see on Sat. 2. 5. 18.

39. 'To exercise extreme powers against Roman citizens.' The special powers named are ideal (cp. Lucr. 3. 1029 'Carcer et horribilis de saxo iactus eorum, Verbera, carnifices'), and we need not ask too particularly what special magistrate exercised them, nor whether Roman citizens were exposed to all of them. Hurling from the Tarpeian rock was still a recognized punishment in certain cases: Tac. Ann. 2. 32, 4. 29, 6. 19.

delicere, a trisyll. See Virg. E. 3. 96 'reice capellas.'

tradere Cadmo. 'Cadmus carnifex illo tempore fuisse dicitur' Porph. A guess probably, but a natural one.

40. *Novius* can hardly but be a name chosen for its etymology, as Opimius, Sat. 2. 3. 142, Porcius, Sat. 2. 8. 23.

gradu sedet. The expression is here figurative, though taken from the distinctions of place in the theatre; the real difference is explained in the following line.

41. *huc* = 'ideo,' 'therein,' 'therefore.' Paulus, Messalla, the names of high aristocratic families.

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43-44. **concurrantque . . . vincatque**: for the place of 'que' in each case see on Od. 1. 30. 6. For the noise of a great funeral the editors quote Seneca (de Morte Claudii, p. 681) 'Et erat omnium formosissimum [Claudii funus] et impensa cura plenum, ut scires deum efferri; tibicinum, cornicinum, omnisque generis aeneatorum tanta turba, tantus conventus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset.' With Persius (3. 103) 'tuba, candelae' = 'a funeral.'

magna has been taken either with **funera**, or after **sonabit**, as Sat. 1. 4. 44, Juv. S. 7. 108 'ipsi magna sonant.' The rhythm is in favour of the latter; for 'quod' cp. in either case Sat. 1. 9. 25 'Invideat quod et Hermogenes ego canto.'

44. **tenet hoc**, 'he has this hold on us.'

45. **nunc ad me redeo**, a form of transition from Lucilius (inc. 98).

46. The words repeated are the words always on their lips: see on Od. 1. 13. 1, 1. 35. 15; and compare 2. 20. 5, 6.

convictor: cp. the expression of Augustus' letter to Horace, 'sume tibi aliquid iuris apud me tamquam si convictor mihi fueris.'

49. **hoc illi**, the present case—the former one; 'hoc' of the nearest in thought, not of the last mentioned.

forsit, *ἄραξ* *λεγ.*, a contraction of 'fors sit.' It is common in the fuller form 'forsitan.'

52. **ambitione procul**: 'ambitione relegata' Sat. 1. 10. 84. There was no thought on either side of bad or degrading modes of gaining favour.

53. **sortitus**: for the omission of 'sim' cp. Sat. 2. 8. 2 'dictus' for 'dictus es.' The ellipsis is more rare with the first and second persons than with the third.

56. **singultim**: not found elsewhere till Apuleius. It seems to mean 'with gasps,' of a stammering utterance; adv. from 'singultus.' Ritter takes it as a collat. form of 'singillatim.'

57. **infans**, 'tongue-tied.' The alliteration of the line is so much beyond Horace's wont that it suggests a purpose. Is it meant to represent his stammering utterance?

59. **Satureiano**, i.e. Tarentino. Satureium was the name of a place or district near Tarentum; *χώρα πλησίον Τάραντος*, Stephanus Byzant. (6th cent.). Strabo gives an oracle said to have been received by Phalantus, *Σατύριόν τοι δῶκα Τάραντά τε πύονα δῆμον Οἰκήσαι*.

61. **abeo . . . revocas**. Horace waited patiently for nine months; the acquaintance if it was to be renewed must be renewed by Maecenas. Contrast the conduct sketched by the man who asks for an introduction in Sat. 1. 9. 56-59 'haud mihi deero,' &c.

63. **turpi . . . honestum**. neuters. Cp. Epp. 1. 9. 4 'legentis honesta Neronis.'

65. **atqui**. 'But yet,' i.e. do not misunderstand me. 'Even when I say that I am proud to owe your friendship to myself, not to my father, I am indirectly expressing my obligation to him, for I owe him my own self.'

BOOK I, SATIRE VI, 43-79

ac mea paucis: for the hyperbaton cp. Sat. I. 5. 49 'pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis,' and below vv. 69, 70.

68. **neq.** The reading of V. Most of the MSS. have 'ac,' which Bentley rightly objected to; 'sordes' ('meanness,' see v. 107) is the opposite vice to 'mala lustra,' 'haunts of debauchery.' Benti. adopted 'aut.'

70. **collaudem:** perh. in its simplest sense, praise myself too, i. e. as well as my father.

72. **Flavi,** i. e. the school at Venusia.

magni . . . magnis, i. e. so much grander than I was.

74. **loculos** has been taken either as = the 'capsa' of Juv. Sat. 10. 117 'quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae,' of a case containing books, writing materials, &c., or in its more usual sense (see on Sat. I. 3. 17) of a receptacle for money, here probably for counters. In the former case 'tabula' will be a writing tablet (cp. *δελτὸν ἐφαψάμενοι*, quoted by Mayor from Philostratus). In the latter it must be taken more closely with 'loculos' as the 'abacus' or counting board on which the counters were to be placed. The two will then describe the implements for the arithmetic lesson; cp. A. P. 325. The line is repeated Epp. I. 1. 56. For the construction of the accusative with the passive part. see Madvig, § 237 b.

75. **octonis Idibus aera.** There is serious question as to reading. If we keep the vulgate it is best explained of the monthly payments and four months' summer holidays of country schools as contrasted with the yearly payment and full year's schooling in Rome, 'bringing their fees on the Ides of eight months.' The distributive is used regularly for the cardinal numeral with a noun which is plural in form even when singular in sense, as 'bina castra,' &c. The alternative reading which also has good authority is 'octonos Idibus aeris,' where 'aeris' is equivalent to 'asses,' as in Cic. pro Q. Rosc. 10. 28 'duodecim aeris.' The distributive then means 'eight asses on each Ides.' This reading is interpreted by Acr. 'nummos pro mercedibus, octonos asses aeris.' On the other hand the note of the Comm. Cruq. shows that he found 'octonis,' and being puzzled by it, got out of the difficulty by treating 'octonis Idibus' as a hypallage for 'octonos asses Idibus,' 'ὑπαλλαγή, hoc est singulis Idibus referebant octonos asses aeris pro mercede scholastica.' This is possibly the origin of the other reading. It must be confessed, however, that there is more obvious relevance in naming the amount of the fee than in giving the number of months of school time.

77. **artis,** branches of knowledge, what Ovid (Pont. 2. 9. 47) calls 'ingenuas artis,' grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, &c.

79. **in magno ut populo,** 'as befitted a great city.' At Venusia he might have gone as others carrying his own books, &c. Cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 148 'magno in populo,' 'in some great city.'

si qui vidisset . . . crederet. Cp. Sat. I. 3. 5-7. The impft. subj. does not deny the hypothesis, but is due to the past time and the general statements: 'any one who saw would (was sure to)

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believe.' The tense of 'vidisset' is because in present time it would be 'viderit': believing is subsequent to seeing. Cp. also (with Bentl.) Sat. 2. 3. 93.

avita, of at least two generations.

81. *custos* = *παιδαγωγός*: see on Sat. 1. 4. 118, and cp. A. P. 161. 239, Juv. S. 7. 218; usually a confidential slave, to watch over a boy, take him to school, keep him from harm, &c. Horace's father will depute the office to none.

83. *primus*, the 'first' in point of time—virtue must begin there. Cp. 'sapientia prima' Epp. 1. 1. 41.

84. His father's presence protected him not only from temptation but from scandal: *turpi* belongs to both substantives.

85. *sibi vitio verteret si*, a phrase of Latin prose, Cic. Fam. 7. 6. 1, 'reckon it as a fault of his if.' For the case of 'vitio' see Madv. § 249.

86. *præco*: Dict. Ant. s. v. It was a calling which was looked down on; Juv. S. 7. 5 'nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent Praecones fieri,' with Mayor's note. Cp. Epod. 4. 12, Sat. 2. 2. 47, Epp. 1. 7. 56, A. P. 419.

coactor, 'collector.' The term was used in several connexions. In this case the Suetonian life of Horace defines its meaning by adding 'exactionum'; but this again may mean either generally 'dues,' 'debts,' or specially the dues farmed by 'publicani.' See Cic. pro Rab. Post. 11. 30, from which we learn that a 'coactor' was allowed one per cent. on his collection.

87. *at hoc*. I have followed all the editors in altering the 'ad' of the MSS. and Acr. to 'at,' and it is an improvement; but 'ad hoc' ('ad haec' Cruq. gives, following 'one Bland.') seems possible: see on Epod. 9. 16 and Epp. 1. 19. 45. It must be remembered that mistakes between 'ad' and 'at' were inevitable. Cp. the statement of Quintilian 1. 7. 5 'Illa quoque servata est a multis differentia ut *ad* cum esset praepositio *d* litteram, cum autem conjunctio *t* acciperet.' In our reading 'hoc' is ablative, as in v. 41 of the Satire.

89. *paeniteat*: see on Sat. 1. 5. 44, 'sanum' gives the condition, 'while I am in my sound senses.'

90. *dolo suo*, said (by Heind.) to be a juristic use = 'culpa sua'; but perhaps with some play 'that it is not of malice prepense.'

93. *ratio*, 'sententia' Porph., opposed to 'vox,' as it often is to 'oratio,' 'what I think as well as what I say.'

94. *a certis annis*, 'after a fixed period.' 'If life repeated itself in cycles.' Cruquius' note is 'post mille annos ait Plato in Phaedro.'

95. According to this punctuation 'quoscumque' goes with 'alios legere,' 'to choose others whoever they might be'; 'optaret' beginning the apodosis, 'each might choose for himself.' This gives more force to 'optaret sibi quisque,' though it is less simple than to take those words (with no stop after 'parentis') with 'quoscumque' 'whomsoever each chose.'

BOOK I, SATIRE VI, 79-113

ad fastum, 'to the full of their pride,' as '**ad voluntatem**,' '**ad arbitrium**,' &c.

96. **honestos fascibus**. For the ablative cp. above v. 36 '**ignota matre inhonestus**.'

97. **sellis**, sc. '**curulibus**': cp. Epp. 1. 6. 53 '**çui libet hic fascis dabit, eripietque curule . . . ebur**.'

101. **salutandi**. The early morning levées in great people's houses were a standing vexation in Roman life, Virg. G. 2. 462, Juv. S. 3. 126 foll., 5. 19 foll., 76 foll. '**Salutare**' was used both of those who paid and those who received the call. See Cic. ad Fam. 9. 20 '**mane salutamus domi . . . multos . . . qui me perofficiose observant**.' As Horace is here giving a whimsical list of the inconveniences which would beset him if he were a great man, he is probably using it in this latter sense.

102. **rusave peregreve**. So with most editors I have given; but the reading is not quite certain. The mass of MSS. have '**rusve peregre aut**,' and Porph. interpreted it '**ordo est rusve aut peregre**.' The sound is harsh, but the conjunction '**ve**' . . . '**aut**' is possible: see Prop. 2. 1. 23. It is suggested that the hypermetric line (for which cp. Sat. 1. 4. 96) caused the substitution in early copies of '**aut**' for '**ve**.'

103. **calones**, Epp. 1. 14. 42; used by Horace apparently for the lower servants in his town establishment.

104. **duenda**, a train of them. 'Contrast Umbricius' household (Juv. S. 3. 10) which '**raeda componitur una**.'

petorrita, 'four-wheel chariots': Epp. 2. 1. 192.

curto, '**cauda curta**' Comm. Cruq. No illustration has been found (unless '**curtus equus**,' in Prop. 4. 1. 20, means a horse whose tail has been cut off; see Dict. Ant. s. v. Palilia) nor better explanation offered.

106. **mantica**. '**Mantica pera est, sed hoc ex Luciliano illo sumptum est**' (Frag. 3. 31); '**Mantica cantheri costas gravitate premebat**' (Porph.).

107. **Tilli**: see above on v. 24.

111. **milibus atque aliis**, probably neuter, 'in thousands of ways besides.' The more usual expression would be '**mille aliis**,' the singular being ordinarily an adjective, the plural always a substantive. It is to be noticed, however, that this is not a case of '**milibus**' used with a substantive in agreement. It is rather a peculiarity in the use of '**aliis**,' an adjective instead of a genitive case, 'thousands besides' rather than 'thousands of others'—**ἄλλαι χιλιάδες** instead of **ἄλλων**. The genitive, whether it be neut. or masc., is understood.

113. **fallacem Otroum**, 'because it was the haunt of astrologers and fortune-tellers,' the '**divini**' of the next verse. Cp. '**de Circo astrologos**,' Enn. apud Cic. Divin. 1. 50, '**Si mediocris erit** (if the superstitious woman is of middling rank), **spatium lustrabit utrimque Metarum** (i. e. on each side of the "**spina**" in the Circus) **et sortis ducet frontemque manumque Praebeat vati**' Juv. S. 6. 582.

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vespertinum : Epod. 16. 51. n., cp. 'nocturnus' Sat. 1. 3. 117. In sense both adjectives are meant to qualify both substantives.

115. **ciceris**, a kind of pulse : Sat. 2. 3. 182, A. P. 249.

lagani, described by the Scholiasts as a thin cake of fine flour served with pepper sauce. It would resemble the modern Italian *maccaroni*.

116. **pueris tribus**. The case is probably abl. Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 94 'curatus inaequali tonsore,' and see on Od. 1. 6. 2 'Vario . . . alite.' As Palmer puts it, such an abl. is used 'where the circumstances rather than the agent are that to which attention is called.' It is the fact that there were three boys, not that he was waited on by boys. In other words it is an abl. absol.

lapis albus, a slab of white marble serving as a sideboard. Cp. the furniture of Codrus, Juv. 3. 203 'urceoli sex Ornamentum abaci.'

117. **pocula . . . cyatho** : the 'cyathus' (see Od. 3. 19. 12) was for ladling in measured quantity from the 'crater.' A pair of drinking cups was usually set for a single drinker : see Conington on Virg. E. 3. 36. So we find 'scyphorum paria' Cic. Verr. 2. 19. 47 and often.

echinus, some vessel of the shape of the sea urchin. The purpose was in doubt in the time of the Scholiasts, 'vas aeneum in quo calices lavantur,' Acr., 'vas salis in modum echini marini' Com. Cruq. With the second explanation, cp. 'concha salis' Sat. 1. 3. 14.

118. **cum patera gutus**, a flat saucer and a narrow-necked flask ('a gutis gutum appellarunt' Varro). These seem to have been used for libations.

Campana, of Campanian ware: Sat. 2. 3. 144 'Campana trulla.'

120. **obeundus Marsya**, 'to visit Marsyas,' i.e. to go to the Forum. 'Marsya statua erat pro Rostris ad quam solebant homines illi convenire qui inter se litis atque negotia componebant . . . a statua nomen locus acceperat' Acr. Cp. Mart. 2. 64. 7 'fora litibus omnia fervent : Ipse potest fieri Marsya caudidicus,' i.e. the statue itself may find a voice and join in the pleading. Either the face of pain on this statue (cp. Juv. S. 9. 1 'Scire velim quare totiens mihi, Naevoles, tristis Occurras . . . ceu Marsya victus') or the uplifted hand ('Marsyas in foro positus . . . qui erecta manu,' &c. Servius on Virg. Aen. 4. 58) is represented satirically by Horace as indicating displeasure at the sight of the younger Novius, a moneylender, according to the Scholiasts. For the form Marsya see on Sat. 1. 5. 100.

122. With this description of Horace's day compare the account which Cicero gives of himself when he professes to have given up active politics, ad Fam. 9. 20 'Haec est igitur nunc vita nostra, mane salutamus domi multos . . . ubi salutatio defluxit litteris me involvo, aut scribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam qui me audiant . . . Inde corpori omne tempus datur.'

BOOK I, SATIRE VI, 113-127

ad quartam: see on Sat. I. 5. 23.

iaceo, sc. 'in lectulo lucubratorio': see on Sat. I. 4. 133. Horace would not approve of sleep beyond the first hour; see Epp. I. 17. 6, I. 18. 34. On the other hand he speaks of reading and composing in the early morning, Epp. I. 2. 35, 2. 1. 112.

post hanc vagor. He started sometimes earlier, for in Sat. I. 9. 35 he has been afoot for some time at the end of the third hour.

aut ego lecto (pass. part., not frequentative verb as Porph. took it) to be connected with what follows—'I stroll, or when I have read or written for the amusement of my quiet hours, I anoint myself,' i.e. prepare for exercise. 'Lecto, &c.' repeats, with explanation, the previous 'ad quartam . . . post hanc': the emphatic 'ego' is due to the fact that he is calling special attention to the freedom and variety of his day as compared with that of others. Bentley connects 'aut ego—iuvet' with 'vagor,' 'I stroll after either reading or writing, &c.' The list of occupations is then 'iaceo,' 'vagor,' 'unguor,' but is there time before the sun is hot for both the stroll and the game of ball?

124. **fraudatis**, the lamps were stinted or robbed. The using of bad oil is a form of petty parsimony familiar in Latin poets, Sat. 2. 2. 59, 2. 3. 125, 2. 4. 50; Juv. S. 5. 87 foll., where notice 'olebit lanternam.'

126. **lusum trigonem**, 'the game of three,' a game of ball. The word 'trigon' is found elsewhere only in Martial; there as a subst. denoting either the game (4. 19. 5 'tepidum trigona,' 7. 72. 9 'trigone nudo,' i.e. which men stripped to play; cp. Horace's 'unguor') or the ball (ib. 12. 83. 3 'captabit tepidum dextra laevaue trigonem'). Horace speaks in Sat. 2. 6. 49 of playing (ball) in the Campus, on which the Comm. Cruq. annotates, 'solebant Romani in Campo Martio ludere pila trigonali.' Bentley himself suggested altering 'lusum' into 'nudum,' to make it correspond with Mart. 7. 72. 9. Munro, thinking 'trigon' was the ball itself, would either take 'lusum' as a participle='elusum,' 'cheated,' 'left in the lurch,' or alter it to 'pulsum.' Some doubt hangs over the reading. All existing MSS. except g (a Gotha MS. of the 15th century) have 'rabiosi tempora signi,' and this was the text interpreted by all the Scholiasts. V (which is often followed by g) had the text as I have given it in accordance with most editors since Bentley. The origin of the divergence cannot be guessed. 'Rabiosi tempora signi' has been taken both of the heat of noon,—'signi'='solis,'—and of the dog days, 'aestivi tempora sicca Canis' Tibull. I. 4. 6; cp. Od. I. 17. 17 'Caniculae vitabis aestus.' Neither is satisfactory. The first makes the two lines tautological. The second is open to Heindorf's complaint that Horace is not giving an account of his day in July and August only: Munro adds that Horace would not be in Rome in the dog days.

127. **interpellet durare**, 'save me from lasting the day out,' i.e. till the 'cena.' The prose construction would be 'quin,' 'quominus,' or 'ne,' with the subj.

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129. *misera . . . gravique*, 'the pains and burdens of ambition.'
131. *quaestor*, 'than if I had as much claim as many of my neighbours, aye, than if I had thrice as much, to be an aristocrat.'

SATIRE VII

RUPILIUS REX

A PERSONAL anecdote from Horace's experience in the short period that he was attached to Brutus' fortunes. Brutus, who was 'Praetor urbanus' in the year 44, had been promised by Caesar the province of Macedonia, and after a struggle with C. Antonius, who had been actually nominated to it by the Senate, took possession of it at the beginning of B.C. 43. Cassius had in a similar way taken possession of the province of Syria. In the course of this year C. Trebonius, another of the conspirators, who, having been consul in 45, had received the proconsular province of Asia, was treacherously murdered by Dolabella. This brought both Brutus and Cassius into Asia.

The scene of the story is laid at Clazomenae on the bay of Smyrna, where Brutus is represented as holding a 'conventus' as though he were 'proconsul.'

The story all leads up to the play on the name of 'Rex,' with which it concludes, and which was of a kind which gave especial pleasure to Romans; but it is told with some humour, and the different types of the two litigants are well marked, the half-Greek trader and money-lender, courtly, fluent, witty, and the country-bred Roman of Praeneste, with his thick skin and heavy-handed sarcasms.

There is no certain indication of the date, but everything points to an early one. The joke on Brutus's act (v. 34) is one most naturally made before his tragical end, and is at any rate one which Horace would have avoided when he had come to Rome and had realized that the world was passing to 'Caesar's avenger.'

The Scholiasts have a story that the Satire was written by way of revenge on Rupilius Rex, who had been one of those who, in jealousy of Horace's rank as tribune, taunted him with his parentage (Sat. i. 6. 40).

1. *Proscripti Regis*. The play on his name begins with the first line in this juxtaposition, 'that outlawed King,' as though he were another Tarquin. 'Proscripti' means, no doubt, that he was on the Triumvirs' list of the proscribed. This would account for his being at Brutus' head-quarters. It has been pointed out as a coincidence possibly of significance that Cicero (ad Fam. 13. 9, a letter written in B.C. 51) makes mention of a 'P. Rupilius P. F. Men.' (i.e. of the 'tribus Menenia'—the tribe to which Praeneste belonged, from which according to v. 28 Rex came) as 'magister in

societate publicanorum in Bithynia.' This would account for business transactions with a banker at Clazomenae.

pus atque venenum: metaphorically of 'foul and venomous' utterance. Lucilius had possibly used 'pus' in the same sense, fr. 15. 13. Nothing is known of Rupilius Rex but what Horace tells us.

2. **hybrida**, 'mongrel,' or 'half-bred': 'patre Asiatico matre Romana' Schol.: for metaph. cp. Suet. Oct. 19 'Asinii Epicadi ex gente Parthina hybridae,' Mart. 8. 22. 2.

3. **lippiis et tonsoribus**=hearers and purveyors of gossip. Cp. Plautus, Amphit. 4. 1. 5, of places where loungers would be looked for, 'in medicinis, in tonstrinis ... sum defessus quaesitando.' The point of the line is, 'all the world knows the story—perhaps I may tell it again.'

6. **odio**: as in Ter. Hec. 1. 2. 48 'tundendo atque odio,' of offensive language and manner.

7. **confidens**: a word which by Cicero's time (Tusc. 3. 7. 14) had acquired a bad meaning, 'bold,' 'audacious.' In Plautus it is used in a good sense.

tumidus, 'blustering.'

8. **Sisennas, Barros**, 'such men as Sisenna and Barrus,' names unknown to us in this connexion; standing instances (possibly in Lucilius) of bitter tongues.

equis albis: apparently the same proverbial expression as in Plaut. Asin. 2. 2. 13 'Nam si huic occasione tempus sese subduxerit, Numquam edepol quadrigis albis indipiscet postea.' Two explanations are given by the Schol. (1) 'albis, sc. velocioribus,' according to Homer's λευκότεροι χιόνος θέλειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοίoi, of the horses of Rhesus, Il. 10. 437, imitated by Virgil, Aen. 12. 84; (2) 'quasi quadrigis triumphalibus,' 'triumphantly,' white horses being used in the triumphal procession. The first is the most likely, as suiting best the use in Plautus. It will mean in any case that he beat them hollow.

9. **ad Regem**. Not an exact expression, for he does not 'come back to Rex' in the sense of describing him as he has described Persius. The meaning seems rather to be that he passes from the general description of Persius to the special story of his relation to Rex.

postquam, 'when they cannot settle their differences between them': the apodosis is lost in the long parenthesis that follows, for when in v. 18 we resume the direct statement, we begin again as though there was no temporal protasis still pendant.

10, 11. The construction is not certain. (1) Acr. interpreted 'iure' by 'exemplo, pacto, modo, potestate.' If this could be, the sentence would run 'for all [i.e. all combatants] are awkward to deal with [ἀργαλέoi, χαλεποί εἰσι] by that right [i.e. in virtue of that quality] by which brave men are so who meet in single combat.' (2) The Comm. Cruq. led the way in making 'molesti' the subject, and taking 'hoc iure sunt' as='hanc potestatem sibi vin-

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dicant' (cp. Cic. Verr. 2. 2. 13 'Siculi hoc iure sunt'), 'all quarrelsome persons have the right which brave men have who meet in single combat,' viz. to fight their quarrels to the death. This has on the whole been the usual interpretation.

Perhaps while accepting the first interpretation generally, we had better separate 'hoc' from 'iure' and take it as the instrum. abl. with 'molesti,' answered to by 'quo,' 'are troublesome by this [quality]': 'iure' may then either be taken in its common sense, frequent in Hor., 'rightly,' *ἐκόντως*, or perhaps as opposed to 'bellum,' 'in law,' 'in civil suits': cp. its use in 'iure consultus,' 'iure peritus,' and notice that when the threads are taken up in vv. 18, 24, we have 'in ius acres procurrunt.' For the neuter 'hoc... quo' compare Sat. 2. 1. 50 'quo quisque valet,' &c. 'Hoc' here = 'virtute' (v. 14). There courage is the weapon which makes them 'molesti' to their opponents.

11. **inter . . . inter**: an illogical but a Latin use. Epp. 1. 2. 11 'Nestor componere litis Inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden,' Cic. de Am. 25. 95 'quod intersit inter popularem civem et inter constantem.' He takes two instances of single combat from the Iliad, that of Hector and Achilles in Il. 22, which ends in Hector's death, and that of Glaucus and Diomedes in Il. 6, which ends in the exchange of armour (*χρύσέα χαλκείων*), in which Glaucus has the worst of it. Horace (cp. the tone of Epp. 1. 2) emphasizes the half-comic aspect of this exchange as though it implied surrender on Glaucus' side.

13. **ira capitalis**. Cp. 'capitale odium' Cic. de Am. 1. 2.

ultima: i.e. nothing short of 'death.'

15. **vexet**. Two 'cowards' (for 'inertes' cp. Od. 3. 5. 36, 4. 9. 29) do not welcome a quarrel.

17. **pigrior**: cp. 'impiger,' the epithet of Achilles A. P. 121.

ultra . . . missis. This would be inexact if it were applied directly to Glaucus, for in Homer the proposal of exchange came from Diomedes.

18. **praetore tenente**: see Introd. 'Praetor' is used loosely of a person who, having been 'praetor,' is governing a province: see Long's note on Cic. pro Q. Ligario, 1.

19. **par** gives the connexion with what precedes. They were not 'dispare,' like Diomedes and Glaucus.

utl: for the construction see on Sat. 1. 5. 33 and cp. 2. 8. 48.

20. **compositum**: sc. 'par.' We may understand 'sit' or 'pugnet'; for 'compositum' see on Sat. 1. 1. 103. 'Bithus et Bacchius gladiatorum nomina celebrata apud Suetonium Tranquillum sub Augusto' Acr.

in ius. As 'vocare in ius' Sat. 2. 5. 29, 'rapere' 1. 9. 77, 2. 3. 72.

22. **ridetur**: best taken impersonally, 'a laugh is raised.'

23. **conventu**, 'the court.' 'Conventus' was the technical term for the courts held by a proconsul or propraetor in the chief towns of a province.

cohortem: Epp. 1. 3. 6, 1. 8. 14; the staff or personal surround-

BOOK I, SATIRE VII, 10-35—SATIRE VIII

ing of the commander or provincial governor: 'cohors praetoria' Cic. Verr. 2. 1. 14. They were also called individually 'comites' Epp. 1. 8. 2.

27. *fertur quo rara*: i.e. in some steep ravine.

28. *salso multoque fluenti*, 'in answer to his copious stream of wit.' With 'multo fluenti' cp. 'magnumque fluentem Nilum' Virg. G. 3. 28. It is a Greek usage, τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ βέοντι Dem. de Cor. p. 272.

29. *expressa arbusto*, 'forced, extorted, from the vineyard.' There is the image, half suggested, of the wine-press. Rupilius is like one of his native Italian vine-dressers, hard to sting by taunts, but when he is stung, the master of a supply of retorts which few can stand up against.

30. *vindemiator*: for the scansion, see Od. 3. 4. 41, 3. 6. 6; Sat. 2. 8. 1 'ut Nasidieni'; the 'i' becomes a semivowel.

31. *cessisset*, 'was likely to have yielded.' The time of the leading clause is really historic, if it were present it would be 'cesserit.'

magna, &c., however loud the voice in which he had called 'cuckoo, cuckoo.' 'Calling cuckoo' is explained by Pliny, N. H. 18. 66, 'taunting men engaged in dressing their vines by imitating the note of a bird of passage called the cuckoo: for it is held a disgrace that when that bird returns it should find a pruning-hook still at work in the vine.' Cp. the picture in Auson. Mosella, 165 'inde viator Riparum subiecta terens, hinc navita labens, Probra canunt seris cultoribus.'

32. Note the contrast implied in the emphatic *Graecus, Italos*. The characteristics of the Italian's retorts are kept up in *perfusus*, 'drenched,' 'soused,' and *aceto*, recalling the figure of the 'vindemiator,' the kind of humour coarse and plentiful with which the Romans were familiar in the 'fabulae Atellanae.'

34. *qui consueris*, 'since you are,' &c.

35. *operum*. For the gen. see on Od. 3. 13. 13 'fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,' Epp. 1. 9. 13 'Scribe tui gregis hunc.'

SATIRE VIII

CANIDIA

THE first, probably, of Horace's attacks on Canidia. See Epod. 5, and especially the introductions to Epod. 17 and Od. 1. 16, and compare Epod. 3. 8; Sat. 2. 1. 48, 2. 8. 95.

The Scholiasts (on Epod. 3. 8 and on v. 24 of this Satire) say that under the name of Canidia was satirized one Gratidia, 'unguentaria Neapolitana.' With this exception we have no external assistance in reading the riddle of the poems themselves. We are to imagine a woman whose fascination Horace has felt though he resents it, and which he attributes with more or less of irony to magic. The

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ludicrous catastrophe of the Satire as well as the mock heroic tone which flavours the narrative seem to forbid us to take it quite seriously; cp. in this respect Od. 1. 16 intro.

The scene of the Satire is the Campus Esquilinus, the plateau from which the several arms of the Esquiline hill are thrust out. It was without the 'agger' of Servius Tullius and had been used as an extensive burial place for the lowest class of people, and a place of execution for criminals. Cp., besides this Satire, Epod. 5. 99, Sat. 2. 6. 33. Maecenas had recently become possessor of it and had laid it out in pleasure gardens. He eventually built a residence there (Od. 3. 29. 10, Epod. 9. 3). The Satire thus becomes the vehicle of a compliment to one who is already Horace's patron. The speaker throughout is Priapus, a rough wooden image of the garden god (Virg. G. 4. 110) which has been erected in the new garden. The transformation of the ground is barely complete. There are still 'magna sepulchra,' and bones to be found by scratching the ground. It is still haunted apparently by witches. With the witchcraft of this Sat. cp., besides Epod. 5 and 17, Theoc. Idyll 2, Virg. E. 8, Tibull. Eleg. 1. 2, Ov. Met. 7. 179 foll.

1. **fioulnus**, more usually 'ficulneus,' the adj. of 'ficula,' dim. of 'ficus.' The wood of the fig was proverbially valueless, whence the use of *σύνικινος* in the sense of worthless, *σύνικοι ἄνδρες* Theoc. 10. 45.

2. **ne**: for the position of the particle see on Od. 1. 30. 6. Note the accumulated irony, the valueless material, the alternative destiny—a stool or a god—the power that decides between them, viz. the carpenter's fancy—the single source of divinity—'and so a god I am.' It may be compared with the more serious irony of Isaiah 44. 10 foll. 'He burneth part thereof in the fire, with part thereof he eateth flesh . . . and the residue thereof he maketh a god.'

4. **fures dextra**: his hand should be uplifted and hold, as the Schol. says, a club or a sickle, as in Virg. G. 4. 110 'custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi.'

6. **harundo** has been taken of a wisp of reeds that would rattle in the wind and so frighten birds; but the meaning is perhaps fixed by Prop. 4. 2. 33, where Vertumnus describing, as Priapus here, the various adornments of his own image, says 'harundine sumpta Fautor plumoso sum deus aucupio'; 'harundo' being used in a well recognized sense of a limed twig.

8. **cellis**. Cic. Phil. 2. 27. 67 'servorum in cellis.' Every word adds to the sense of ignominy, 'angustis, eicta': mean as are their quarters they are no sooner dead than their 'cadavera' are tossed out from them; such burial as they receive they owe only to a fellow slave's compassion; the bier is the cheapest.

11. 'It is the fate to which the worthless and the brokendown come.' The line is quoted as a specimen of Horace's personal satire in Sat. 2. 1. 22, but the names are evidently fictitious and literary. 'Nomentanus,' as we have seen on Sat. 1. 1. 102, is the

BOOK I, SATIRE VIII, 1-22

conventional spendthrift of Satire, a name inherited from Lucilius. Pantolabus is a name coined for the character (as the Schol. sees 'quia a multis pecuniam accipiebat inde Pantolabus dictus') but it is probably not of Horace's coining, but comes from previous literature.

12. *in fronte, in agrum*, 'frontage,' 'depth.' The dimensions are meant literally, but the *cippus* and its inscription are probably imaginary and ironical, being borrowed from the provisions of a private burying-ground and equivalent to saying 'it was the private burying-ground of the very lowest, which no one would rob them of.' They are all technical terms and occur in monumental inscriptions. The last words were intended to reserve the ground for the specified purpose; it was not to pass, like the rest of the property, to the heirs of the original proprietor. They are more fully explained in an inscr. preserved by Lambinus, 'ita ne umquam de nomine familiae nostrae exeat hoc monumentum, hoc monumentum heredes non sequitur.'

13. *dabat*: i. e. recorded the gift.

ne sequeretur, the tense because he is quoting what had been the (supposed) inscription.

14. *salubribus*, pred. = 'salubribus factis.'

15. *aggere*, prob. the 'agger' of Servius Tullius, from which men would look over the Campus Esquilinus, and which would therefore be now a pleasanter lounge than it had been. Juvenal S. 8. 43 calls it 'ventosus,' the place whither the Romans resorted to catch the wind as well as the sun.

quo: prep. 'in' is not repeated.

17. *cum*. The emphasis on 'mihi' gives it almost the force of 'cum tamen,' 'while yet to me.' See on Sat. I. 10. 55. To the world at large the Esquiline is now wholesome and pleasant, but its old use has left a legacy which to me is worse than all my other troubles. The witches still haunt it.

ferae, 'lupi et Esquilinae alites' Epod. 5. 99.

suetae, not merely 'that are wont,' but 'that have been wont, and so in spite of its altered state still haunt the place,' just as the witches themselves who come here still though it is no longer a graveyard. The scansion of 'suetae' as a trisyll. is Lucretian (I. 60, &c.). Cp. 'siluae' Od. I. 23. 4, Epod. 13. 2.

19. *carminibus*: sc. 'magicis.' Epod. 5. 71, 17. 4; Virg. E. 8. 69, 70.

venenis. Epod. 5. 62 and 87; 17. 35.

21. *vaga*, 'on her travels'; Virg. Aen. I. 742 'errantem lunam.' The witches wait for moonlight. Cp. Theoc. 2. 10 ἄλλα Σελάνα φαίνει καλόν, Epod. 5. 51 'Nox et Diana, quae silentium regis Arcana cum fiunt sacra,' Virg. Aen. 4. 513.

decorum os: cp. Virg. G. 4. 232 'Taygete simul os terris ostendit honestum,' Aen. 8. 589 'Lucifer... Extulit os sacrum caelo.'

22. *ossa legant*: Epod. 5. 23, 17. 47.

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23. **vidi egomet.** 'Habent hi versus aliquid tragicæ descriptionis ut illi Vergilii (Aen. 3. 623) Vidi egomet duo de numero cum corpora nostro,' Comm. Cruq.

nigra, as the lamb sacrificed in v. 27 is 'pulla.'

succinotam answers to 'expedita' in *Epod.* 5. 25, 'girt up for work.' Cp. its use Virg. Aen. 6. 555, 12. 401.

24. **pedibus nudis.** So *Medea* in *Ov. Met.* 7. 183 'Nuda pedem, nudos umeris infusa capillos.'

25. **maiore.** Our doubts as to the meaning are as old as the Scholiasts. Porph. quoting by name Helenius Acron, says that Sagana was a freedwoman of Pompeius (al. Pomponius), a senator who was proscribed by the triumvirs. No such note is found in the Acronian scholia as we have them. He adds that the term 'maiore' implies either that she had a younger sister, or that there was another Sagana at the same time 'minorem hac vel ætate vel natalibus vel censu.' Acr., in a note which is in some confusion, gives the same variety of meanings to 'maiore,' but adds 'aut maiore quam fuit ipsa Canidia.' If we interpret without assistance this seems the more likely. There still remains the doubt whether it means 'the elder' or 'the greater,' i.e. 'the more powerful witch'; or does 'altum caliendum,' v. 48, suggest the physical sense, 'taller'?

utrasque. For the irregularity of the plural see *Madv.* § 495, obs. 2, Virg. Aen. 5. 233.

27. **unguibus:** see *Epod.* 5. 47 n.

pullam: see on v. 23, *Ov. Met.* 7. 244. Aeneas (Virg. Aen. 6. 249) sacrifices a black-fleeced lamb to Night, 'the mother of the Eumenides, and her mighty sister,' Earth.

28. **confusus,** 'poured together into the trench.' He describes the process of *νεκρομαντεία* *Honi.* Od. 11. 23 foll. Spirits of the dead are invoked to tell Canidia the destiny of her lover.

30. The two figures indicate respectively Canidia and her lover. In all poetical descriptions of magic rites it is necessary to the effect of mystery to leave much to the imagination. Effigies of the person to be affected appear in Virg. E. 8. 75, Aen. 4. 508, a waxen image in *Ov. Her.* 6. 91 '[Medea] Devovet absentis, simulacraque cerea (sc. Iasonis) fingit, Et miserum tenuis in iecur urget acus.' The meaning of the wax is obvious, and is explained in *Theoc.* 2. 28 *ὡς τοῦτον τὸν καρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω | δε τάκειθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μύνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφης*, and by Virg. l. c. The special meaning of the wool as representing Canidia is not so clear. According to *Festus* s. v. 'Laneae' it was the custom at the *Compitalia* to distribute little figures or dolls of wool, and the reason given is that the Lares were supposed to be 'animæ hominum redactæ in numerum deorum.' This may be connected.

maior quæ. 'One of wool, the larger of the two, that it might, &c.'

32. **servilibus modis:** 'gravissimis verberibus,' Acr. Cp. *Liv.*

32. 38 'in servilem modum lacerati atque extorti.'

BOOK I, SATIRE VIII, 23-49—SATIRE IX

ut quæ: sc. 'staret'; for the ellipsis see Sat. I. 1. 23, I. 3. 9. Many good MSS. have 'utque.'

34. **atque couples 'serpentis' and 'canis.'** For the hellhounds that accompany Hecate cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 257 'visaeque canes ululare per umbram Adventante dea,' where Con. quotes Ap. Rhod. 3. 1216 ἀμφὶ δὲ τῇν γε (Hecate) Ὀξείη ὕλακῇ χθόνοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο.

35. **rubentem,** blushing to see such sights, not as in Od. 2. 11. 10.

39. **fragilis** = 'mollis,' 'effeminate.' **Pediatia,** acc. to the Schol., the contemptuous designation of one **Pediatius**, a knight of ruined fortune and character.

fur Voranus. The Schol. call him 'libertus Q. Lutatii Catuli,' and tell a story of his robbing a money-changer's table, and hiding the coins in his shoe, giving occasion, when he was discovered, to the witticism of a bystander, 'belle' inquit 'si te non ἐκχαλκευει, hoc est verberibus tamquam aes recudat, alludens ad calceos.' The story was a current one, but it is attached by the Schol. on Juv. S. 13. 111 to the 'fugitivus scurra Catulli.'

41. **triste et acutum.** Homer's τριζέιν Il. 23. 101, Od. 24. 5, of the 'squeaking and gibbering' of ghosts.

42. **lupi barbam.** It appears from Pliny [N. H. 28. 44 'Veneficii rostrum lupi resistere inveteratum aiunt, ob idque villarum portis praefigunt'] that the purpose of this was to protect them against the counter charms of any other sorceress. Cp. Epod. 5. 71.

variae, 'spotted,' as Virg. G. 3. 264 'variae lynces.'

43. **aerea:** for the scansion cp. 'ostrea' Sat. 2. 2. 21, and Virgil's use of 'aureus' as a disyll. Aen. 1. 698, 7. 190, 10. 116.

45. **Furiarum:** see on Epod. 5. 15. 41.

46. **displosa,** 'burst with a blow.' It is pointed out that Horace is recalling Lucr. 6. 130 'Nec mirum cum plena animae vesicula parva Saepe ita dat magnum sonitum displosa repente.'

48. **callendrum.** The Schol. explain the word as meaning either some headdress or a wig: they quote a passage of Varro in which it occurs; otherwise it is unknown.

49. **lacertis,** abl. with 'excidere.'

incantata vincula, 'enchanted love-knots'; the 'terna licia' and 'Veneris vincula' of Virg. E. 8. 78.

SATIRE IX

THE WRONG WAY TO MAECENAS' FRIENDSHIP

THE sufferings of Horace under the hands of a 'bore' are the amusing part of the Satire, but they are only the dramatic setting of the true subject. In Sat. 6 he told the story of his own admission to the intimacy of Maecenas, how small a part he had himself had in it, how natural and consistent with self-respect had been every stage in it. He completes the matter by this contrasted

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picture of the way in which vulgar and pushing people vainly hoped to gain an entry. The person described is a man of letters (v. 7), but of a type which Horace despised, fluent, vain, and effeminate (vv. 23-25). His obtuseness and want of tact are displayed in his acts, and he is made to paint with his own lips and in perfect unconsciousness the meanness of purpose and method which Horace had in view when he said (Sat. 1. 6. 51) that Maecenas was careful 'dignos assumere, prava ambitione procul': 'He will miss no opportunity, he will take no refusal, he will bribe the servants, if Horace will help him he will go shares, and together they will oust all rivals.' He was painting by contrast the life in Maecenas' house, as well as the avenues to it (v. 48). Horace must often have had requests from such people to introduce them to the great patron of literature, and this is his answer to them. His own tact had taught him the lesson which he passes on to a younger generation in Epp. 1. 18. 76 'Qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspicere.'

The occasion imagined for the scene is when Horace is taking his morning stroll ('ad quartam iaceo: post hanc vago' 1. 6. 122). He is walking, as it chances, on the *Sacra Via* towards the Forum. When they reach (v. 18) the entrance to it, close by the Temple of Vesta, their paths diverge, for his interlocutor was bound for the Forum to appear in a case, and Horace, who had announced that he was going to pay a visit on the other side of the Tiber, would leave the *Sacra Via* at that point, and turn round the side of the Palatine towards the river.

Horace is no doubt dramatizing an imaginary situation, or at least improving some slighter incident; but attempts have been made to guess the particular person intended. The only noteworthy suggestion is that Propertius is intended (see on Sat. 1. 3. 29). The dates make this next to impossible. If the Satires were published in B.C. 36 Propertius would, according to the most probable chronology, be only 16. Propertius was admitted to Maecenas' circle probably about the year 30.

1. *via Sacra*. Epod. 4. 7.

sicut meus est mos, with the words that follow,—'thinking, as is my wont when walking—not with 'ibam,' which would contradict 'forte.'

2. *meditans nugarum*. Both words are used of poetical composition (Epp. 2. 2. 71, 76, 141), and this is possibly the sense here. *totus in illis*, 'absorbed in them.' Epp. 1. 1. 11 'omnis in hoc sum.' The asyndeton belongs to the negligent style of familiar narration.

3. *accurrit . . . arrepta*: both express the vehemence of his affected delight.

4. *quid agis?* 'how are you?' Epp. 1. 3. 15 'quid mihi Celsus agit?'

dulcissime rerum. For the difference of gender see Madv.

BOOK I, SATIRE IX, 1-16

§ 310, obs. 1; cp. Ov. Met. 8. 49 'pulcherrime rerum': 'rerum' = 'in all the world.'

5. **ut nunc est**, 'just now': the point of the answer is its conventionality. Horace wishes to get rid of his interlocutor. This bars any deeper meanings in 'ut nunc est,' which would have invited further questioning.

cupio omnia quæ vis, a formula of politeness. Plaut. Pers. 5. 1. 14, Rud. 4. 4. 1.

6. **adsectaretur**. Note the force of the prep. and of the frequentative verb.

num quid vis? 'can I do anything more for you?' a formula of leave-taking. See Plaut. Aul. 2. 1. 53 (Wagner's note), and Donatus' note on Ter. Eun: 2. 3. 49 'abituri *numquid vis* dicebant iis quibuscum constitissent.'

occupo, i. e. before he could begin. Epp. 1. 7. 66 'occupat et salvere iubet prior.'

7. **noris nos**. It is the part of the speaker to assume mutual acquaintance, as it is Horace's part politely to ignore it. Note the force, with this latter purpose, of the fut. 'eris.' Horace has not known hitherto his literary tastes.

hic: inf. v. 26; Sat. 2. 2. 7, 2. 8. 16.

8. **misere**: inf. v. 14; it is common in the comic poets for 'vehementer.'

10. **puero**. Though the master of a modest household (see on Sat. 1. 3. 12, 1. 6. 116), Horace represents himself as having, like Philippus in Epp. 1. 7. 52, a slave ('pedisequus') in attendance on him when he walked out. He whispers in his ear as though he had some private business which good manners would compel his persecutor to respect.

11. **cerebri felicem**: happy in the power of flying into a passion and so cutting such a knot. Horace is fettered by his good breeding. Cp. 'cerebrosus' Sat. 1. 5. 21; 'cerebrum' is the seat of the passion of anger in Plautus, Poen. 3. 2. 25, Bacch. 2. 3. 17. For the gen. cp. Sat. 2. 2. 66 'cultus miser,' Ov. Met. 5. 267 'Felices studique locique,' in respect of.

Bolanus (from Bola, a town of the Aequi) is the name of a friend of Cicero, ad Fam. 13. 77, and of a Roman governor of Britain, Tac. Ann. 15. 3. The person at whom Horace discharges this Parthian dart is unknown.

14. **misere cupis**. This is possibly an aside, like Horace's words vv. 28 f., the man's thoughts being put for him into words. But it is more probably intended as a joke, though it is the real truth. He is so unconscious of the distastefulness of his company that he has no fear of being taken literally.

16. **persequar**. The external evidence is fairly divided between this word and 'prosequar.' It is a common point of variation in MSS., arising no doubt from an abbreviation variously expanded. The stronger word is perhaps the more likely. It is (as 'misere cupis') a part of the man's *gaucherie*.

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18. *oubat*, 'is ill in bed,' as Sat. 2. 3. 289 (cp. Epp. 2. 2. 68). There are three reasons given why he should not come too—the friend to be visited is unknown to him, he lives a long way off, and he is ill.

Caesaris hortos, on the Janiculum; the gardens which the Dictator left by his will to the Roman people: Suet. Jul. 85.

20. 'I yield sullenly.'

21. *subiit*: for the quantity see on Sat. 1. 4. 82.

onus is acc. as 'subire iugum,' &c.

22. *Viscum*, one, no doubt, of the two Visci whom Horace names in the next Satire ('haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque' Sat. 1. 10. 83) among the literary men whose judgment he cared for. There is also *Viscus Thurinus* (again in the company of Varius) at Nasidienus' supper, Sat. 2. 8. 20. Nothing is known besides of them. The Scholiasts speak doubtfully, 'optimi poetae,' 'alii dicunt criticos fuisse,' both conjectures from the passages in Horace. They say the father of the two was Vibius Viscus, a rich knight and a friend of Augustus.

23. *Varium*: see on Od. 1. 6. 1. Note the nature of the accomplishments on the ground of which he claims to be ranked before Varius—he can write verses (not well, but) fluently (cp. the picture of Crispinus in Sat. 1. 4. 13 foll.), he can dance (cp. Sat. 2. 1. 24, and Cic. Mur. 6 'nemo saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit'), he can sing better than Hermogenes, Horace's ideal of effeminacy and bad taste; see Sat. 1. 4. 72, and introd. to Sat. 1. 3.

25. *mollius*, from Lucr. 4. 789 'mollia membra movere,' and ib. 980; the alliteration is part of Lucretius' art, but it is purposely adopted here to give a mincing tone to the speaker and pour contempt on the accomplishment of which he boasts.

26. *est tibi mater?* What is the purpose of the question? Possibly (as Kiessling and Schütz) the thought hinted is that the man is mad; his relations ought to take care of him—as the amiable monomaniac in Epp. 2. 2. 136 who 'cognatorum opibus curisque refectus expulit elleboro morbum.' Possibly it is only a way of saying 'What a prodigy you are!' 'Have you a mother, alive? Happy woman! Relations? How proud they must be of you!' Or again 'Your relations must be anxious about you—you are almost too good to live!' The man in any case is too much wrapt up in himself to perceive the irony.

27. *haud mihi quisquam*: the purpose of the answer is to put a full stop to the topic which Horace has started.

28. This and what follows to v. 34 is supposed to be said aside, as is clear from its provoking no answer.

29. *Sabella*: Sat. 2. 1. 36 shows that Horace uses this term of the inhabitants of the country near Venusia.

30. *divina mota urna*: all ablatives, though the Schol. took 'mota' = 'commota,' 'excita,' as a nom. For 'mota urna' cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 432 'Quaesitor Minos urnam movet.' With 'divina urna,' Bentl. (who, for himself, wished to read 'mota divina anus

urna,' making 'divina' nom.) compares Sil. Ital. 3. 344 'divinarumque sagacem Flammaram.' The reference is to divination by means of 'sortes,' or written slips dropped in a vessel and drawn or shaken out. They would consist of ambiguous sentences which the 'sortilegus' would apply as prophecies to the persons who drew them. Cicero describes it in Div. 2. 41, and speaks of it as an art already discredited. This and other forms of witchcraft would linger among the hill-folk: Epod. 17. 28, with note. The whole picture here is imaginary and burlesque.

31. **hostilous**, archaic form of 'hostilis' Od. 3. 2. 6; cp. 'civicus' Od. 2. 1. 1 n., Epp. 1. 3. 23.

32. **laterum dolor**, 'pleurisy.' Orelli reminds us that Crassus, in Cic. de Orat. 3. 2, dies of 'lateris dolor.'

33. **quandocumque**, 'whenever that time comes'; the construction is elliptical, as with 'quicumque,' 'qualiscumque,' &c. Bentl. quotes Ov. Met. 6. 544 'Quandocumque mihi poenas dabis,' Trist. 3. 1. 57 'Quandocumque precor nostro placata parenti Isdem sub dominis aspicere domus.' For the *tnesis* see on Od. 1. 6. 3.

35. **ad Vestae**: see on Od. 1. 2. 15, 16. The temple of Vesta, of which the foundations have now been laid bare, stood under the N. E. corner of the Palatine hill. The pair have now reached the entrance to the Forum, and the point where Horace's route would diverge to the left if he was to make for the river and the Janiculum.

quarta parte. The third hour was over and the fourth beginning. Law business, according to Martial 4. 8. 2, began with the third, 'Exercet raucos tertia caudicos.'

36. **respondere vadato**. The plaintiff in a civil suit when, with the Praetor's leave, he had declared the nature and process of his action, had to give the defendant time to prepare his answer. He called on him therefore 'dare vades,' and was said 'vadari reum,' to bind him over to appear (see on Sat. 1. 1. 11). If the defendant failed at the appointed time to come into court ('vadium sistere,' 'respondere,') he was said 'vadimonium deseruisse,' and the plaintiff moved for judgment, 'ut ex edicto bona possidere liceat.' See a case in Cic. pro Quint. 6. It has been supposed that 'vadato respondere,' in this place is equivalent to the usual 'respondere,' absol., 'vadato' being the dative, 'to the man who bound him over.' No other instance, however, has been found of the phrase, and it is better (with Kiessling) to take 'vadato' as an abl. absol. like 'auspicato,' &c., 'bail having been given.' Palmier quotes Cic. ad Att. 16. 6. 3 'hoc quod satisdato debeo.'

38. **si me amas**, 'as you love me,' a formula of earnest request, Cic. ad Att. 5. 17, &c. For the hiatus and shortening of 'me' cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 507 'te amice.'

ades, a quasi-technical term of those that give help and countenance in court. It appears from such passages as Cic. Rosc. Am. 1 ('ita fit ut adsint propterea quod officium sequuntur, taceant autem

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quia periculum metuunt') that such countenance did not imply actual advocacy.

39. **stare**. The meaning is doubtful. (1) Acron took it of the physical fatigue of standing in court. (2) Porph. of standing still, waiting. (3) Torrentius of appearing in court. Torrent. quotes from Ulpian for the use of 'stare,' and compares the term 'statores' for the officers of the court. Of these (2) seems to be inadmissible both as involving a questionable use of 'valeo' and as anticipating the later excuse 'et propero quo scis.'

41. **rem**: nearly synonymous with 'litem.' Cic. Mur. 12. 27 laughs at the lawyers for not having been able in all these years to settle 'utrum rem an litem dici oporteret.'

sodes: Epp. 1. 1. 62.

44. **hinc repetit**, 'makes this fresh beginning.'

paucorum hominum, 'choice in his friends.' It was a current phrase: Ter. Eun. 3. 1. 18 'sic homost: perpaucorum hominum,' and in a fragment of Cic. de Fato preserved in Macrob. Sat. 2. 12, Scipio who has received a sturgeon and is inviting more of his visitors to stop and eat of it than Pontius, who is staying in the house, approves, is remonstrated with in the words 'vide quid agas, acipenser iste paucorum hominum est.'

45. It has been doubted whether the comparative abl. after 'dexterius' should be 'eo' (sc. 'Maecenate') or 'te' (sc. 'Horatio'). The first is the more probable. 'Te' would probably be expressed. Also this strong statement would be inconsistent with the question just asked, 'Maecenas quomodo tecum?' The suggestion is that Maecenas is so exclusive and so wide awake that Horace will be none the worse for a seconder in his attempts to improve his acquaintance.

46. **ferre secundas**: sc. 'partis.' There is the same metaphor Epp. 1. 18. 14 'vel partis mimum tractare secundas,' of an obsequious friend. It is worked out more fully in Cic. Div. in Q. Caec. 25 'ut in actoribus Graecis fieri videmus saepe illum qui est secundarum aut tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere quam ipse primarum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat, sic faciet Alienus: tibi serviet, tibi lenocinabitur, minus aliquanto contendet quam potest.'

47. **hunc hominem**: sc. 'me,' as in Ter. and Plaut. an imitation of the Greek *τόνδ' ἄνδρα*.

tradere, 'to introduce.' Epp. 1. 9. 3, 1. 18. 78.

48. **summosses**, 'clear from your path' (as in the usual 'i, lictor, summove turbam'). There is a want of delicacy in the word as well as in the idea which provokes Horace's protest. 'Dispeream' is optative 'may I perish!' 'Summosses' answers to an understood condition 'si traderes,' the tense implying the rapidity of the effort, 'you would find at once that you had cleared,' &c. 'Dispeream si' or 'ni' does not by itself require a subjunctive to follow. Catull. 92. 2 'dispeream nisi amat.' For the form of 'summosses' cp. 'commorit,' Sat. 2. 1. 45. The shortening, common when the v belongs

BOOK I, SATIRE IX, 38-69

to the Perf. stem as in 'nosset' v. 62, is extended in many writers to parts of 'moveo' and its compounds although the v is radical.

51. **uni cuique**: for the division cp. Epp. 2. 2. 188 'mortalis in unum Quodque caput,' A. P. 290. It occurs in prose as Cic. de Or. 25. 92 'ne in uno quidem quoque.' The words are so separable that it does not reach the licence of Sat. 2. 3. 117, &c.

53. **sic habet**, οὕτως ἔχει: a shorter form of 'sic res se habet'; so 'bene habet' Cic. Mur. 6. 14.

quare. Madv. § 440 b, obs. 1 = 'ita ut ob eam rem.'

54. **velis tantummodo**, 'if you merely wish it'; for the conditional use see on Sat. 1. 1. 45, Madv. § 442 a, obs. 2: for the subj. with future *in apodosis* cp. Od. 3. 3. 8 'illabatur ... ferient.'

quae tua, 'such is your,' &c. Madv. § 446.

55. **et** adds another reason of hope; the metaphor is continued.

58. **tempora**, καιροὺς. Virg. Aen. 4. 423 'Sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras.'

59. **deducam**, 'escort to his destination.' It is one of the recognized civilities to greater personages. Cic. de Sen. 18 'salutari, appeti, decedi, assurgi, deduci.' Cp. Cic. Mur. 34.

nil sine magno: he encourages himself in his small ambition by a heroic γνώμη: cp. χαλεπὰ τὰ καλὰ, and Sophocles, Electra 945 πόνου τοι χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὐτυχεῖ.

60. **haec agit**, 'is so occupied'; perhaps with the sense of conducting his case—pleading, as in Virg. Aen. 11. 445 'haec inter se ... agebant Certantes.'

61. **Fuscus Aristius**: see introd. to Od. 1. 22 and Epp. 1. 10; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 83. For the order of the names see on Od. 2. 2. 3.

62. **pulchre**. There is, as often, an ironical tinge in the adv. = 'only too well.' The phrase occurs with the same meaning in Cic. ad Fam. 10. 23 'Lepidum pulchre noram.'

nosset, the subj., because it is Horace's thought, not bare fact; 'who must surely know him.'

unde venis et quo tendis? a usual formula on meeting; Sat. 2.

4. 1 'unde et quo Catius?'

63. **rogat et respondet**, he asks me and I ask him. The comment of the Schol. is 'elegantè mixtum inter se et confusum sermonem interrogandi respondendique expressit.'

64. **lentissima**, pred., the arms gave no sign of feeling.

65. **male**, 'unkindly.'

66. **dissimulare**, 'pretends not to notice.'

iecur: Od. 1. 13. 4.

69. **tricesima sabbata**. Much learning and ingenuity have been expended upon these words, but it is very likely that the riddle has no answer. Some words with a mystic sound, but chosen at random, would suit the conditions of the case. If a definite solution is to be looked for, the most probable is that of the Schol., who refer the words to the new moon; 'sabbata' being used generally as the Jewish term for a sacred day, and 'tricesima' meaning 'on the 30th day' (Dillenburger quotes from Ovid, A. A. 1. 76 'Cultaque Iudaeo

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septima sacra Syro,' where 'septima sacra' = 'seventh-day rites'), the 30th day of the 'full' months, the Greek *ἑνὴ καὶ νέν*, being the day on which the new moon was watched for; see Dict. Bibl. s. v. New Moon. Taking the words to mean the 30th Sabbath in the year, they have been variously explained, (1) of the Passover (so Torren-
tius), which would fall *about* 30 weeks from the beginning of the Jewish civil year, sc. from Tisri, our Sept.—Oct.; (2) by Orelli, either of the Feast of Tabernacles or of the Great Day of Atonement, each being according to various calculations the 30th 'sabbath' from the first of Nisan, the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, and corresponding to our March—April. For the observance by superstitious Romans of the Jewish Sabbath see Mayor's note on Juv. S. 14. 96 'metuentem sabbata patrem.' Cp. also Sat. 2. 3. 291.

vin tu: see on Sat. 2. 6. 92.

71. *unus multorum*, 'one of the many,' i.e. not exempt from their weaknesses; so Cicero Brut. 79. 274 '[M. Calidius] non fuit orator unus e multis,' 'an ordinary orator.'

72. *huncine*, &c.: Sat. 2. 4. 83, 2. 8. 67; Virg. Aen. 1. 37 'Mene incepto desistere victam'; Madv. § 399. This is Horace's exclamation at the time when he finds Aristius immovable.

73. *surrexe*. For the form cp. on Sat. 1. 5. 79 'erepsemus.' *improbis*, 'ruthlessly.'

74. *sub cultro*, as a victim with the knife at its throat.

75. *adversarius*. Some difficulties have been raised as to the legal processes implied, and a discussion of them may be found in Long's note on Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 15. It seems that though the power of compelling the defendant in a civil action to appear in court at the first hearing can be abundantly shown, there is no evidence elsewhere of its existence in respect of the second appearance or real trial. With respect to that it would seem that the penalties of failing 'respondere' were (as is said here in v. 37, 'perdere litem') to lose the suit and forfeit the security deposited. We are reduced therefore to three possible suppositions (1) that Horace (no unusual thing in literature) has been careless in his legal phraseology; (2) that though it was not commonly used, the plaintiff had the legal power to compel his adversary's presence, and that the defendant here when he thought to settle the matter by not appearing had reckoned 'without his host'; (3) that the 'adversarius' in this line is the plaintiff in a different suit. This last seems unlikely.

76. *licet antestari*? 'may I call you as a witness?' i.e. that I have duly summoned him; addressed to Horace. The person so addressed gave his assent by offering the tip of his ear to be touched. The formulae of the passage are well illustrated from Plaut. Persa 4. 9. 8, where Saturio is about to prosecute Dordalus for the abduction of his daughter: 'Sa. Age, ambula in ius, leno. Do. quid me in ius vocas? Sa. illi apud Praetorem dicam: sed ego in ius voco. Do. nonne antestaris? Sa. tuam ego causa, carnifex, quoiqum mortali libero auris adteram?' Cp. also Plin.

Σ I, SATIRE IX, 69-78—SATIRE X

03 'Est in aure ima memoriae locus quem tangentes

prob. as the Schol. suggest in remembrance of Hom. the rescue of Hector, τὸν δ' ἐξήρπασεν Ἀπόλλων (which, of course, had been quoted by Lucilius 6. 40), with the idea of Apollo as the natural protector of a poet.

SATIRE X

S AND HORACE. FAIR AND UNFAIR CRITICISM

It has been assailed by the school, of whom Demetrius and Tigellius are the representatives, with contempt on his Satire, and especially for his words in Satire X. He replies by repeating and justifying what

Yes, I did say that Lucilius' verses are rough. Is it

I also praised him for the wit and freedom of his verse. Two things are consistent; you may praise a good poet it does not imply that it is perfect poetry. To make wit a merit, but more is wanted—brevity, play, variety, alternation of declamation and irony. These are characteristics of the great Greek comedians whom Lucilius and his school have never read.

His assailants are supposed to reply that Lucilius was mingling Greek phrases with Latin. 'That is an easy answer; but why do you admire it in poetry more than in oratory?'

He makes the transition to himself. 'I too,' he says, 'had been writing wholly in Greek, but I had a dream of what criticism would say, "It is too late to write Greek. So while Bibaculus writes his turgid stuff I take my last line. I leave comedy to Fundanius, tragedy to Terence, poetry to Varius, bucolics to Virgil. Satire seemed ought try to do better than Varro Atacinus and others, confessing my inferiority to Lucilius. I don't dispute it with him.'

'I speak of the "turbid stream that often carried rubbish." Well, do you find nothing to criticize in Lucilius? Did not Lucilius in Accius and Ennius? Why may I think that Lucilius was too hasty? Give him all credit which is his, more than you would expect, than his predecessors. If he lived now he would find much to correct; he would be acting in his criticism.

It is to be worth reading must have cost much pains, and is written for the multitude. You may look to have

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your poems read in bad schools. That is not my ambition. I am like Arbuscula; if the front stalls admire, the pit and gallery may be hanged. I care for the approbation of true poets and true critics, not for that of the poetasters and drawing-room critics of the moment.

The verses enclosed in brackets are found in some of the 10th cent. MSS. ($\phi\psi\lambda\beta$), but they were absent from Cruquius' Bland. MSS., and were certainly unknown to the Scholiasts, who not only do not comment on them, but evidently found 'Nempe incomposito,' &c. as the opening words of the Satire, 'Respondet his a quibus culpatus fuerat quod Lucilii versus damnasset in satira "Eupolis atque Cratinus," et dicit se non poetam improbasse sed versus,' &c. It is in favour also of the more abrupt commencement that Persius, an imitator of Horace, begins a Satire with 'Nempe.'

1. **Catone**, apparently 'Valerius Cato,' a 'grammarian' and poet of the later Republic, who is described by Suetonius (de grammaticis illustr. 2 and 11) as having read Lucilius in the lecture-room of Philocomus.

4. **quo melior vir et est**, the reading of β ; but the majority of the older MSS. read the line unmetrically without 'et,' and the variations in others 'adest,' 'hic est,' 'meliorque vir est,' 'est quo vir melior,' indicate that 'et' is only one conjecture amongst many for remedying a fault in the original copy.

illo. In the uncertainty of the authorship of the verses it may seem idle to guess who this 'grammaticorum equitum doctissimus' is that is contrasted with Cato. Ritter suggests that the person imagined is Horace's own teacher Orbilius, of whom Suetonius says that in early life 'in Macedonia . . . equo meruit.' If this is so we may perhaps imagine further that the severe discipline of v. 5 is suggested by that which has made Orbilius himself famous; see Epp. 2. 1. 71.

6. **exoratus**: sc. 'est.'

8. **ut redeam illuc**: suggested by Sat. 1. 1. 108 'Illuc unde abii redeo'; but it is harsher here.

1. **nempe . . . dixi**, 'it is true I said.' We are to imagine ourselves as overhearing part of a conversation. Horace is replying to criticism on what he had said in Sat. 1. 4.

incomposito . . . pede, 'halting rhythm': cp. 'pede certo' Sat. 1. 4. 47. There is possibly some sense of continuity in the metaphor 'pede currere.' What he had actually said was that Lucilius was 'durus componere versus' Sat. 1. 4. 8.

3. **sale multo . . . defricuit**. The general sense is imitated by Pers. 1. 114 'sequit Lucilius urbem.' The Schol. are probably right in taking it as a continuous metaphor. His wit was the salt which made the sore places smart. The praise which Horace claims to have given to Lucilius must be looked for in the whole passage, vv. 1-8 of Sat. 1. 4.

BOOK I, SATIRE X, 1-19

4. **charta**: Sat. 1. 5. 104. The sing. is used of a single poem.

5. **cetera**, every other good quality, including smooth versification.

6. **et Laberi mimos**, which contain (he would say), like Lucilius' satires, plenty of well-applied wit. Laberius is the Roman knight whom Caesar compelled to act his own mimes. The prologue which he spoke on the occasion is given, with the story, in Macrob. Saturn. 2. 7, and has great spirit; but Cicero is at one with Horace in speaking slightly of the mimes themselves, ad Fam. 12. 18 'equidem sic iam obdurui ut ludis Caesaris nostri animo aequissimo . . . audirem Laberii et Publii poemata.'

9. **brevitate**: whereas Lucilius was 'garrulus,' 'erat quod tollere velles,' Sat. 1. 4. 11, 12.

11. **tristi**, 'serious.'

12. **defendente**, 'maintaining,' as A. P. 194 'partis officiumque defendat.' It is a variation of the common 'tueri personam,' 'tueri munus,' &c.

vicem, as 'fungar vice' A. P. 304, 'place,' 'part.'

rhitoris, one who composes declamations.

13. **parentis viribus**, a description of irony. ✓✓

15. **plerumque**, as usually in Horace, 'very often.' Sat. 2. 5. 55; Epp. 1. 18. 94, 2. 2. 84; A. P. 14, 95.

secat, 'decides,' 'cuts the knot.' Epp. 1. 16. 42 'multae magnaeque secantur iudice lites.' Cp. Cic. de Or. 2. 58. 236 'odiosas res saepe, quas argumentis dilui non facile est, ioco risuque dissolvit.'

16. See note on Sat. 1. 4. 2.

viris is evidently contrasted here with the effeminate taste of the day. For the dative cp. Epp. 1. 19. 3 'quae scribuntur aquae potoribus,' Madv. § 250 a.

17. **stabant**. 'They owed their success' to this. A phrase of the theatre, opp. 'cadere,' ἐκπίπτειν: Epp. 2. 1. 176 'cadat an recto stet fabula talo.'

hoc covers the whole description of the excellence of satirical composition, vv. 9-15.

pulcher: said of a fop.

18. **Hermogenes**: sc. Tigellius. See on Sat. 1. 4. 72 and introd. to Sat. 1. 3.

simius: probably, as the Schol. say, the Demetrius of v. 90. 'He may be called an ape' either, as they also say, on account of his small size and ugliness (opp. to the 'pulcher Hermogenes') as ὁ πίθηκος οὗτος . . . Κλειγένης ὁ μικρός Ar. Ran. 707, or as an unintelligent imitator.

19. This verse is best illustrated by Cicero's 'O poetam egre-gium, quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur!' Tusc. 3. 19. 45, where 'cantoribus' as 'cantare' here, is of reciting in a sing-song and maudlin tone. Cp. 'plorare' v. 91. Euphorion of Chalcis was a popular elegiac poet of the Alexandrine school whom Cicero is there contrasting with the more manly standard of their own Ennius. It is as imitators of the Alexandrine poets in-

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stead of the great Greek classics, Homer, Alcaeus, Archilochus, that Horace is here vilipending Calvus and Catullus. He is not just to Catullus, but he is treating him as a representative of the school with which he was always at war. Calvus is C. Licinius Calvus, the orator and poet, a contemporary and close friend of Catullus.

20. 'Surely it was a feat to mingle Greek words in his verses as he did.' An argument imagined for a defender of Lucilius, but hardly a serious one. Cp. 'αἰγίλιποι montes' in fr. 3. 7. It was a practice of early Latin writing—not entirely dropped in Lucretius (4. 1162, &c.), criticized by Cicero, de Off. 1. 31. 111 'ut sermone eo debemus uti qui notus est nobis, ne, ut quidam, Graeca verba inculcantes iure optimo irrideamur'—but allowed by himself frequently in the freedom of his letters.

21. *seri studiorum*: a translation of the Greek ὀψιμαθής, of dunces turned pedants. So Aulus Gellius (11. 7), probably in reminiscence of the passage, as he is speaking of the practice of introducing antiquated novel or foreign words, 'est adeo id vitium plerumque serae eruditionis, quam Graeci ὀψιμαθίαν appellant, ut quod numquam didiceris, diu ignoraveris, cum id scire aliquando coeperis, magni facias quo in loco cumque et quacumque in re dicere.' Horace adds point to his criticism by setting the example of translating the Greek word.

quine. A usage of the comic dramatists. See Ter. Ad. 2. 3. 8 'festivum caput! Quine omnia sibi post putavit esse prae meo commodo?' 'Qui' is the nom. p. ur. of the relative: the interrogative tone added by 'ne' gives a rhetorical emphasis—'what? when you think,' &c. Cp. the exclamatory 'ne' in 'utne' Sat. 2. 5. 18. It is found, as Bentley says on the passage quoted from Terence, both with the ind. and subj., that is, both with 'qui' as a simple relative and with causal or other force which affects the mood. For the first see Virg. Aen. 10. 673 'Quosne, nefas, omnis infanda in morte reliqui.'

22. *Pitholeonti*. Nothing is known of him unless we accept Bentley's ingenious suggestion, that he is the same as Pitholaus (he compares the double forms of the names Τιμόλαος, Τιμολέων—Μενέλαος, Μενέλαος) mentioned by Suetonius (Iul. 75) as a poetical libeller of Julius Caesar.

23. *concinuus*. In our ignorance of the etymology of this word it is impossible to say whether any metaphor is felt. Nonius Marcellus (a grammarian of uncertain date) derives it from 'cinnus,' the name of a drink, like the Homeric κυκεών, of meal and wine. If this was believed in Horace's time it would suit the similitude of the following verse.

utraque: see on Od. 3. 8. 5.

24. *nota*: see on Od. 2. 3. 8. 'Chio,' 'Falerni,' a Greek and an Italian wine.

25. 'Is that a principle which you confine to the criticism of poetry, or would you apply it also to oratory, and to oratory of a serious kind?'

to ipsum, 'I press the question home to yourself, give me your own experience.'

26. *causa Petilli* stands, generally, for a case where much is at stake and where the defence is difficult: see on Sat. i. 4. 94.

27 foll. 'Doubtless you would forget fatherland and father, and prefer, whilst Pedius Publicola and Corvinus spend their strength in pleading in pure Latin, to adulterate your mother speech with foreign words like a double-tongued Canusian.' I have followed Heindorf, Orelli, and Palmer, though with some doubt, in giving 'Latine.' It is found in some good MSS. Cruquius himself preferred it against all his MSS. as the reading, though not of V, of the marginal annotator on V, who wrote 'cum exsudet, id est, cum sudore et omni instantia Latine recitet, Latine proferat.' The scholia of Acr. and Porph. point the same way, though their argument is not quite logical, as they both dwell on the fact that the two orators named were purists in respect of Latin words. As Orelli remarked, the corruption of 'Latine' to 'Latini' to suit 'patris' is easy to imagine—easier than the reverse alteration. If with Bentley we read 'Latini' we may either take it as an adj., as Virgil's 'genus Latinum' Aen. i. 6, or (as he prefers) of Latinus ('pater Latinus' in Virg. Aen. 7. 61, &c.), as the eponymous ancestor of the Latin-speaking race.

28. *Pedius . . . Publicola atque Corvinus*. Corvinus is the M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus of Od. 3. 21. 7 (see introd. to that Ode), Sat. i. 6. 42, A. P. 371 'diserti Messallae.' Who Pedius was is uncertain. The Scholiasts say that he and Corvinus were brothers. This may be illustrated by, or may be due to, v. 85 'te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre,' where they annotate 'sc. Publicola'; but see on that verse. That the two families were connected is known from Pliny (N. H. 35. 7), who states that Q. Pedius, the nephew of C. Julius Caesar, was married into the family of Messalla. Their grandson was a deaf-mute who, by Messalla's advice, was taught the art of painting. This is all that is known. It has been conjectured, but on no further grounds, that Q. Pedius the younger, the father of the deaf-mute, adopted his cousin's son, a brother of Messalla the orator, who therefore became 'Pedius.' Doubt hangs also over the name 'Publicola.' Estré joins it with 'Corvinus,' quoting as parallel 'optimus atque Cocceius' Sat. i. 5. 27, 'optimus atque Fuscus' v. 82 of this Satire. The arguments, which are strong for taking 'optimus' in those cases with the following name, do not apply equally here. It is more usually taken with 'Pedius.' Those who believe that the two were brothers sometimes (as Dillenburger) take it ἀπὸ κοινού with both. Very possibly the additional name is intended to recall the pure Roman descent to which they are true in their native Roman speech. The cognomen of Publicola belonged to the gens Valeria and so to Messalla. Cp. Virg. Catal. 11 (ad Messallam) 40 'Messallis Publicolis.' It may have belonged to Pedius either, according to the Scholiasts' theory, as a member

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by birth of the gens Valeria or, as Estré suggests, on the female side from the Valeria who married Q. Pedius.

30. **Canusini . . . bilinguis.** The Schol. tells us that both Ennius and Lucilius had given the title 'bilingues' to the 'Bruttates' or 'Bruttii,' doubtless in the same sense, as speaking Greek as well as the native Italian dialect. For Canusium see Sat. 1. 5. 91, 92.

33. **cum somnia vera.** Mosch. Id. 2. 2 foll. *νυκτὸς ὅτε τρίτατον λάχος ἴσταιται ἐγγύθι δ' ἥως . . . , εὐτε καὶ ἀτρεκέων ποιμαίνεται ἔθνος ὀνείρων*, Ov. Her. 19. 195 'sub auroram, iam dormitante lucerna, Somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent.'

34. **in silvam . . . ligna.** The editors recall proverbs of similar import, *γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας, ἰχθὺς εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον*. Cp. our 'coals to Newcastle.'

36. **turgidus Alpinus.** Acr. has a note, 'Vivalium quendam poetam Gallum tangit.' Cruquius had suggested for 'Vivalium' 'rivalem'; but Bentley ingeniously altered it to 'Vivaculum,' the form which Acron on Sat. 2. 5. 41 writes for Bibaculum. This key given, the two passages explain one another. They are both aimed at M. Furius Bibaculus, a poet of the previous generation, whom Quintilian (10. 1. 96) classes with Catullus and Horace as a writer of 'iambi,' and whom Tacitus (Ann. 4. 34) puts with Catullus, as one whose writings, 'referta contumeliis Caesarum,' were still read. 'Gallum' is probably a misunderstanding of 'Alpinus,' as it would hardly be used of his birthplace in Cisalpine Gaul, Cremona. The nickname 'Alpinus,' 'poet of the Alps,' is due to his verse parodied in Sat. 2. 5. 41 [*Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuat Alpis*], or possibly to fuller descriptions in the same vein of Alpine scenes (as the 'Rheni caput') occurring in the poem on the Gaulish wars ('pragmatia belli Gallici') which Acron attributes to him. 'Turgidus' probably means 'bombastic,' though it is tempting to parallel it with 'pingui tentus omaso' in Sat. 2. 5. 40. His personal habits were part of the tradition of him; cp. Pliny N. H. praef. 'qui Bibaculus erat et vocabatur.'

iugulat . . . Memnona: i.e. writes of Achilles slaying Memnon, the subject of the Aethiopis of Arctinus, the cyclic poet. 'Iugulat,' a rough word, of his clownish way of 'despatching' his hero.

37. **deingit luteum caput** seems a continuous metaphor—'gives his Rhine a head-piece of brown mud' Conington; 'defingere' is a rare word, perhaps one used of rough, offhand workmanship. Probably the point lies in Bibaculus having used the epithet 'luteum' of the source of the Rhine. Did he know enough of the upper courses of the Alpine rivers to apply the epithet purposely? In any case it was prosaic; but Horace had not seen a glacier stream and probably figured the source of the Rhine or Rhone as Virgil would have figured it in the hall of Cyrene, or as he knew his own Bandusian spring, 'splendidior vitro.'

Iudo: see on Od. 1. 32. 2.

38. **in aede sonent:** 'in aede Musarum ubi poetae carmina sua

recitabant' Porph. See Juv. S. 7. 37, of the poet who recites in a room lent by his patron, 'Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta.' The temple of Apollo Palatinus, which contained figures of the Muses, was not opened till B.C. 28 (see introd. to Od. 1. 31). The only known temple of the Muses before this was the temple 'Herculis Musarum,' built by M. Fabius Nobilior, the friend of Ennius, in B.C. 187, and restored by L. Marcius Philippus, the step-father of Augustus. Pliny (N. H. 34. 10) tells a story of Accius the poet having put a statue, larger than life, of himself 'in Camenarum aede,' which may be a loose designation of this one, or may refer to one not otherwise known. In the time of Livius Andronicus the temple of Minerva on the Aventine was assigned for meetings of the 'collegium poetarum' (Fest. s. v. Scribae. Val. Max. 3. 7. 11). These may probably have been transferred later to a temple of the Muses or Camenae.

Tarpa. The critic who presides at these prize recitations is given by the Schol. the additional names 'Sp. Maecius,' and he is identified with the 'Maecius' of A. P. 387, and so with the critic who is named in Cic. ad Fam. 7. 1 as having been in some way made responsible for the plays to be performed in Pompey's theatre in B.C. 55. We know nothing of him from other sources. See on A. P. 1. c.

40. **arguta.** So Epp. 1. 14. 42 'calo argutus,' of the slave whose wits are sharpened by town life. The names of Davus the slave, and Chremes the old man, are those of the Andria of Terence, though there is no scene which exactly corresponds with that suggested here.

41. **comis:** probably the nominative, and = 'comiter,' 'so as to please.'

garrire libellos = to write light comedies of easy talk. Fundanius is not mentioned by Quintilian, nor otherwise known to us. Horace puts the story of Nasidienus' supper, in Sat. 2. 8, into his mouth. For 'garrire' cp. Sat. 2. 6. 77.

42. **Pollio:** Od. 2. 1. introd.

regum: Od. 4. 2. 13, the kings of legend.

43. **pede ter percusso,** 'in the measure with three beats,' = 'trimetris' A. P. 252, 'pede,' in the same sense as supr. v. 1. It is also taken literally 'to three beats of the foot,' i.e. to a metre which is so marked. For 'percusso' as a technical term see Cic. de Orat. 3. 47. 182 'sunt insignes percussiones eorum numerorum,' i.e. of the iambic and trochaic.

forte, 'manly.'

acer ut nemo, 'with a fire all his own.'

44. **ducit.** There is no continuous metaphor. Heindorf and others compare the use of 'deducere' (Sat. 2. 1. 4, &c.), 'to spin'; but 'ducere epos,' 'versus' (Ov. Trist. 5. 12. 63), 'carmen' (ib. 1. 11. 18), are perhaps rather analogous to the uses of 'ducere' of architecture (Od. 4. 6. 23), of moulding in brass (Epp. 2. 1. 240), or marble (Virg. Aen. 6. 848). For Varius as the epic poet see Od. 1. 6. 2 'Maeonii carminis alite.'

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molle atque facetum, 'smoothness and exquisite finish.' 'Facetum' is interpreted by Quintilian, 6. 3. 20 'Facetum quoque non tantum circum ridiculum opinor consistere: neque hinc diceret Horatius facetum carminis genus natura concessum esse Vergilio. *Decoris hanc magis et exultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto.*' Virgil had at this time made public his Eclogues.

45. **adnuerunt**: Epod. 9. 17 'vertērunt,' Epp. 1. 4. 7 'dedērunt.'

46. **hoc** repeats the 'haec' of v. 37.

Varrone Atacino: P. Terentius Varro, called 'Atacinus' from his birthplace on the river Atax (Aude) in Gallia Narbonensis. His Satires are not mentioned elsewhere. Quintilian's mention of him (10. 1. 87) recognizes the fact that some of his poems did not merit immortality: 'in iis, per quae nomen est assecutus, interpret operis alieni,' with reference no doubt to his *Argonautica*, a poem frequently referred to by later poets (as Ov. Trist. 2. 439).

47. **quibusdam aliis**. Maclean justly remarks that but for this reference we should not have known that Varro had written Satires; it is not surprising that there were other writers whose names are not preserved.

48. **inventore minor**: cp. Sat. 2. 1. 74 'Quidquid sum ego, quamvis infra Lucili censum ingeniumque,' &c.

49. **haerentem**: as though it would be unwilling to be removed.

50. **at**, 'but, you repeat (see on v. 1), I said,' &c. The reference is to Sat. 1. 4. 11, where see note.

52. **doctus**, 'are you not learned critic enough to pick some holes, like the Alexandrines, in Homer?' For a reference to such criticisms see A. P. 359.

53. **comis**: not ironical, but yet an epithet taken from his admirers, as in verse 65: 'for all his graciousness.'

tragicus has the force of 'the true tragic poet.'

mutat, 'emendat' Porph.

Acci: cp. Epp. 2. 1. 56, A. P. 258, L. Accius, born, according to Jerome, in B.C. 170. His tragedies are praised and frequently quoted by Cicero. Quintilian's judgment (10. 1. 97) is 'Tragoediae scriptores Accius atque Pacuvius clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere, et auctoritate personarum. Ceterum nitor et summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsis defuisse.' Porphyrion's comment on this and the following lines is 'Facit autem haec Lucilius cum alias tum vel maxime in tertio libro . . . et nono et decimo.'

54. **gravitate**: Epp. 2. 1. 59; the abl. of respect, as Epp. 2. 1. 183 'virtute et honore minores.' Servius on Virg. Aen. 11. 601 (see Conington, ad loc.) illustrating Virgil's use of the verb 'horreo,' has preserved an instance of Lucilius' criticism of Ennius, 'Est autem versus Ennianus (probably Sat. 3. fr. 6 'Sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret') vituperatus a Lucilio dicente per irrisiōnem eum debuisse dicere, "horret et alget."'

BOOK I, SATIRE X, 44-66

55. 'Whilst he speaks of himself not as though he were greater than those he criticizes.' *cum* almost = 'cum tamen.' Cp. Sat. 1. 8. 17. For the construction with *indic.* see Munro on Lucret. 1. 566.

57. *rerum dura . . . natura*. 'Rerum de quibus scripsit' Acr.; but possibly 'rerum natura' has its Lucretian or Ciceronian sense of the total order of things—'some difficulty insuperable whatever had been his individual force and care.' 'Dura' qualifies 'natura' as constructed with 'rerum,' not with 'illius.'

58. *magis factos*, 'more finished.' Cic. de Orat. 3. 48. 184 'oratio polita ac facta quodammodo.'

59. *mollius ac si*, 'more smoothly than if.' Though putting it in this indirect way, Horace repeats the charge of Sat. 1. 4. 9 foll., that Lucilius' roughness was due to his rapid composition.

pedibus . . . claudere: Sat. 2. 1. 28 'pedibus verba claudere'; and see on Sat. 1. 4. 40 'concludere versum.'

60. *hoc tantum* = 'hac una re'; 'this and this only'—repeating the previous infinitive. Cp. Sat. 1. 1. 78. 'Contentus' is constructed both with an *abl.* and (in poetry) with an *infin.*

61. *Etrusci Cassi*: a writer otherwise unknown. The Scholiasts identified him with the 'Cassius Parmensis' of Epp. 1. 4. 3, and all the earlier editors, including even Bentley, followed them. Weichert, who treated the question elaborately (De L. Varii et Cassii Parmensis vita et carminibus—Grimae 1836), proved that this must be an error. Even if the two epithets 'Etrusci' and 'Parmensis' are not inconsistent as they seem to be, the writer called 'Cassius Parmensis,' according to all testimony, was one of the conspirators against Caesar, and was put to death in Athens by the order of Octavianus after the battle of Actium, some years after the date to which this Satire is to be referred.

64. *fuert*, 'Let it be granted that he was.'

65. *comis*: see on v. 53.

urbanus: joined with 'comis' in Sat. 1. 4. 90. It seems to imply some refinement in the humour, as that implies good temper in it.

66. 'Than the creator of a new style of poetry, and one unattempted by the Greeks.' Does this mean (1) than under the circumstances of the writing he could himself be? or (2) than some one else, such as the writers of the early Saturnian rhythm? Casaubon taking (2) altered 'rudis et' to 'Rudius' so that the line definitely described Ennius. In spite of some harshness of expression (1) is the most probable. Both 'Graecis intacti carminis' and 'auctor' are phrases evidently meant to imply the praise of originality which Horace always gives to Lucilius: see v. 48 and cp. Sat. 2. 1. 63. Cp. Quintil. 10. 1. 93 'Satira quidem tota nostra est (Horace's 'Graecis intactum carmen'), in qua primus insignem laudem adeptus Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores ut eum non eiusdem modo operis auctoribus sed omnibus poetis praeferre non dubitent.' With 'rudis' cp. Virg. G. 2. 211

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'rudis campus,' of unworked soil. With 'limator' cp. A. P. 291 'limae labor.'

68. **dilatatus**, 'postponed,' if he had lived a century later.

69. **detereret sibi**, the same metaphor as 'limator,' 'would use the file on himself freely.'

70. **traheretur**, 'dragged out,' 'prolonged.'

faciendo, as 'factos' in v. 58, 'perfecting.'

71. **caput scaberet**. The editors quote from a fragment of Varro 'scabens caput novo partu poetico.' The remainder of the line is imitated by Pers. Sat. 1. 106, speaking of composition which has caused no effort, 'nec demorsos sapit unguis.' **vivos** = 'ad vivum,' 'to the quick.'

72. **saepe stilum**. For the short vowel before *st* cp. Sat. 1. 3. 44, 2. 3. 43, 2. 3. 296. So before *sc* Sat. 1. 5. 35, 2. 2. 36. It is common in Lucretius, see Munro on 4. 772. There are no instances in the Odes or Epistles.

stilum vertas, of erasing the writing on the wax tablet with the rounded end of the 'stilus.' Cicero has the same expression, '[Verres] vertit stilum in tabulis suis' Verr. 2. 2. 41.

75. **vilibus in ludis**. Horace here, as in Epp. 1. 20. 17, professes to shrink from the fate which Juvenal tells us (7. 226) had befallen his poems of becoming a schoolbook, 'Quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset Flaccus, et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.'

76. **equitem**, who occupied the seats of honour: Epod. 4. 15, Epp. 1. 1. 62 foll.

77. **contemptis aliis**: see on Od. 1. 3. 4.

Arbuscula. A 'mima' whose name Cicero also has preserved, ad Att. 4. 15 'quaeris mima de Arbuscula; valde placuit; ludi magnifici et grati.'

78. **men moveat**, imitated by Pers. S. 1. 88.

cimex. Hadrian is said (Philostratus, 588) to have tolerated the attacks of a slanderer calling them *δήγματα κόρων*.

Pantilius, an unknown person. Estré thinks his name is invented for its etymology, *πάν τιλλειν*, in the sense of 'vellicare.'

80. **Fannius**: see on Sat. 1. 4. 21.

81. For the conjunction of persons in this line cp. Sat. 1. 5. 40 with note.

82. **Valgius**, to whom Od. 2. 9 (see introd.) is addressed.

Octavius, very possibly the same as the Octavius whose death is the subject of Virg. Catal. 14, in which he is spoken of as a man of letters and a historian.

optimus with 'Fuscus.' See on Sat. 1. 5. 27.

83. **Fuscus**. Aristius Fuscus; see Od. 1. 22, introd., Epp. 1. 10, introd., Sat. 1. 9. 61. **Viscorum uterque**: see on Sat. 1. 9. 22.

84. **ambitione**, in the same sense Tacitus (Hist. 1. 1) speaks of 'ambitio scriptoris' as one of the corrupting influences in history,—the interested desire to please.

85. **Pollio**: Od. 2. 1 introd., supr. v. 42.

Messalla: see on v. 28 of this Satire. On 'tuo cum fratre,' the

BOOK I, SATIRE X, 66-91

Schol. annotate 'Publicola.' This they further interpret, as we have seen, of 'Peditus Publicola' mentioned in that place. But Messalla had a brother called by Plutarch (Vit. Anton. c. 65, 66) and the epitomizers of Livy (122) Publicola, and by Dion (47. 24) Gellius Publicola, who had been an ally of Brutus and Cassius, but conspired against them, was forgiven on account of their friendship for Messalla, and subsequently commanded a wing of Antony's squadron at Actium. Cp. introd. to Od. 2. 3.

86. **Bibule**, a certain correction of Heinsius for the reading of all MSS. 'Bibuli.' The corruption was due to 'vos' and to a misrendering of 'Servi' as plur. voc., which it could not be. The person intended is supposed to have been the youngest son of the consul Bibulus (Od. 3. 28. 8), who was still a boy when his father died, and his mother Porcia married M. Brutus. We hear of him as at Athens (and in company with Messalla, Cic. ad Att. 12. 32) in B. C. 45, and subsequently at the battle of Philippi with his stepfather. This will account for his friendship with Horace. It also seems that he wrote a memoir of M. Brutus (Plutarch, Vit. M. Bruti 13 and 23).

Servi, possibly the son of S. Sulpicius Lemonia Rufus, the jurist and friend of Cicero, of whose gifts and literary tastes Cicero speaks in letters to his father, ad Fam. 4. 3, 4, 13. 27; cp. Phil. 9. 3 foll.

candide: Epod. 14. 5, Epp. 1. 4. 1; cp. Sat. 1. 5. 41, Epp. 1. 6. 68.

Furni, doubtless the person with respect to whom Seneca tells a story (de Benef. 2. 25) of his reconciling Augustus to his father C. Furnius (friend and correspondent of Cicero, ad Fam. 10. 25, 26), who had been a supporter of Antony. He was consul in B. C. 17. In the Euseb. Chron. occurs 'Furnii pater et filius clari oratores habentur, quorum filius consularis ante patrem moritur.'

88. **prudens**: i. e. not because I forget them.

89. **spe deterius**, 'less well than I hope.'

90. **Demetri**. Nothing is known of him but what can be gathered from the text (cp. v. 18). The omission of 'te' before 'Demetri' is parallel to the omission of a preposition, or negative or alternative particle, with one of two parallel clauses, as of 'cum' Epp. 2. 1. 25, 'sive' Sat. 2. 5. 10, &c.

91. **discipularum**, 'mimarum et histrionum,' Comm. Cruq. 'ingenuarum, quia hoc tempore maximum earum studium adfectandi lyricam disciplinam.' Acr. For the first we might compare the 'mimae' of Sat. 1. 2. 2, who mourned the death of the other Tigellius. For the latter Orelli compares the picture of Sempronia in Sallust, Cat. 25 'litteris Graecis et Latinis dicta psallere et saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae.' It may be questioned, however, whether Horace means to depict Demetrius and Tigellius as professional singing-masters; or, rather, as we might say, as drawing-room critics, whose auditors would be young ladies lounging on armchairs. Cp. Martial's picture (3. 63. 5 foll.) of the

THE SATIRES OF HORACE. BOOK I, SAT. X

'bellus homo,' 'Cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditana susurrat, Qui movet in varios bracchia vulsa modos: Inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras desidet, atque aliqua semper in aure sonat.'

91. *iubeo plorare*, *κλαίειν κελεύω*, a form of contemptuous dismissal; but perhaps also with a play on the words in reference to the whining tone of the poetry which they admire; see on v. 19.

92. This verse is no doubt rightly taken by Bentley (Praef.) as an epilogue to the first book of the Satires. Horace imagines himself as delivering the Satire to his copying slave ('*librarius*,' cp. his use of '*dictabam*' in Epp. i. 10. 49) to add to the roll just completed of the other nine. It has been also taken, less probably, of the addition of the last taunt as an afterthought to this particular Satire; so Heindorf.

SATIRES. BOOK II

SATIRE I

TREBATIUS: OR THE RIGHT AND WRONG OF SATIRE

AN apology for Satire, and (as befits the beginning of a Second Book) for Satire that has given offence. It is put in the form of a consultation with a shrewd old lawyer.

Verses 1-5. *H.* My Satires are criticized—sometimes as too fierce, sometimes as too feeble—advise me?

5, 6. *T.* Give them up.

6, 7. *H.* The best advice: but how to spend my sleepless nights?

7-12. *T.* There are prescriptions for sleeplessness; but if you must write poetry, write the praises of Caesar.

12-15. *H.* I wish I could; but it is not every one who is fitted to describe warlike enterprises.

16, 17. *T.* Then describe his civil merits, as Lucilius described Scipio's.

17-20. *H.* When the time comes; but it needs tact.

21-23. *T.* It is better than Satire. Your fictitious names only make it worse. Every one takes the hits to themselves.

24-34. *H.* What can I do? Other people indulge their tastes. My taste is to write verses, like Lucilius. They were his perpetual resource, his confidants. His life is mirrored in them.

34-46. I follow his example. Like my ancestors set on outpost duty at Venusia, my weapons are for defence not for offence. I would fain live in peace, but if any one assail me the town shall hear of it.

47-56. Instinct tells every living thing what is its weapon of self-defence.

57-60. The sum is: whatever and wherever I am, write I must.

60-62. *T.* I fear then you will come to trouble with some of your great friends.

62-79. *H.* Nay, Laelius and Scipio were not offended when Lucilius laid bare the vices of Metellus and Lupus. He attacked great and small impartially. Laelius and Scipio were his friends and companions in their leisure. I do not compare myself to his greatness, but no one can deny that I too have lived with great men.

79-83. *T.* Be it so; let me at least remind you of the law. It is a criminal offence to write 'mala carmina' against any one.

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[Horace brings the Satire to an end with the jest he has prepared.]
83-85. *H.* Aye, but suppose they are 'bona,' and Caesar thinks so: suppose the Satire is deserved and the Satirist's own hands are clean?

86. *T.* In the laughter caused the case will fail and you will be acquitted.

C. Trebatius Testa was a 'iurisconsultus' of repute, a friend and correspondent of Cicero, who introduced him to Julius Caesar (*Cic. ad Fam.* 7. 5). The letters *ad Fam.* 7. 6-22 are addressed to him, and the *Topica* is dedicated to him (*Top.* 1. 1). Cicero's letters to him are familiar, and deal in raillery, as in *ad Fam.* 7. 10, where he rallies him for shrinking from crossing the British channel, though he was a votary of swimming, and in 22, where writing to justify a legal reference which he had made the night before, and which Trebatius had treated contemptuously, he says 'illuseras heri inter scyphos,' and says that though they had drunk deep he had been himself sober enough on his return home to turn out the passage which he sends. It is supposed that Horace has such traits in view in vv. 8, 9. Trebatius is probably dead at the time, and Horace's interest in him is a literary one through Cicero's letters.

1. *ultra legem . . . opus.* Comparing *A. P.* 135 'operis lex,' 'legem' is perhaps best taken as meaning in the first place, 'its own proper limits'—'to make Satire more trenchant and personal than it should be.' But there is probably something of the play with which the Satire ends, where 'mala' is taken by one speaker in a literary, by the other in a legal, sense.

2. *tendere*, 'to strain.' The metaphor of a bowstring may be in the background, but it is not clearly felt.

sine nervis, 'without sinews,' 'flaccid,' as *A. P.* 26 'sectantem levia nervi deficient.' Cp. Cicero's use of 'enervatus' and 'nervosus' of style.

altera pars, 'the other half of the world.'

4. *deduci*: the metaphor from spinning, as in *Epp.* 2. 1. 225 'tenui deducta poemata filo,' *Virg. E.* 6. 5 'deductum carmen,' &c. As Conington suggests, there are several points in the similitude, one or other of which may be prominent. It may be a compliment, as expressing the fineness of the work; or a depreciative expression, as here, of its length and thinness.

5. *praescribe*. If not actually a technical term in this sense, it is a word for authoritative advice generally, and also a word which, with its cognates 'praescriptum,' 'praescriptio,' had technical associations.

quiescas: as in v. 6 'aio,' the sententious style of the man of wisdom.

ne faciam: not after 'inquis,' which is parenthetical and intended to express surprise, 'Do you say?' 'Can I hear right?' but adapted to the construction of the preceding 'quiescas,' of which it is offered

BOOK II, SATIRE I, 1-14

as an interpretation, as that is adapted to the construction of Horace's request, the first 'praescribe' suggesting 'praescribo' and 'praescribis' in the clauses that follow. 'Ne faciam' gives a certain play by its likeness to 'quid faciam,' as though Horace said, 'I asked you what to do, and you tell me what not to do.'

6. **perream si**: Sat. 1. 9. 38 'inteream si.'

7. **optimum erat**: see on Od. 1. 37. 4. It comes under the first head. 'It is, all the time, though I did not think so'; the Greek ἀρ' ἦν.

nequeo dormire. The humour consists in the matter-of-fact old lawyer taking this literally and prescribing for physical sleeplessness. Poetical composition is often spoken of as a natural rival of sleep: Epp. 2. 2. 54 'Ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus,' Juv. S. 1. 77 'Quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae?' The explanation is to be found in such expressions as Hor. Epp. 2. 1. 112 'prius orto Sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco,' Juv. S. 1. 51 'Venusina digna lucerna,' 7. 27 'vigilata proelia,' Aus. Epigr. 34. 7 (of ineffective efforts at composition) 'Vtilius dormire fuit quam perdere somnum Atque oleum.'

uncti: see Od. 3. 12. 7 n. It is doubtful whether the oil is a preliminary of the bathing itself, or implies the exercise which precedes it.

ter transnanto. Note the affectation of the imperative form common in laws. *Three* is the mystical number suitable to magical and to medical prescriptions, Epp. 1. 1. 37, Virg. E. 8. 73. It is to be noticed also that both swimming and deep drinking are subjects of humorous allusion in Cicero's extant letters to Trebatius (see Introduction to this Satire), so that Horace is giving Trebatius' advice a personal colour.

9. **irriguum**: cp. 'uvidus,' Od. 2. 19. 18, 4. 5. 39. It is the opposite of 'siccus' Sat. 2. 2. 14. 'Irriguum corpus' seems a step further, but it goes with such expressions as that commented on upon Od. 2. 2. 14: cp. Phaedr. Fab. 4. 14. 9 'irrigatus multo venas nectare.'

10. **rapit**: Od. 3. 2. 12, Epod. 7. 13.

aude, 'have the courage,' i. e. it is a high undertaking. For this method of giving panegyric under the form of refusing it see Od. 1. 6; 2. 12; 4. 2.

11. **invicti**. Horace gives the title to Achilles, Epod. 13. 12; to Jupiter, Od. 3. 27. 73.

laborum praemia. The words are in Trebatius' mouth. He may be supposed without offence to take even a mercenary view of the poet's calling; but he is specially concerned in pointing by contrast the thanklessness of Horace's present style of composition. Horace does not profess to look upon the suggestion as having any practical bearing on himself.

12. **pater**: cp. Epp. 1. 6. 54; see on v. 60.

13. **neque quivis**: a favourite form; Epp. 1. 17. 36, A. P. 263.

14. **fracta cuspide**: often explained after the Schol., of a stragem such as that of Marius, who, according to Plutarch, in the

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war with the Cimbri substituted a fragile wooden peg for one of the two iron pegs which fastened the head of the 'pilum' to its shaft, in order that when it struck, the weaker peg breaking and the other bending, the javelin might be doubled on the enemy's shield, and so be difficult to extract and encumber his movements. This, however, is too far-fetched, special, and technical a reference to be looked for. The alternative seems to be, with him, to suppose 'cuspidē' to be a generic name for the Gaul's own special weapon, the javelin or lance, called by Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 662, 'gaesum,' by Caesar, *B. G.* 1. 26 and Livy, 7. 34, 'matara' or 'mataris.' The correspondence then is between vv. 14 and 15; the Gaul is dying, his lance broken; the Parthian when he can no longer sit his horse; both are contrasted with the unbroken Roman lines bristling with their national weapon the 'pilum.'

16. *iustum et fortem.* The words recall the 'iustum et tenacem propositi virum' of Horace's actual panegyric, *Od.* 3. 3. 1. Düntzer points out how Horace is in the habit of adding 'fortis' to other terms of praise; to 'bonus' *Epp.* 1. 9. 13 (*cp. Od.* 4. 4. 29), to 'sapiens' *Epp.* 2. 1. 50, to 'strenuus' *Epp.* 1. 7. 46.

poteras: see on v. 7 'optimum erat,' and *cp. A. P.* 328; 'you need not have done this, you could sing of Augustus' civil virtues.'

17. *Scipiadam*, *inf. v.* 72, the acc. of Scipiadēs or Scipiadas, a Greek form which Virgil employs (*G.* 2. 170, *Aen.* 6. 843); but Horace takes it directly from Lucilius, *incert.* 57 and 11. 14.

sapiens, a touch of irony in Trebatius, as it would hint the meaning, 'he knew what was good policy.'

18. *res ipsa*, the facts of the case, *opp.* to mere fancy or suggestion (as now) from outside.

feret, as 'natura fert,' 'occasio fert,' 'shall prompt.'

dextro tempore: contrast 'tempore laevo' *Sat.* 2. 4. 4, and *cp. Epp.* 1. 13. 3-5, and *Epp.* 2. 1. 1-4.

19. *attentam*, predicative, will not find his ear attentive and so gain admittance.

20. *male*, 'awkwardly.'

recalcitrat. Bentl. would read 'recalcitret' in order to complete the conditional sentence, but the special apodosis to 'si palpare' is merged in the general statement of his attitude, 'from whichever side you approach him he is on his guard, and has his heels ready.' For an analogous breach of exact correspondence *cp. Od.* 3. 3. 8.

21. *tristi*, 'sour,' 'illnatured.' *Cp.* the use of the word in *Od.* 1. 16. 9 and 26.

22. From *Sat.* 1. 8. 11, where see note. The verse here stands as a specimen of Horace's personal Satire.

24. *quid faciam*? 'What am I to do? Other people follow the bent of their taste. Why may not I?' Imitated by *Pers.* *Sat.* 1. 8. With the excuse for writing Satire as a taste not more unaccountable than others, *cp. Od.* 1. 1, *introd.*

saltat. He yields to his impulse to the extent of sacrificing

BOOK II, SATIRE I, 14-34

Roman decorum, as Cicero says (Mur. 6. 13) 'nemo saltat sobrius nisi forte insanit.' What special personal play there is in the words is beyond our recovery. Porph. calls Milonius 'scurra illorum temporum'; but his note shows no source of information beyond this passage, and, in a 'scurra,' to dance on occasion would be no impropriety, Sat. 1. 5. 63. The passage in Cicero bears witness that such an action, though indecorous, was not unknown in persons of higher station, for he is answering the charge that Murena had danced.

ieto : cp. *οἶνός σε τρώει μελιγδῆς* Hom. Od. 21. 293.

25. numerus lucernis : the 'seeing double' of a drunken man, 'cum iam vertigine tectum Ambulat et geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis' Juv. S. 6. 304.

26. No identity of other conditions, not the closeness of twin brothers, carries with it identity of taste; the ref. is to Homer's *Κάστορα θ' ἱππίδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδευέα* (Il. 3. 237).

27. An adaptation of Terence's 'Quot homines tot sententiae' Phorm. 2. 4. 14.

quot capitum : sc. 'milia.'

28. pedibus claudere : Sat. 1. 10. 59. Here, as there, it is a depreciatory phrase for verse-making, putting the mechanical part foremost. Cp. 'concludere versum' Sat. 1. 4. 40.

29. melioris. The Schol. explain 'censu et natalibus,' but it is useless to ask in what respect Lucilius was 'a better man than either' of them. It is a proverbial term. Cp. Lucretius' remonstrance with the man who complains of death, 3. 1025 'Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit Qui melior multis quam tu fuit, improbe, rebus.'

30. A further reason for writing Satires, suggested through Lucilius. It is a vent for feeling, a substitute for a friend's ear into which to pour one's thoughts.

arcana . . . credebat : cp. the account of Sappho's poetry, Od. 4. 9. 11 'commissi calores Aeoliae fidibus puellae.'

31. si male cesserat, 'if things had gone ill with him,' a common phrase, esp. in Ovid, and cp. Virg. Aen. 12. 148 'Parcaeque sinebant Cedere res Latio.'

usquam, with 'alio,' 'to any other quarter whatever.'

32. quo fit, as 'eo fit' Sat. 1. 1. 56.

33. votiva tabella. For the practice common in antiquity, as even now in many countries, of vowing and offering a picture of some escape from danger to the power to whose good offices the escape is attributed, cp. Od. 1. 5. 13, and see Mayor on Juv. S. 12. 27. Perhaps the figure is suggested by 'decurrens,' 'flying for refuge.' In any case the 'votive picture' carries the suggestion of life outside literature as a sea, if with calms, with storms also. Such a picture at once paints the sea, and proclaims that its subject has reached the shore.

34. senia. Probably best taken in any case, as in Epp. 2. 1. 55 (of Pacuvius and Accius), as meaning 'ancient'; 'though he belongs

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to a bygone time, his writings keep a fresh picture of his life.' The other interpretation, 'the old man,' as though the point were his long life, would be excluded on other grounds if the dates in the Chron. Euseb. were trusted, which place his birth in 148 B.C., and his death in 103; but Munro (in Journ. of Philol., vol. 8, p. 214) gave some reasons for thinking that the first date should be put twenty years earlier.

sequor hunc. The second is the emphatic word. 'It is he that I am following.'

Lucanus an Apulus anceps: 'anceps' is prob. the nom., 'of whom it is doubtful whether,' &c., as 'incertus' is used in Liv. 30. 35, Sall. Jug. 49. 5, where see Kritz. For the geographical point see on Od. 3. 4. 10. The autobiographical colour given to these lines is perhaps suggested by the practice just described of Lucilius in painting himself in his Satires; but the special point of the description is that which I have indicated in the analysis of the Satire. The position of the Venusians is a parable of the literary position of their great son: He is a true border man, of fighting stock, ready to do battle with any one who assails the territory he has to guard, from whatever side he comes; but (he goes on in v. 39) like them it is a defensive post he holds, not an offensive one.

36. missus ad hoc. The foundation of a colony at Venusia in the third Samnite war, B.C. 291, is mentioned by Velleius I. 14, and in a fragment of Dion. Halic.

ad hoc . . . quo ne. The general use of 'quo ne' as simply equivalent to 'ne' or 'ut ne' belongs acc. to Dräger (*Hist. Syntax*, 2. p. 689) to later Latin; but this is on the way to it. There is here the full sense of the relative in its final use; 'quo' = 'ut eo,' and 'quo' follows 'ad hoc,' just as 'quem' does in Sat. 2. 6. 42 and 'qui' in 2. 8. 25. 'Ne' is substituted for 'non' in final clauses, as after 'ut,' habitually: cp. the use after 'dum' for 'dummodo' in Sat. 1. 1. 40, 'dum ne sit te ditior alter.'

Sabellis. Horace uses this name for the country folk of his native district, Sat. 1. 9. 29. Cp. Epp. 1. 16. 49.

37. Romano, the sing. for the plur., as in Epod. 7. 6 and 7. It may also be taken, with Bentley, for 'agro Romano.'

38. quod = aliquod.

39. incuteret: a favourite word with Horace, who extends its meaning 'quid negoti' v. 81, 'pudorem' Epp. 1. 18. 77, 'desiderium' Epp. 1. 14. 22.

sed hic stilus: the bearing is pointed out on v. 34. The play is helped by the remembrance of the two uses of the 'stilus,' as a pen and a weapon. Cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 14. 34 'si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, non solum unum actum sed totam fabulam confecisset.'

42. tutus, 'so long as I am safe.'

43. ut pereat: 'Iuppiter, ut Chalybum omne genus pereat' Catull. 66. 48; 'ut' = 'utinam,' as in Virg. Aen. 10. 631.

BOOK II, SATIRE I, 34-60

44. *nec*: used by Horace where stricter prose usage would require 'neve'; see on Od. 3. 29. 6.

45. *oommorit*: see on Sat. i. 9. 48.

melius: sc. 'erit.' Cp. 'optimum erat,' supr. v. 7. So in a threat, Liv. 3. 48 'quiesce erit melius.'

46. *flebit*, *κλαύσεται*, as 'cantabitur' recalls the use of *ὑμνεῖσθαι*, in the sense of 'to be the-subject of talk.'

47. *Cervius*, an informer. The Comm. Cruq. has 'Cervius Ascanii libertus calumniator accusavit Cn. Calvinum lege de sicariis.' Lambinus read 'Servius,' in which case Horace would take the name from Cicero, ad Q. Fr. 2. 13 'vereor ne homo teter ac ferus Pola Servius ad accusationem veniat.'

48. *Canidia Albucl venenum*. The Scholiasts, by the diversity of their explanations, show us that they had no real source of information. They offer us 'Canidia Albucl: sub. filia, ut Verg. Deiphobe Glauci (Aen. 6. 36); vel uxor, ut Hectoris Andromache' (Aen. 3. 319), or 'Albucl venenum,' which may mean either 'such as Albuclius administered,' or 'such as she administered to Albuclius.' Of these the last is the most probable. The identification of Canidia is not needed to readers of Sat. I and the Epodes. The introduction of a second employer of poison overloads the line, and weakens the attack on Horace's great enemy. On the other hand the hint of a special crime and of a companion to the 'Varus' of Epod. 5 is quite in keeping with his treatment of her. 'Albuclius' is a name found in Lucilius, Lib. incert. 9. Horace uses it again of an old man who is a tyrant to his slaves, Sat. 2. 2. 67.

49. *Turcius*, 'iudex corruptissimus' Schol. Their attempts at identification are various and not of value.

50. 'How that every one uses the weapon with which he is strong to frighten those whom he suspects, and that this is the bidding of nature, whose will is law, join with me in thus inferring.'

51. *sic collige*: Epp. 2. 1. 119.

52. *unde*, with *monstratum*, 'a lesson learnt from whence, if not from within?' i.e. from instinct. Cp. 'unde partum' and 'unde datum sentis' Sat. 2. 2. 18 and 31. With *intus* cp. A. P. 108.

54. *mirum*, a parenthetical holding up of the hands, 'marvellous!' The next line rebukes the wonder by giving the explanation, 'Yes, on the same ground that the wolf does not use his heels nor the bull his teeth.' Cp. with the place of 'mirum' that of 'durum' in Od. 1. 24. 19.

56. *vitato*, 'poisoned.'

melle, i. e. the drink of honey and wine; see Sat. 2. 2. 15, 2. 4. 24.

57. *ne longum faciam*, Sat. 1. 3. 137; so 'ne te morer' Sat. 1. 1. 14.

58. *circumvolat*, as a dread bird of prey,—a touch of poetry.

60. *scribam*. For the order of the words see on Sat. 1. 5. 72. The unusual collocation seems to give emphasis to the misplaced word, as in the similar instance Sat. 2. 3. 211 'Ajax cum immeritos occidit, desipit, agnos.'

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color: Epp. i. 17. 23.

puer, as Horace himself addresses Trebatius (v. 12) as 'pater.'

ut sis vitalis. The constructions 'metuo ut' and 'metuo ne' are combined and contrasted, 'I fear that you may not' and 'I fear that you may.' Sat. i. 4. 32, which is often quoted in illustration, is probably to be otherwise taken. 'Vitalis' as in Sat. 2. 7. 4, 'with much life in you,' 'likely to live.' There is a reference in Trebatius' words both to the alternative named by Horace in v. 58, and also verbally to 'vitae' in v. 60. Horace has also in mind possibly the words of Thetis to Achilles (Hom. Il. 18. 95) ὡκύμορος δὴ μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι ὁ ἀγορεύεις. The gist of the answer is that Horace cannot afford this freedom. He lives on the breath of great patrons. This gives him the opportunity of vindicating the character of his friendship. It leaves him as free as the friendship of Laelius and Africanus left Lucilius.

61. **maiorum**, as in Epp. i. 17. 2, in the sense of 'the great,' 'those greater than yourselves.' 'Maiorum quis amicus' may be compared with 'quae virginum barbara' in Od. i. 29. 5.

62. **frigore**, in the first place (as is seen in Persius' imitation i. 108 'ne maiorum tibi forte Limina frigescent') of the 'coldness,' i.e. indifference, of offended friends; but there is also with 'feriat' the metaphorical sense of Wolsey's 'a frost, a killing frost.'

63. **primus**, as 'inventor,' Sat. i. 10. 48.

64. **detrahare pellem**, as Epp. i. 16. 45 'Introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora.' As the use of the word 'pellis' (i.e. the skin of a beast) shows, there is a reference more or less conscious to a fable, such as the ass and the lion's skin, the fox and the sheep's skin; see on Sat. i. 6. 22.

65. **cederet** = 'incederet,' an archaic usage; 'incedere per ora,' 'to march before men's eyes,' Sall. Iug. 31.

Laelius. C. Laelius Sapiens (cp. v. 72), the son of the friend of Africanus maior, the interlocutor in Cicero's de Amicitia.

qui duxit. For this mode of designating Scipio Africanus minor see on Od. 4. 8. 13-20.

67. **ingenio offensi**: sc. 'sunt?' 'did they find matter of offence in his wit?'

Metello. Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, a political opponent of Scipio.

68. **famosis**, 'scandalous,' as in Epp. i. 19. 31 'famoso carmine' of Archilochus' lampoons.

Lupo. The name occurs in several fragments of Lucilius, esp. in a passage quoted in Cic. de Nat. D. i. 23. 64 'Tubulus si Lucius

¹ The metaphor and its application is more fully worked out in Shakespeare's Sonnet 25:—

'Great princes' favourites their fair leaves spread
But as the marigold at the sun's eye

.
For at a frown they in their glory die.'

umquam Si Lupus aut Carbo Neptuni filius, ut ait Lucilius, putasset esse deos, tam periurus aut tam impurus fuisset?' The person intended has been variously identified; by the Scholiasts with P. Rutilius Lupus, cos. B.C. 90, by most editors since Torrentius with L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, cos. B.C. 156. But the first of these is evidently too late if Lucilius died in 103, and his first book in which Lupus was attacked seems to have been written soon after 129; and Munro (Journ. of Philol., vol. 8, p. 217) has given good reason for thinking that the second is too early.

cooperto, 'pelted, 'smothered.'

atqui, 'and yet' it was not merely one or two great offenders that fell under the lash.

69. **arripuit**, 'laid hands on,' Sat. 2. 3. 224; perhaps with the Ciceronian association of 'arresting,' 'in ius vocandi.'

tributum: cp. Cicero's 'dare spectacula tributum,' Mur. 34. 72. It balances 'primores:' he struck high and low, and he struck far and wide.

71. 'Yet not only were Scipio and Laelius not offended or frightened, they made a companion and playmate of Lucilius.'

vulgo et scaena, the throng and show of public life.

72. **virtus Scipiadae**: see Od. 1. 3. 36 n., 3. 21. 12. For the Greek form 'Scipiades' or 'Scipiadas,' adopted by the poets because of the intractability of the name 'Scipio' in its oblique cases in hexameter verse, see above on v. 17.

sapientia: the name of 'sapiens' was specially given to him according to Plutarch (Vit. Tib. Gracchi 8) on account of his political moderation or pliability. Cicero (de Am. 2) gives it a wider reference.

73. **discincti**, 'in easy undress,' literally and metaphorically; see on Epod. 1. 34. The Comm. Cruq. gives a picture of Lucilius pursuing Scipio and Laelius round the couches of a triclinium with a twisted napkin 'quasi feriturus'; an illustration or a fictitious expansion of the words in which Cicero describes the friends in the country, 'incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos . . . et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere' de Or. 2. 6. 22.

74. **holus**, of their simple fare, Sat. 2. 7. 30; Epp. 1. 5. 2, 1. 17. 13; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 74.

soliti: sc. 'sunt' as above, v. 67.

75. **censum**, as much below Lucilius in social rank as in wit. Lucilius was a Roman knight, of a good family; his sister was grandmother to Pompey.

76. **cum magnis**: cp. Epp. 1. 20. 23.

77. **fragili . . . solido**, neutrals. There is the hint of a fable, as of the viper and the file.

78. Horace softens the self-assertion of the last lines, by this submission of his sentiments to the judgment of Trebatius.

79. **diffindere**: a doubtful reading. Of the Scholiasts, Porph. expressly recognizes the vv. ll. 'diffingere,' and 'diffidere.' Acr. gives an interpretation of both 'diffingere' and 'diffindere.' V. had

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'diffindere,' the other Bland. MSS. 'diffingere.' Our existing authorities are divided between these words and 'diffidere,' 'diffundere.' If we retain 'diffindere' we may take it (with Mewes) as continuing the metaphor of 'offendet solido,' 'It is too much for my teeth—I can break nothing off it,' or we may accept Acron's reference to the formula of the Praetor, apparently in adjourning a trial, 'hic dies diffissus esto': cp. Liv. 9. 38 'triste omen diem diffidit': Trebatius then would say 'there is nothing in what you say that needs further thought,' i.e. 'I assent at once': but there is no proof that 'diffindere rem' was equally good with 'diffindere diem'; and though a legal phrase seems wanted, this is not quite the sense we expect. Bentley argues for the alternative 'diffingere,' which he interprets, as Acr., 'mutare, infirmare,' in the same sense as in Od. 1. 35. 39, 3. 29. 47, 'to alter.'

80. ut **monitus caveas**. For construction see on Od. 4. 9. 1.

81. **incutiat**: see above on v. 39.

82. **si mala condiderit**. Horace seems to be referring to the actual words of the XII Tables, for Cicero, de Rep. 4. 10. 12 (preserved by Augustine, de Civ. Dei 2. 9) has 'Nostrae duodecim tabulae cum perpauca res capite sanxissent in his quoque sancientium putaverunt si quis occentavisset sive *carmen condidisset* quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri.' Horace refers to the same law in Epp. 2. 1. 152.

84. **iudice Caesare**: an abl. absol.; see on Od. 1. 6. 2.

85. **latraverit**: with an obj. accus. as in Epod. 5. 58, Epp. 1. 2. 66. For the implied comparison of a satirist to a watchdog see on Epod. 6. 1.

integer: Od. 1. 22. 1.

86. **solventur tabulae**. The general sense is plain, but the figure employed is uncertain. 'Solventur risu' may be well illustrated by Cic. de Orat. 2. 58. 256 'odiosas res ioco risuque dissolvit' and Quintil. 5. 10. 67 'cum risu tota res solvitur': but the question remains what 'tabulae' meant. The reference in v. 82 suggests that it is the XII Tables that are said to go to pieces in the tempest of laughter. So Schütz and Mewes. It has been taken also as = 'tabellae,' i.e. the voting tickets of the 'iudices,' or as = 'subsellia,' 'the very seats of the judges break up under them'; but no evidence is alleged of either use. Of course there may well be reference to some legal phrase unknown to us.

SATIRE II

OFELLUS: OR PLAIN LIVING

Verses 1-16. 'LISTEN, my friends, to a lecture on plain living'—it is not Horace speaking, but Ofellus—a plain man, but a philosopher in his way—'listen, but not in a smartly laid out dining-room nor when your bellies are full. Go and hunt, or

BOOK II, SATIRE I, 79—SATIRE II

- break a rough horse, or (if you are only fit for such effeminate exercises) have a good game of ball or quoit, and then I defy you to despise plain fare.
- 16-22. Hunger is the best sauce. The rarest delicacies lose their flavour if appetite is wanting.
- 23-30. It is, I suppose, useless to protest against the preference of a peacock to a barndoor fowl. It is more costly and appeals to the eye. Even that is ridiculous, for you are not going to eat the smart feathers. But your fancies about food go farther still.
- 31-38. You think you know whether the pike is caught in the river or in the sea. You like your mullet large (though you must divide it to eat it) and your pike small. Your only principle is to take what is rare and avoid what is natural. That comes from not knowing what it is to be really hungry.
- 39-44. You say you like to gloat over the big dish full. One is inclined to call the south wind to taint the glutton's dainties; but there is no need: boar and turbot lose all their savour when the stomach is tired; then you prefer herbs.
- 44-52. Princes and peasants share the taste for eggs and olives. The fact is that it is greatly a matter of fashion. The nastiest dish can be made the vogue.
- 53-69. There is a great distinction in my judgment between plain living and mean living, for there are faults on both sides. You need not be like Avidienus. There is a medium between looking after things too sharply and not looking after them at all.
- 70-81. Now hear the advantages of plain living. First, it means good digestion, and with good digestion comes a free and active mind.
- 82-88. Next, it leaves a margin for improvement; for holidays or when health requires it. Luxury has used up all its resources.
- 89-99. In the good old days delicacies were always reserved for hospitality. Gluttony leads even now to disgrace as well as to ruinous extravagance.
- 99-111. Do you answer that there is no fear of ruin in your case; that you have enough to spend on your gluttony? I answer that there are better uses of money. Relieve the poor, restore temples, give to your country. But have you immunity from human chances? And if change come, who is best fitted to meet it, the man who is accustomed to plain living, or the man of luxury?
- 112-end. Ofellus practised what he taught. I knew him, when I was a boy, as a proprietor where now he pays rent and works hard. He lived plainly then, and when reverses came he applied his philosophy to his own case and taught his sons to do the same.

The lecture (verses 1-111) is pretty clearly meant to be put into

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the mouth of Ofellus, who is described as an old neighbour of Horace's, and as a representative of the sturdy independence and strong sense of his fellow countryman the 'pernix Apulus' (Epod. 2. 41), 'Sabellus' (Sat. 2. 1. 36; Epp. 1. 16. 49), &c. The purpose of the lecture suits the character, but, as in those of Stertinius in Sat. 2. 3 and Davus in Sat. 2. 7, there is little or no attempt to make the style or topics in detail correspond to the speaker. It is a Satire, such as in the First Book would have been in Horace's own mouth, on the luxury and caprices of the day.

It will be noticed (see on v. 114) that Ofellus is supposed to have been dispossessed of his property at the same time as Horace himself, viz. in B.C. 41, and to have lived on as a tenant under Umbrenus (v. 133), the veteran to whom the land had been assigned. Whether he is supposed to be alive still does not appear.

It is one of the Satires in which Horace seems to have taken the topic and general idea of treatment from Lucilius, who, according to Cicero, de Fin. 2. 8. 24, put a lecture against greediness into the mouth of Laelius. One of the fragments of it quoted by Cicero is referred to in v. 46; see note there.

1. *boni*, 'good sirs.' Ofellus' address to some imagined audience of neighbours, rather than Horace's own, in which case it would be unlike his usual style. For its use in the sing. see on Sat. 2. 3. 31.

vivere parvo: Od. 2. 16. 13.

2. *nec meus*: a Greek form, οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος ἀλλὰ Φαίδρου τοῦδε δὲ μέλλω λέγειν Plat. Sympos. p. 177.

3. *abnormis sapiens*, 'a philosopher though of no school.' The reference which Lambinus first suggested to Cic. de Am. 5. 18 'Numquam ego dicam C. Fabricium, M'. Curium, quos sapientis nostri maiores iudicabant, ad istorum normam fuisse sapientis,' has a fuller bearing than he noticed, for not only is Cicero speaking in the same sense as Horace, in asserting for the practical wisdom of Roman worthies a claim to the title, in a certain sense, of philosophy, but the use in the following sentence and in the same connexion of the phrase 'pingui Minerva' makes it most probable that Horace had his actual words in mind.

crassa Minerva, 'homely mother wit.' Cp. A. P. 385 'invita Minerva.'

4. *nitentis*: with both subst. For the extravagant outlay on tables see Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 137. Contrast ad Sat. 1. 3. 13 'sit mihi mensa tripes.'

5. *insanis*. The edd. quote Cicero's epithet for Clodius' extravagant building at Alba, 'substructionum insanæ moles' Mil. 31. 85.

6. *acclinis*: in a literal sense in Virg. Aen. 10. 835 'acclinis trunco'; here metaphorical, as Livy uses 'se acclinare ad' for 'to incline towards,' 4. 48.

7. *impransi*: Sat. 2. 3. 257, Epp. 1. 15. 29; 'before breaking your fast.'

BOOK II, SATIRE II, 1-20

8. **male verum examinat.** For another application of this principle see A. P. 422 f.

9. **sectatus**, 'after following.'

10. **ab**: Virg. G. 1. 234 'torrida semper ab igni,' Madv. § 254 obs. 2; as we say, 'tired from,' as well as 'tired with'; but there is perhaps the sense of 'coming from,' 'fresh from.'

Romana militia: the soldierly exercises of a Roman—i.e. not military exercises proper, but those named in the preceding words, hunting and horsebreaking; with this comparison of Greek and Roman exercises cp. Od. 3. 24. 54 foll., Epp. 1. 18. 49 foll. For the 'pila' and 'discus' cp. also Sat. 1. 5. 48, A. P. 380, Od. 1. 8. 10 foll.

11. **seu pila velox.** We have to understand 'te agit,' and also an imperative apodosis to answer to 'pete cedentem aera disco,' 'play at ball.'

12. **studio**: sc. the spirit of emulation, the interest of the game.

fallente: as Sat. 2. 7. 114 'somno fallere curam.'

13. **agit**, 'draws,' 'attracts,' as Cic. Arch. 7. 16 'haec studia adulescentiam agunt.'

pete, 'fling the quoit into the yielding air.'

14. **cum labor extuderit** takes up again the main protasis which was broken off by the alternatives offered, 'vel si,' &c. 'After a day's hunting or riding (or, if you prefer ball or quoits, play ball or quoits), in any case when hard work has given you a healthy appetite, &c.'

extuderit, 'eiecerit,' 'excusserit,' Acr.

15. **sperne**: 'Despise if you can.'

nisi Hymettia. Do not drink your 'mulsum' (see on Sat. 2. 1. 56, 2. 4. 24) unless the honey is from Hymettus (Od. 2. 6. 14) and the wine that of Falernum.

16. Necessity has the same effect as exercise. If you cannot get relishes, bread and salt will make a dinner.

promus: defined by Plaut. Pseud. 2. 2. 14 'procurator peni.' The difficulties supposed are alternatives: the store-room is locked, so that you cannot get what is in it: or the weather is bad, and so the market is empty of fish—so that the use of 'et' may perhaps be added to the instances given in Od. 3. 11. 49 of the substitution of a conjunctive for an alternative conjunction.

atrum: Od. 3. 27. 18 'ater Hadriae sinus.'

18. **latrantem**: *ὑλακροῦντα*, see Liddell and Scott, s. v. So 'iratum ventrem' Sat. 2. 8. 5.

unde . . . partum, 'a power gained whence think you, or how?' 'Partum' stands in apposition to cogn. accus. which would describe the action of the verb 'leniet.' See below on v. 31 and cp. Sat. 2. 1. 52.

19. **caro nidore**, 'the smell of costly cookery.'

20. **pulmentaria**, 'relishes.' Acr. tells a story that Socrates was asked when walking what he was doing, and answered 'se pulmentaria quaerere,' which Porph. gives in Greek *ἄψον συνίγω*. Cicero has 'pulpamentum fames' Tusc. 5. 32. 90, and 'cibi condimentum

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esse famem' de Fin. 2. 28. 90, a passage which, from the following reference to Gallonius (see below verse 47), Horace possibly had in mind. Cp. Epp. 1. 18. 48 'pulmenta laboribus empta.'

21. *pinguem vitis*: v. 77 'corpus onustum hesternis vitis.'

album: Od. 2. 2. 15, of a dropsical patient. So 'pallidus' inf. v. 76; and cp. Persius' imitation 3. 98 'Turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre.'

ostrea: a dissyllable; see on Sat. 1. 8. 43.

22. *scarus*: Epod. 2. 50, a fish of the eastern Mediterranean, rare and costly at Rome. Ennius speaks of it with affected rapture 'cerebrum Iovis paene supremi' Heduphagetica 8. It is not identified.

lagois. The comparison of the passage just cited from Epod. 2 would indicate that this is a bird. The Scholiasts explain the name 'avis leporino colore.' It is suggested that it is the same as an Alpine bird called by Pliny (N. H. 10. 68) 'lagopus,' and said to be so called from having down, like hare's fur, about its feet.

23. *eripiam*: sc. 'tibi.' The Schol. well explain by 'extorqueam,' 'impetrabo.'

posito, 'served,' 'sent on table.' Sat. 2. 4. 14, 2. 6. 64, 2. 8. 91; A. P. 422.

pavone. The peacock is said by Varro (R. R. 3. 6. 6) to have been first served at table in Rome by Hortensius, at his inaugural feast as augur. See Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 143.

24. *tergere*, like our phrase 'to tickle,' implies that rather more effort than usual is employed to rouse the sensibility of the palate.

25. *vanis rerum*: Od. 4. 12. 19 'amara curarum,' Sat. 2. 8. 83 'ficta rerum,' A. P. 49 'abditæ rerum.'

28. *num*. For the hiatus cp. Lucr. 3. 1082 'Sed dum abest quod avemus.'

honor: Epod. 17. 18 n. For the thought of this verse Horace was possibly indebted to Lucilius; see fr. 27. 12 'cocus non curat caudam insignem esse illam (?) si pinguis siet.'

29, 30. The reading is doubtful. Some of the best MSS. have 'patet' for 'petere'; and so Bentley, Mewes, Munro, read. The testimony of the Scholiasts is not clear. If we read 'petere' it seems to be necessary to accept also either 'hanc' or 'illam' (most MSS. read 'hac magis illa'), of which the first has the authority of Porph., the latter of several good MSS.; and it is better to construct 'te petere' as an exclamation (Madv. § 399) not, as Porph. took it, as following 'esto.' Reading 'patet,' the simplest construction is Bentley's 'yet in point of flesh there is nothing to choose, in this flesh over that: it is evident that you are beguiled by the difference of outside.' In this case 'hac' is the peacock's flesh. With the reading 'petere,' on the other hand, 'hac' is that of the common fowl—not as the last mentioned, but as the one which the poet is recommending; cp. the inversion of the usual order in verses 36, 37 'illis . . . his.'

30. *esto*, 'be it so.' You may be foolish; but you have some-

BOOK II, SATIRE II, 20-39

thing to say for yourself. If there is no difference to the taste there is to the eye; but what is the new sense which enables you to distinguish the waters from which a particular fish came?

31. *unde datum*: see above on v. 18 and Sat. 2. 1. 52 '*unde monstratum*.' It differs from Sat. 1. 4. 79 '*unde petitum*' in that the accus. is here cogn., there object. 'Whence comes the faculty by which you perceive?'

32. *hiet* pictures the fish lying with its large mouth open.

pontis inter. This is the traditional description of the feeding ground of the '*lupus*.' Lucilius, fr. inc. 50 '*pontis Tiberinus duo inter captus catillo*,' Macrob. Sat. 2. 13. So Plin. N. H. 9. 54. What '*inter duo pontis*' meant in Lucilius' time is not known. Wordsworth (Early Latin, p. 631) explains it as meaning 'off the island.'

laetatus: i.e. by the current. It is not an ornamental addition: cp. Columel. 8. 16 '*docta palata fastidire docuit fluvialem lupum nisi quem Tiberis adverso torrente defatigasset*.'

33. *Tusci*: Od. 3. 7. 28 '*Tusco alveo*,' Virg. G. 1. 499 '*Tuscum Tiberim*.'

trilibrem: Plin. N. H. 9. 30 '*[mulli] binas libras ponderis raro admodum exsuperant*.' Seneca (Epist. 95) tells a story of one of four pounds; Juvenal (S. 4. 15) of one of six.

34. *singula pulmenta*, 'separate portions,' i.e. in helping the guests. Store is set by the size of the fish; yet large or small it has to be carved into small pieces before it is eaten.

35. *video*, like '*esto*' in 30, grants the explanation, 'your eye is pleased,' in order to press the inconsistency—'why then does it dislike in the pike what it likes in the mullet?' The epicure would very possibly have found a good answer.

quo pertinet: Sat. 2. 3. 11 '*quorsum pertinuit*,' 'what is the tendency?' and so, what is the principle, the purpose?

36. *scilicet*: as often, putting a reason sarcastically into their mouth. For '*quia scilicet*' cp. Sat. 1. 5. 35, and see on Sat. 1. 10. 72.

illis: sc. '*lupis*.'

37. *his*: sc. '*mullis*'; see also on vv. 29, 30; '*hic*' is used of the nearest to the speaker's mind even when it was the first mentioned: cp. Epp. 1. 17. 19. The '*mullus*' is here the main subject, as we see by his returning to it in v. 39, without again mentioning it. The '*lupi*' have only been introduced as an illustration of the inconsistency of liking the mullet large.

38. The edd. generally are probably right in joining '*raro ieiunus*,' rather than '*raro temnit*.' It is the serious explanation of the reason assigned in the last line for the epicure's preferences. He likes best what is exceptional and unnatural. 'It is because he does not know what hunger is, that he so despises nature's common gifts.' Acr. mentions and prefers an ingenious variant '*rari*,' constructed after '*ieiunus*,' 'hungry for rarity.'

39. An alternative explanation put into the mouth of the epicure himself. No, it is not fastidiousness, it is pure greediness. 'I should

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like, if it were only possible, not a three pound mullet, but one that should try the capacity of the host's dishes.'

39. **porrectum** : Sat. 2. 8. 43.

magno magnum. Perhaps, as Palmer suggests, there is a mock heroic echo of Homer's *μέγας μεγαλωστί*; but cp. inf. v. 95, where there is a similar mocking repetition, 'grandes . . . grande,' in satirizing the fancy for size. It is an anticipation of Juvenal's Satire on the 'spatium admirabile rhombi,' and the dish made to order to match it.

40. **Harpyiis** : Virg. Aen. 3. 210 foll., a natural type of an appetite insatiable and disgusting.

at. A good instance of the use in an appeal, spoken of on Epod. 5. 1.

41. **praesentes**, 'potentes' Schol. Virg. Aen. 9. 404 'Tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori.' They are addressed as divine powers.

coquite : ironically, save the cook the trouble of cooking them.

quamquam : 'corripit se, quasi frustra austros vocaverit, cum luxuriosius necesse sit suas putere delicias,' Acr.

42. **quando . . . cum**. Both conjunctions are temporal, 'quando' giving the occasion; 'dainties, however fresh, lose their savour when the plenty only worries a wearied stomach': 'cum' adding a circumstance which characterizes the same moment, 'a time when it looks rather for stimulants.'

43. **rapula**, with the epithet 'acria' Sat. 2. 8. 8, some kind of radishes.

44. **inulas**, 'amaras' Sat. 2. 8. 51; cp. Lucr. 2. 430, probably elecampane, *Inula Helenium* of Linnaeus. The root is edible, and has an acid taste. The Schol. however explain **acidas** by the fact that they were dressed with vinegar.

necdum omnia, &c. Another illustration of the capriciousness of luxury.

45. **pauperies**, the fare of humble life.

regum, the rich and great : Od. 1. 4. 14, 2. 14. 11.

46. **nigris**. The epithet recalls them to the eye—so it has the force of 'the olive that you know, the same plain uncomely olive that the poor eat.'

haud ita pridem : in Lucilius' days—for the reference is to some verses of his which are preserved in Cic. de Fin. 2. 8. 24

'O Publi, o gurgis Galloni : es homo miser, inquit ;

Cenasti in vita numquam bene, cum omnia in ista

Consumis squilla atque acipensere cum decumano.'

See above on v. 20. The point is that the standard of luxurious living varies from age to age. This is noticeably confirmed by Pliny, N. H. 9. 27, who says that the 'acipenser' had ceased in his time to be valued.

47. **erat**. For lengthening of syllable see on Sat. 1. 4. 82.

49. **tuto . . . nido**, descriptive ablative, Madv. § 272, 'the stork found its nestlings safe.'

BOOK II, SATIRE II, 39-60

50. **auctor . . . praetorius.** The Scholiasts give various names in explanation—Plotius Plancus, Asellius, Sempronius. In one of several contradictory notes Porph. says that the person meant is one Rufus, who had set the fashion of eating young storks, and who, being defeated for the praetorship, was made the object of the following epigram, 'Ciconiarum Rufus iste conditor. Hic est duobus elegantior Plancis: Suffragiorum puncta non tulit septem. Ciconiarum populus ultus est mortem.' 'Praetorius,' if the person meant was an unsuccessful candidate for the praetorship, must be ironical; but the guesses are evidently of little value.

51. **mergos,** 'divers,' birds of hard and unsavoury flesh.

edixerit, 'announced with a praetor's authority.' Cp. Epp.

1. 19. 10.

assos, roasted or broiled, i. e. cooked in the way that suits only the tenderer and more delicate meats.

52. **pravi docilis.** The gen. as in Od. 4. 6. 43 'docilis modorum.' Schutz points out that 'docilis' answers to 'docuit' in v. 50, as 'edixerit' answers to 'praetorius.'

Romana iuventus. There is irony in using here this heroic title, frequent in Ennius, as in Ann. 538 'optima cum pulchris animis Romana iuventus.'

53. It is not meant in satirizing luxury to recommend meanness.

distabit. The best supported reading is 'distabat'; but, in spite of Bentley's sanction, few editors have given it. Keller considers 'distabit' a necessary emendation; 'distabat' could hardly mean 'differed in Ofellus' judgment,' which is an English not a Latin idiom, and the following tense 'vitaveris' excludes the impf. The future leaves open the question whether Ofellus is supposed to be speaking throughout or not. If he is (as I have assumed), 'Ofello iudice' = 'me iudice.'

55. **alio,** 'in another direction'; as in Sat. 2. 1. 32.

pravum, proleptic, 'so as to go awry.'

Avidienus. The following words seem to show that a real person is intended. If so, the name is probably fictitious, though possibly carrying in it a clue to contemporaries.

56. **Canis.** Cf. 'canis immundus' Epp. 1. 2. 26; in reference to the dog as a foul feeder. Possibly the person intended had one of his real names from 'Canis,' as Canidius, Caninius, Canius, Canina.

ex vero, no meaningless jest.

58. **mutatum:** Sat. 2. 8. 50; turned to vinegar.

defundere: Od. 4. 5. 34.

59. **cuius odorem olei:** i. e. 'oleum cuius odorem.' See on Epod. 2. 37.

licebit: Epod. 15. 19.

60. **repotia,** 'second drinkings'; the name, according to one of the Scholiast's notes, of the day after the wedding, when there was feasting at the bridegroom's house; according to another of them, of the seventh day, when the bride revisited her parents.

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60. *alios dierum* : cp. 'vanis rerum' supr. v. 25.
61. *albatuſ*, with a new or freshly cleaned toga, in holiday dress. Cicero in Vat. 13. 31 'cum ipse epuli dominus albatuſ eſſet.' So of the proper dress for viſiting a temple, Pers. S. 2. 40.
62. *veteriſ non paruſ aceti*. A receipt for a miſer's ſalad—the oil bad, and even then very carefully meaſured, the vinegar good (the old iſ the ſoureſt) and in plenty. It iſ a parable of the hoſt's character: and the dreſſing ſecures that very little of the ſalad will be eaten. Others take the words as referring back to v. 58, 'aceti' being ſubſtituted *παρὰ πρὸςδοκίαν* for 'vini'; but thiſ doeſ not give aſ much point.
64. 'Proverbium eſt ubi duae reſ moleſtae ſunt' Acr. The proverb iſ adapted to the two characters offered, the 'gula Harpyiſ digna,' and the 'caniſ' of v. 56.
65. *munduſ erit*. The ſubj. iſ 'ſapienſ.' 'Munduſ' carries the idea of refinement aſ well aſ ſimplicity. See Od. 3. 29. 14; Epp. 1. 4. 11; and cp. the uſe of 'munditiſ' in Od. 1. 5. 5.
- qua* muſt be explained with the Scholiſtaſ and Bentley aſ 'quatenuſ,' i. e. 'eatenuſ ut,' within ſuch limitſ aſ not to offend by ſignſ of meanneſſ. 'Qui' would have the ſame ſenſe. 'Qui offendiſ' or 'offendiſ' (which makeſ the words a definition of 'munduſ') chiefly occupied the text before Bentley, but haſ little authority. The thought iſ familiar in Horace. Cp. Od. 2. 10. 6-8, 2. 16. 13-16.
66. *in neutram partem*, 'in neither direction.'
cultuſ, 'ſtyle of living'; cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 591 'miſeranda cultu.' For genitive in 'cultuſ miſer' ſee on Sat. 1. 9. 11.
67. *dum munia didiſ*, i. e. not merely when they have actually offended. 'Didere' iſ a Lucretian word. Albuciuſ may be the ſame perſon who iſ named in Sat. 2. 1. 48; but there iſ nothing to help uſ. It iſ a name in Luciliuſ.
68. *ſimplex*, of ſimplicity carried to a fault. He letſ hiſ ſlaveſ neglect the decencieſ of hoſpitality.
unctam, 'greaſy,' Sat. 2. 4. 78.
69. *praebebiſ aquam*: Sat. 1. 4. 88.
70. *tenuiſ*. For the contraſt of 'tenuiſ' and 'ſordiduſ' latent in all thiſ paſſage cp. Od. 2. 16. 13-16.
71. *valeaſ*: the apodoſiſ of a conditional—you would be in good health [if you ſo lived]. See on Sat. 1. 4. 70.
- variae reſ*, 'variety.'
73. *quae ſimplex ſederiſ*, which becauſe it waſ ſimple ſat well. 'Sederiſ' the oppoſite of 'tumultuſ feret.'
74. *miſcueriſ*. For the long -iſ cp. Od. 3. 23. 3 'placariſ,' 4. 7. 20 'dederiſ,' ib. 21 'occideriſ,' Sat. 2. 5. 101 'audieriſ,' Epp. 1. 6. 40 'fueriſ.' In the firſt four caſeſ, aſ here, the uſe iſ potential and hypothetical; in the laſt it iſ prohibitive, 'ne fueriſ.' In all other caſeſ in Horace where the quantity appearſ it iſ ſhort, even where (Sat. 1. 4. 41 'ne dixeris') it iſ the prohibitive uſe.
- 75, 76. *bilem . . . pituita*. Horace iſ uſing medical language of

BOOK II, SATIRE II, 60-96

the day, for with Celsus (4. 12) 'bilis' and 'pituita' characterize two disorders which befall the stomach, and Pliny (N. H. 20. 7. 26) speaks of 'lenticia pituitae,' which lettuce was said to loosen; but it is not quite our language, and he uses it as a layman and as a poet, so that we must be content with the general purport. The figure of 'tumultum' is an old one. Cp. Hippocrates, ἡ ποικίλη τροφή νοσώδης, παραχώδης γάρ, and in another place in the same sense, τὰ ἀνόμοια στασιάζει. 'Pituita' is probably to be scanned as a trisyllable, since Catullus 23. 17 has the first 'i' long, 'mucusque et mala pituita nasi.' See Mayor on the scansion of 'fortuitus' in Juv. S. 13. 225.

77. *cena dubia*: a phrase to which Terence had given currency, Phorm. 2. 1. 28. (342) '*Ph. cena dubia apponitur. Ge. Quid istuc verbi est? Ph. ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissimum.*'

79. *adfligit humo*: cp. *προσηλοί* Plat. Phaed. p. 83 D. There is a v. l. 'affligit,' in one good MS. See on Sat. 1. 1. 81.

divinae particulam auræ: cp. Virgil's '*partem divinae mentis*' G. 4. 220 and '*aurai simplicis ignem*' Aen. 6. 747. 'Particula' is a favourite word with Horace. 'Corpus onustum' is a phrase of Lucretius 3. 113; but in his terms for the spiritual part of man Horace is echoing rather his other master, Cicero, and Plato and the Pythagoreans whom he quotes. See especially de Senect. 21. 78 '*audiebam Pythagoram . . . numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus*,' Tusc. 1. 26. 63 '*Ergo animus ut ego dico divinus est, ut Euripides audet dicere deus; et quidem si deus aut anima aut ignis est, idem animus est.*' Pythagoras, according to Diog. Laert. 8. 28, called the soul ἀπόσπασμα τοῦ αἰθέρος . . . ἀθάνατον, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπόσπασται ἀθάνατόν ἐστι.

80. *alter*: the man of plain living.

dicto citius, with *curata*: the hyperbole is less felt because '*dicto citius*' was a current phrase. Cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 142, Liv. 23. 47.

82. *melius*, 'better fare.'

quondam, 'on occasions.' Cp. Od. 2. 10. 18, Epp. 1. 18. 78.

84. *tenuatum*, i. q. 'attenuatum.' Tac. Ann. 15. 63 '*parvo victu tenuatum.*'

88. Note the 'chiasmus' with which '*dura valetudo*' answers to '*validus*,' '*senectus*' to '*puer*.'

89. Greediness is inconsistent with true hospitality.

90. *haec mente*: Sat. 1. 1. 30. Cp. with the passage Juv. S. 1. 140 '*quanta est gula quae sibi totos Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum!*'

92. *integrum*, opp. '*vitiatum*.'

93. *prima*: cp. Sat. 1. 3. 99 '*primis terris*,' 'the young world.'

95. *grandes*, with '*patinae*' as well as '*rhombi*': contrast '*modica patella*,' Epp. 1. 5. 2. The repetition of '*grandes . . . grande*' is emphatic and gives the idea of proportion; 'the bigger the dishes and the fish, the bigger the disgrace as well as the expense.'

96. *damno*, 'waste of money.' See on Od. 3. 5. 27, and cp. Epp. 1. 18. 21, 2. 1. 107.

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97. **patruum**: the 'uncle' embodied to a Roman the critical or censorious disposition of a man's own family. Cp. Od. 3. 12. 3, Sat. 2. 3. 88, Pers. S. 1. 11 'Pertristis quidam patruus censor magister,' Cic. Cael. 11.

99. **as, laquei pretium**: perhaps from Plaut. Pseudol. 1. 1. 86 '*Ps.* Sed quid ea drachuma facere vis? *C.* Restim volo mihi emere. *Ps.* Quamobrem? *C.* Qui me faciam pensilem.' The jest became or had become proverbial; so Lucian, Timon. 20 οὐδὲ ὀβολὸν ὥστε πρίσθαι βρόχον ἐσχηκίτας.

inquit. For this use of an imaginary interlocutor with no nom. cp. Sat. 1. 4. 79.

Trausius: an unknown name, standing for one who is at once poor and extravagant. It was a Roman name, as inscriptions show.

103. **indignus**, 'undeserving,' that is, of poverty. Cp. Cic. Tusc. 4. 20. 46 'ad calamitates hominum indignorum ablevandas.'

104. **templa ruunt**: cp. Od. 2. 15, 19, 3. 6. 1 f.

106. 'Have you no thought of a possible reverse?'

107. **risus**: as 'iocus' in Sat. 2. 5. 37, 'laughing-stock.'

uterne. For the redundant 'ne' in direct questions, see Epod. 1. 7, Sat. 2. 3. 295.

109. **superbum**: with both substantives and proleptically, 'so as to pamper them.'

110. **metuens futuri**: Od. 3. 19. 16, Madv. § 289 a.

112. **quo magis his credas**: the purpose not of the thing to be stated but of the stating of it; as with negative clauses, see on Od. 1. 33. 1 'ne doleas,' &c.

puer novi usum. There is an exactly similar construction in Cic. de Sen. 9. 30 'Ego L. Metellum memini puer.' It seems to be an attraction for 'me puero.'

113. **latius**: opp. 'angustius.' Yonge quotes Juv. S. 14. 234 'indulgent sibi latius.'

114. **videas . . . narrantem**. Horace represents this as Ofellus' habitual language since his deprivation of his property. The time of his deprivation is no doubt B.C. 41; for Venusia is specially named (Appian, Bell. Civ. 4. 3) as one of the towns where lands were assigned by the triumvirs to veterans after the battle of Philippi. Horace or his father would have lost his property at the same time.

metato, 'measured off for division.' For the passive use cp. Od. 2. 15. 15 and see on Od. 1. 32. 5, and to the instances given there add 'venerata' in v. 124 of this Satire.

115. **fortem**, 'a sturdy tiller' of the soil, though tilling land he paid rent for. Virg. G. 3. 288 'hinc laudem fortes sperate coloni.' For the general picture of the dispossessed proprietor or rather 'possessor' cp. Virg. E. 1 and 9.

mercede colonum: i.e. as a tenant working the land himself and paying a 'pensio' or 'merces' (Columella, R. R. 3. 7) to his landlord.

BOOK II, SATIRE II, 97-131

116. *tamere*, 'lightly,' 'without reason'; a favourite word with Horace.

odi: i. e. 'in old days.' His example is made more relevant to the point of the Satire by making the simplicity of his table the special ground of his indifference to the blows of fortune.

luce profesta, 'on working days,' Od. 4. 15. 25.

117. *pernae*: cp. Mart. 10. 48. 17 'cenisque tribus iam perna superstes.'

119. *operum vacuo*: explained by 'per imbrem,' on a day of enforced idleness. 'Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber' Virg. G. 1, 259, though Virgil points out that the said husbandman need not be altogether idle at such times. For the gen. cp. 'operum solutis' Od. 3. 17. 16.

120. *bene erat*, 'we made merry'; cp. Sat. 2. 8. 4 'fuerit melius,' id. 19 'pulchre fuerit,' and above v. 82 'ad melius transcurrere.' For these 'dapes inemptae' added to the supper on occasions cp. Epod. 2. 48 foll. and the poem of Martial (10. 48) above referred to.

121. *pensilia*, 'hung,' i. e. 'to dry as raisins'; cp. Sat. 2. 4. 72.

secundas mensas, 'the second course.' Cp. 'alteris mensis' Od. 4. 5. 31, 'mensis secundis' Virg. G. 2. 101.

122. *duploae*, 'bifida.' Schol. 'split,' probably to dry.

123. *culpa magistra*. Porph. explains these words by 'libere, sine archiposia,' without, that is, a 'magister' or 'arbiter bibendi.' His explanation suggests, though it does not say, that 'culpa' had some known technical sense. Various attempts have been made to guess at one; as that it means 'a forfeit': cp. the drinking-scene in Plaut. Stich. 5. 4. 3 f. 'uter demutassit poculo multabitur.' The form 'culpa magistra' is then dictated by the figure of the 'magister bibendi,' 'to drink when [not a formal president of the feast but] a breach of rules (sc. a forfeit) bade us.' That some sense of the informality and freedom of the drinking is at the bottom of the expression is likely from Horace's description of his own table (Sat. 2. 6. 68), where each guest drinks as he likes, 'solutus legibus insanis.' Bentley, dissatisfied with all suggestions, would alter 'culpa' to 'cupa,' i. e. 'copa,' 'a tavern mistress,' and many other emendations have been suggested, none at all probable.

124. *venerata*: addressed with the prayer 'so might she rise.' 'Venerata' pass. as in Virg. Aen. 3. 460, see on 'metato' supr. v. 114.

ita, 'so,' i. e. as the prayer or libation was duly offered—a formula of prayer, as 'sic' in Od. 1. 3. 1.

surgeret: the prayer 'surgas' quoted in orat. obl.

125. *explicit*: Od. 3. 29. 16 'sollicitam explicuere frontem.'

127. *hinc*, 'from our present condition.'

128. *nituitis*: of being in good case, as 'nitidus' Epp. 1. 4. 15.

ut, 'from the time when,' Od. 4. 4. 42, Epod. 7. 19, Sat. 1. 6. 27.

129. *propriae*: pred. 'as true property'; cp. the use of the word in v. 134 and Od. 2. 2. 22, Sat. 2. 6. 5.

131. *vafri iuris*: of the law with its subtleties. Cp. 'ius anceps' Sat. 2. 5. 34.

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134. *oedet in usum*. With this whole passage on the limited sense of property cp. Epp. 2. 2. 158 foll. The germ of all is in Lucretius 'Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu' 3. 971. Cp. also Epp. 1. 12. 4 n.

SATIRE III

DAMASIPPUS: OR A MAD WORLD

THE Satire is based on the Stoic paradox that every one but the wise man is mad (*ὅτι πᾶς ἀφρων μάλιστα*, see Cicero's 4th Paradox), which Horace treats after his wont, laughing with others at it, but using it as a weapon with which, without departing from his habitual irony, he can strike at practical follies.

The bulk of the Satire is put into the mouth of Stertinius, a lecturer of the day (like Crispinus of Book I), whom in Epp. 1. 12. 20 Horace makes, but in a bantering tone, the representative of Stoic philosophy. He is otherwise unknown to us. The Scholiasts say his works filled 220 volumes.

Damasippus (like Trebatius in Sat. 2. 1) is a character in Cicero's Epistles, in which he appears as a clever go-between in the purchase of estates and works of art (Cic. ad Att. 12. 29 and 33, ad Fam. 7. 23; cp. vv. 20-26 of this Satire). Horace represents him (whether with any historical foundation or not, we cannot say) as having been ruined and on the point of suicide. Stertinius meets him on the Pons Fabricius and saves him from this folly by preaching to him the Stoic doctrine that all men save the true philosopher are mad alike—he need not be ashamed; let his misfortunes be as ridiculous and his conduct as foolish as possible, he has all the world as companions in his folly. This is set out at length in a discourse which, as is usual with Horace, loses after a time its vital connexion with the scene. The dramatic tone is resumed at v. 296, and Horace ends the Satire by good-humouredly turning the laugh against himself.

This Satire should be compared throughout with Sat. 2. 7, which deals in a similar way with another Paradox.

Verses 1-16. Damasippus rallies Horace for his 'fastidiousness and laziness in composition.

16-18. 'Excellent advice, my philosopher,' says Horace. 'How do you know me so well?'

18-26. *D.* 'Since I lost my own business, I have made up for it by minding that of everybody else. I was known as the great connoisseur, and dealer in everything, from antiquities to houses and gardens.'

26, 27. *H.* 'I know, and I wondered how you got rid of that madness.'

27-30. *D.* 'As others do—the madness only changed its place.'

BOOK II, SATIRE II, 134—SATIRE III

31. Horace makes a light answer, and Damasippus goes on more seriously to lay down the truth that has explained life to him, and so reconciled him to it.
- 31-76. 'I was going to drown myself for shame; but Stertinius saved me from that folly, and bade me become a philosopher, by explaining to me that I was no worse than others: only one more madman in a mad world. Everybody is mad but the true philosopher. It is only a choice of follies. Some are afraid where no fear is: others are not afraid where they should be. Damasippus is mad on buying old statues—Is not the money-lender mad who supplies him with means to do it?'
- 77-81. All passions are equally signs of madness: ambition, avarice, extravagance, superstition.
- 82-157. *Avarice* first. Staberius bade his heirs engrave on his tomb the amount of the fortune he had left. That seemed to him the one solid title to fame. It is no defence to set off against him Aristippus, who flung away his money in the desert. Two blacks do not make a white. Money is of value, but only to use. Avarice is not thought madness, merely because it is so common. Why do you hoard? For fear you come to poverty? Your petty economies do not affect the result. On the other hand if you can live on so little, why commit such crimes in order to get more? See the picture of the wealthy miser Opimius, dying of starvation for fear of the cost of a rice pudding.
- 158-223. Is the man who spends his life on *ambition* less mad? Servius Oppidius of Canusium, when he was afraid of signs of avarice in one son and extravagance in another, not only forbade them either to increase or diminish their patrimony, but specially forbade either to accept a public office, as sure to lead to waste of money on the vain attempt to ape the wealthy. Poor Ajax was mad when he slaughtered the sheep—was not Agamemnon, when for fame and power he slew his daughter?
- 224-280. The extravagant spending on *luxury*. Look at the types of the spendthrift: Nomentanus, the moment he has inherited a fortune, summoning all the ministers of his pleasure and (in effect) dividing it between them—'You deserve it more than I': the son of Aesopus melting a valuable pearl to drink: the sons of Arrius breakfasting on nightingales. If a grown-up man took to childish sports all would put him down as mad. Are not the follies of love as childish? the changes of mood—the silly omens—the baby-talk—and it ends in murder and suicide.
- 281-295. *Superstition*—the old man who used to ask the gods to give him immunity from death—'one was such an easy favour'; the mother who vows that if her boy is saved from a fever he shall do something which is sure to give him another.
- 296-299. 'You see Stertinius armed me well; and any one who calls me a madman now will get as good as he gave.'

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300—end. *H.* 'You are a perfect Stoic ; so tell me what is my madness. I do not see it.'

D. 'Madmen never do.'

H. 'Be it so, but tell me.'

D. 'You are given to building, aping your betters, like the frog that would be as large as an ox. You write poetry—you have a bad temper—you live beyond your means—you are always fancying yourself in love.'

H. 'Enough !—we are both madmen ; but the greater should have some mercy on the smaller.'

1. **Sic.** The balance of testimony is for 'sic' as against 'si,' which Bentley adopts. The direct assault in the opening words is more spirited, and the conditional sentence would be ill-balanced. For 'sic' with adjectives cp. Sat. 1. 3. 19 'sic impar,' 1. 5. 69 'gracili sic,' Epp. 2. 1. 179 'sic leve, sic parvum.'

scribis. For the lengthened vowel see on Sat. 1. 4. 82.

2. **membranam** : the parchment is here evidently for making a 'fair copy.' Horace does not ask for it, because he is for ever rubbing out again what he writes on his 'tabulae' (Epp. 2. 2. 110), 'saepe stilum vertens' (Sat. 1. 10. 72), in the metaphor he uses here ('retexens') treating it like Penelope's web. 'Membrana' is used in the same sense in A. P. 389. He is perhaps, under cover of Damasippus' charges, suggesting the true reason of the scantiness of production of which his friends so often complained, viz. his fastidiousness of taste.

4. **dignum sermone**, λόγου ἄξιον, but with the more definite meaning of 'deserving to be talked of,' 'Romana venire in ora' Epp. 1. 3. 9.

at, as usual, introduces an imagined answer, 'You reply that, so far from being the man of pleasure I describe, you have taken refuge in your country-home from the revelry of the Saturnalia in Rome. Well then, you have no excuse for not composing—begin. Nothing comes, only excuses.'

5. With **fugisti Saturnalibus** cp. Juv. S. 7. 97 'vinum toto nescire Decembri,' of the industrious poet.

6. **dic** : of poetical composition, as usual in the Odes ; see Od. 1. 32. 3 n., 3. 25. 7.

dignum promissis : A. P. 138.

7. **calami**. Cp. the expansion of this in Pers. S. 3. 10—20.

8. The unhappy wall suffers at the hands of the poet in the throes of composition : cp. Pers. S. 1. 106 of poetry that has cost no effort, 'nec pluteum caedit.' For 'natus' see on Od. 1. 27. 1.

iratis dis : Sat. 1. 5. 98. 'Poetis' comes as a comic παρά προσδοκίαν.

9. **minantis** : Epp. 1. 8. 3 'multa et pulchra minantem' ; like the Greek ἀπειλεῖν, of loud or boastful promising.

10. **vacuum** : Od. 1. 32. 1.

cepisset in the orat. recta would have been 'ceperit.'

tepidus, because it is winter.

11. **pertinuit**: Sat. 2. 2. 35.

Menandro: ablative; 'to squeeze Plato by putting Menander on the top of him.' The literature which Horace is imagined as taking with him is what would give material and spirit for writing Satire. Plato, probably the philosopher (cp. A. P. 310 'Socraticae chartae'), as a treasury of character and moral ideas—it has however been taken also for Plato the comic poet; Menander, as the representative of Greek comedy; and the lampoons of Archilochus, the earliest type of poetical attack and caricature. It should be remembered also that the composition of the Epodes, in which Archilochus was directly the model, apparently was going on at the same time as that of the Second Book of Satires.

12. **tantos**, 'so bulky,' Schol., probably rather as Heind., Orell., &c. 'such great men.' It helps the human metaphor of 'comites educere.'

13, 14. 'Is your reason the odium which your Satire brought on you, and which you would appease by ceasing to champion virtue? You will only be despised.'

14. **Siren**: Hom. Od. 12. 39 f., treated as an allegory of seductive pleasure, as in Epp. 1. 2. 23.

15. **quidquid parasti**: i. e. the consideration which you enjoy.

16. **ponendum** = 'deponendum,' Epp. 1. 10. 31.

17. **verum**: 'true' advice is that which corresponds to the facts of the case.

tonsore. The long beard was affected by philosophers (Sat. 1. 3. 133, *infr.* v. 35). Horace treats it as an inconvenience which Damasippus would fain get rid of. The 'tonsor' would trim it.

18. **Ianum medium**. The expression occurs twice in Cicero (de Off. 2. 25. 90, Phil. 6. 5. 15), and in both cases of the place where monetary business was transacted. Horace (Epp. 1. 1. 54) has 'Ianus summus ab imo.' The exact meaning is not certain. The Scholiasts' notes are a combination of inconsistent explanations. Bentley, followed by Dyer (Dict. Geog. s. v. Rome), takes 'Ianus' to have been the name of a street, possibly a covered way or arcade, near the Forum; 'summus ab imo' meaning 'from end to end,' and 'medius Ianus' the middle of this arcade. Others think the reference is to arches on one side of the Forum, used for the transaction of business. Livy (46. 27) speaks of Fulvius Flaccus, as censor, undertaking amongst other works 'forum porticibus tabernisque claudendum et lanos tres faciendos.' The passage is mutilated, and it is uncertain in what town these works were executed; but if, as seems probable, it was a provincial town, it is still of importance, as the public works of provincial towns were usually imitations of Rome. Cicero (de N. D. 2. 27. 67) explains 'Iani' as = 'transitiones perviae,' and Livy (2. 49) gives the name to the arch of a city gate.

21. A hyperbolic description of 'old curiosities,' the *ποδανιτήρ* used by Sisypheus. The reference (as has been pointed out) is

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probably a literary one to the *λεοντοβάμων σκάφη χαλκήλατος*, mentioned in a fragment of the Sisyphus of Aeschylus. We notice also that Sisyphus was the mythical founder of Corinth, the home of brass work; cp. Sat. 1. 3. 90 'catillum Evandri manibus tritum,' and see note there.

21. *vafer*: *κέρδιστος* . . . *ἀνδρῶν* Hom. II. 6. 153.

22. 'The artistic merit of marble sculptures and bronzes.'

durius, the opposite of Virgil's 'excudent . . . mollis aera' Aen. 6. 847; cp. A. P. 33 'mollis imitabitur aere capillos.'

23. *callidus*, 'as a connoisseur.'

ponebam, 'fixed.'

24. *mercari*: this archaic form of the infin. occurs in Od. 4. 11. 8; Sat. 2. 8. 67; Epp. 2. 1. 94, 2. 2. 148, 151.

unus, 'as no one else,' Epp. 1. 9. 1.

25. *Mercuriale cognomen* has been variously understood. The Comm. Cruq. (followed by Lambinus and, of recent editors, Heindorf, Orelli, Ritter, Schütz) took it as meaning 'the nick-name of "Mercurius"'; Acr. as meaning 'a nick-name related to Mercurius' (the god of gain), i. e. some name such as 'cerdo' (*κέρδος*). Porph. seems to take it in its most natural sense as meaning the 'nick-name Mercurialis': 'Mercurialis' would not be immediately connected with the 'collegium' called 'Mercuriales' at Rome, but would mean 'a favourite of Mercury,' just as Horace calls poets, from another function of Mercury's, 'viri Mercuriales,' Od. 2. 17. 29.

26. *compita*, broad spaces where several streets met. They are possibly named only as places where men meet and talk, as in Sat. 2. 6. 50 'a Rostris manat per compita rumor,'—but the Scholiast explains it of the auctions which took place commonly in such places. Cicero (de Leg. Agr. 1. 3. 7) speaks of an auction held 'in atriis auctionariis' instead of 'in triviis aut compitis' as a hole-and-corner proceeding. Damasippus was known to the frequenters of auctions as the most skilful of purchasers.

27. *morbi purgatum*, a Greek gen., cp. 'sceleris purus,' Od. 1. 22. 1; Livy uses it 37. 28. 1.

atqui introduces Damasippus' answer as Sat. 1. 9. 52 and frequently.

28. *mire* answers 'miror'; 'it is a marvel—but it is as happens in physical maladies also.' The new malady is his philosophizing, his readiness to lecture others, to meddle in other people's business (v. 19). Damasippus will not allow even of himself the uncorrected phrase 'morbi purgatum.' For him, as for all but the true philosopher, it was only a question of one mental malady or another. When Horace (v. 31) by his light answer seems to be missing his drift he presses the lesson home, 'I fear you mistake me ('de te fabula narratur')—you are mad also—and well-nigh all the world.'

oor, 'the stomach,' as *καρδία*: see below, v. 161.

29. *traiecto*: acc. to Porph. a technical word (Gr. *μεθίστασθαι*, *μετάστασις*) for the shifting of disease from one organ to another.

miseri, 'aching.' Orelli quotes Plaut. Poen. 5. 2. 43 'miseram

buccam.' Cp. Sat. I. 9. 32. 'laterum dolor,' where the Scholiasts annotate 'pleuritis.'

30. **ut cum**, to be taken together, *ὡς ὅτε*.

lethargious cum fit pugil, &c., when he passes suddenly from the 'lethargus,' which Celsus defines as 'marcor et paene inexpugnabilis dormiendi necessitas,' to 'phrenesis,' in which 'difficilior somnus, prompta ad omnem audaciam mens est,' Cels. 3. 20. For a picture of a 'lethargicus' see below, v. 142 f.

hic, *δεκτικῶς*, 'yonder'; cp. v. 23 'huic.'

31. **dum ne**: see on Sat. I. 1. 40.

esto, 'let it be'; **ut libet** echoes the 'ut solet,' 'ut cum.' Horace feigns to take Damasippus literally, and to expect to be assaulted himself.

o bone, *ὦ γαθέ*, Sat. 2. 6. 51: the voc. alone 2. 6. 95, Epp. 2. 2. 37, in earnest or affectedly earnest appeals. See also in plur. Sat. 2. 2. 1.

ne frustrere: as is usual in Horace, not an imperative, but a final clause, 'that you may not deceive yourself (let me tell you) you also are mad.' See on Od. 1. 33. 1.

32. **et tu**, 'you also.'

prope omnes, as the Greek *σχεδὸν πάντες*, an habitual softening of a sweeping statement; see on Sat. 1. 3. 95. With this discourse should be read Cicero's rendering of the Stoic paradox, *ὅτι πᾶς ἀφρων μαίεται* Parad. 4.

33. **Stertinius**: see Introd.

crepat: see on Od. 1. 18. 5. Add Epp. 1. 7. 84, Plaut. Mil. G. 3. 1. 56, of the man who would talk law at a dinner-table, and Lucr. 2. 1168 of the man who always harps on the good old times; 'if there is any truth in what is always on Stertinius' tongue.'

unde, from whose lips; see on Sat. 1. 6. 12.

35. **sapientem pascere barbam**, 'to grow the beard of wisdom'; for the beard as belonging to philosophers see on Sat. 1. 3. 133.

pascere: as Virg. Aen. 7. 391 'sacrum tibi pascere crinem.'

36. **Fabricio ponte**: the bridge (Ponte di quattro Capi) which still exists between the island and the old Campus Martius. It was built (Dion Cass. 37. 45) B. C. 62. An inscription on it says that it was built by 'L. Fabricius, curator viarum.'

37. **male re gesta**: for the phrase and its correlative 'bene rem gerere' see *infr.* v. 74. With this picture cp. Liv. 4. 12 'multi ex plebe, spe amissa, . . . capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.'

operto capite: as in the passage of Livy just cited. It was the familiar attitude of meeting death. Socrates covers his head in Plato's *Phaedo*, Caesar in Suetonius, Iul., 82, Decius in Liv. 8. 9.

38. **dexter**, 'on the right,' and so with good omen, as a good genius, Virg. Aen. 8. 302, to Hercules: 'Dexter adi.'

cave. The last syllable is shortened in the conversational style, as *infr.* v. 177, Epp. 1. 13. 19. It is long in Epod. 6. 11, so 'vidē' in Pers. Sat. 1. 108. The constr. 'cave faxis,' without a negative

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particle, is found in Cicero as 'cave putes,' 'mind you do not think,' ad Fam. 10. 12. 1.

39. *pudor malus*. The expression recurs in Epp. 1. 16. 24; and cp. A. P. 88 'pudens prave,' where it is of 'false shame,' shame on wrong grounds. Possibly here as with 'mala stultitia,' in v. 43, the feeling is rather of its effects, 'mischievous.'

angit, 'tortures'; the pain must be extreme to have such a result.

40. *insanos inter*, 'in a world of madmen.'

41. *primum inquiram*. The Stoic begins, in character, with a definition.

42. *nil verbi*: the gen. of an adj. is more usual; but cp. Plaut. Bacch. 4. 8. 18 'nihil lucri.'

pereas quin, 'to prevent your dying.'

43. *mala*: so 'ambitione mala,' v. 78. For *et* before *st* see on Sat. 1. 10. 72.

et quemcumque, a stronger statement than that of the first clause, 'et' having, as often, the force of 'and indeed,' so that it is not necessary to supply 'cumque' with the first 'quem.'

44. *caecum*. The essence of madness is the not seeing where you are going.

Chrysiippi: infr. v. 287, Sat. 1. 3. 127, Epp. 1. 2. 4.

porticus, *στοὰ ποικίλη*, in which Zeno and his successors taught, and from which the sect was named.

grex: see on Epp. 1. 4. 16 'Epicuri de grege,' and cp. Epp. 1. 9. 13: 'the Portico and all its company.'

45. *autumat*, 'affirmat,' Acr. It is a frequent word in Plautus, occurring once in Terence, Horace, Catullus.

populos . . . reges: of number and rank; whole peoples, and from the peasant to the prince: there is only one exception.

formula . . . tenet. Ritter seems right in explaining this as a legal phrase; 'this definition attaches.' He quotes from Cic. de Off. 3. 14. 60, where 'formula' and 'definitio' are used convertibly of the legal definition of an offence.

48. *passim palantis*. These words put shortly what is in the following words more fully described in its process: 'as in a forest; when men lose their way, they miss the path, one on one side, another on the other.'

51. *variis partibus*, 'on different sides.'

hoc modo: usually taken as = 'sic,' answering to 'velut'; 'ut' then introducing a consequential clause. It is perhaps better to let the 'sic' which should answer to 'velut' be understood, and take 'hoc modo . . . ut' together in the sense of 'ita ut,' as limiting the scope of 'crede te insanum,' 'to this extent, in such a sense only, that.'

53. *caudam trahat*. According to the Scholiast a proverbial expression for being a fool without knowing it: 'solent pueri nescientibus caudam suspendere'; the tail he explains to be a sheep's tail. The man who laughs at you for having a tail tied to you, has one himself.

BOOK II, SATIRE III, 38-62

53-62. 'It is foolish to fear where there is nothing to fear, as you did when you would have killed yourself to avoid the ridicule of men as foolish as yourself; but it is equally foolish to ignore real obstacles and dangers.'

54. *nilhilum*, as an adv. with 'metuenda.' So below v. 210. *timentis*. It is difficult to say whether this agrees with 'stulti-tiae,' a personal subject being supplied for 'queratur,' or whether the masc. gen. should be understood with it.

56. *varum*, a coloured equivalent to 'dissimile,' and taking the same construction (dative); by the word 'varum' Horace implies that both are deformities. It is like two legs, equally crooked, though they are bent in different directions.

ignis. For the metaphorical use of 'ignes,' 'rupes,' &c. cp. Sat. 1. 1. 39, Epp. 1. 1. 46. He is speaking of the headlong pursuit of the objects of desire.

57. *clamet*. For the omission of any conditional or concessive particle see on Sat. 1. 1. 45, Epp. 1. 1. 28.

amica mater, 'melius est sic accipi, ut sit ex Graeco tractum, φίλη μήτηρ, quam per se, *amica*, per se deinde, *mater*, quia mentionem uxoris facit in sequentibus' Porph. Each of the first two relations has an epithet indicating its special claim on him—'honesta' = 'deserving respect'; 'cum cognatis' serves the same purpose with the last two, 'with all his kith and kin.' For Horace's way of varying a list by the use of 'cum' see below v. 229, and cp. Sat. 1. 10. 85, Epp. 1. 6. 18, 2. 1. 5, A. P. 145.

60. The allusion is to an incident which occurred in the acting of the *Ilione* of Pacuvius, a play to which Cicero refers more than once, and from which he quotes the same words (Tusc. 1. 44. 106, Acad. 2. 27. 88, pro Sest. 59. 126). *Ilione*, the daughter of Priam and the wife of Polymnestor, had in this version of the story substituted her brother Polydorus (see Virg. Aen. 3. 49 foll.) for her son Deiphilus. Deiphilus has been killed under this error by his father, and his shade rises and calls on his mother *Ilione*, 'Mater, te appello, quae curam somno suspensam levas, Neque te mei miseret, surge et repete natum.' Fufius, who is acting the part of *Ilione*, seems to have gone really to sleep, and not to have been waked by the appeals of Catienus who acted Deiphilus.

61. *cum* . . . *edormit*, as 'cum praecipitat' inf. v. 277, and as the common use of 'dum' with the pres. of a past action.

Ilionam edormit = acts to the full, over-acts, the part of the sleeping *Ilione*.

mille ducentis: perhaps as the double of 'sescenti' (as that is of 'trecenti,' cp. Od. 2. 14. 5) for an indefinitely large number. 'Sleeps, though not one Catienus but twelve hundred shout at him!' The picture is of the audience entering into the joke and taking up Catienus' appeal in the vain endeavour to waken Fufius.

62. *huic errori*: 'errori' takes us back to 'error,' vv. 49, 51. 'This mode of going astray' is the second alternative of vv. 53-62,

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viz. the pursuit of ends and indulgence of passions without heed of the difficulties and dangers.

63. **similem**: sc. 'errorem,' the cogn. accus. after 'insanire,' as in Epp. 1. 1. 101.

64. **insanit** . . . **creditor**. These are the two judgments of the supposed opponent which Stertinius, after ironically allowing them (*esto*!), proceeds to show to be inconsistent with one another.

65. **integer mentis**: as 'integer vitae,' Od. 1. 22. 1.

66-76. Stertinius propounds a dilemma: he personates the 'creditor Damasippi,' and imagines two alternative forms under which he may offer his loan to his insolvent borrower. He may say at once 'Take it and don't repay it.' In that case surely Damasippus is not mad if he assents. Or he may demand bonds and securities, which are as useless as the attempts to bind Proteus. In that case he is at least the madder of the two.

66. **accipe quod numquam reddas** = 'accipe hoc ea conditione ut non reddas.'

67. **excors**: Epp. 1. 2. 25, 'senseless.'

68. **Mercurius**: see on v. 25. The Greeks called a windfall or lucky venture *ἐρμαιον*.

69-71. The general sense, as explained on v. 66, is clear; but even the Scholiasts were in doubt as to the technical terms and the significance of the names.

69. **scribe decem a Nerio**. It is a doubt as old as the Scholiasts whether the accus. to be understood with 'decem' is '*tabulas*,' so that 'decem . . . centum' is a climax, or '*sestertia*.' The latter is Bentley's interpretation, who quotes (on Epp. 2. 1. 105) from the Digest 12. c. 40 'L. Titius *scripsi* me accepisse a P. Maevio *quindecim* mutua' as the formula of a note of hand. The words will then be the words of the 'creditor' addressed to Damasippus, and answering to the words in the illustrative sentence 'accipe quod numquam reddas,' 'Give note of hand for 10,000 sesterces as advanced by Nerius,' Nerius being either the imagined lender himself or a professional money-lender or banker through whom the loan is negotiated, and standing in any case (as the use of the name in Pers. Sat. 2. 14 indicates) for a sharp man of business. The words that follow 'Nerio' are the comment of Stertinius, ironically bidding the creditor to take more securities, though telling him beforehand that they will be useless: 'add bonds such as Cicuta draws, a hundred of them, add chains, a thousand.' Perhaps with Kiessling we should put a comma after '*tabulas*,' taking 'centum, mille,' as a climax, with '*catenas*.'

Cicuta (see inf. v. 175) has the air of a nick-name (see below on v. 75), 'fenerator qui propter asperitatem et amaritudinem cognominatus est,' Schol.

70. **nodosi**, 'with his knots.' The association seems twofold: (1) with the use of 'nodus' of tangled and intricate points of law ('*iuris nodos*,' Juv. S. 8. 50); (2) with the use of legal subtleties

BOOK II, SATIRE III, 62-78

for purposes of constraint and oppression. Cp. Lucretius' frequent use of 'nodus,' 'nodi religionum,' &c. Notice that this word seems to suggest the metaphor of 'catenas,' and the full figure of Proteus and the attempts to bind him.

71. **Proteus**, the sea-god, as described in Hom. Odys. 4. 485 and Virg. G. 4. 387 foll. He would only give oracles when he was bound, but when men tried to bind him he eluded them by changing into a thousand shapes.

72. **malis ridentem alienis**. There can hardly but be some relation to Homer's *γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἀλλοτρίοισιν* Odys. 22. 345, though how close a one it is difficult to say. Eustathius in loc. tells us that the words had passed into a proverb; and proverbs, especially in another language, are constantly misused. It is possible that Horace, reminded of the Odyssey by the image of Proteus, recalls the words and purposely gives them a quasi-comic adaptation. It is possible again that they occur to him as a blank form of expression without their context, as 'cui bono' occurred to Byron, and he puts his own meaning to them (see his use of a Greek proverb in v. 276). What the actual meaning put on them is, is not certain. It may be his disguises, 'laughing from behind strange masks'; or it may be with a play on 'aes alienum,' of the debtor's complete indebtedness, 'laughing as though even his cheeks were borrowed (and so need not be spared).'

74. **bene**: sc. 'gerere.'

75. **putidius**, as we speak of 'addled brains.'

Perelli: 'Perellius' is identified by Acr. with the 'Cicuta' of v. 69. It may be so. In any case the name is here given to the 'creditor' of whom we are speaking, so that it is 'a Perellius,' i.e. 'a money-lender.'

76. **dictantis . . . rescribere**: the correlatives from two sides of *scribe* in v. 69. The money-lender *prescribes* ('dictat') the formula of the bond, the borrower *writes* ('scribit') and signs it, and should by-and-by cancel it, *write it off* ('rescribere') by repayment of the money borrowed.

tu. Stertinius is again addressing Damasippus.

77 foll. Here Stertinius' discourse takes a wider sweep, as he fancies himself addressing an audience. It is in appearance brought within the framework of the Satire in v. 296, but we are hardly intended actually to picture Stertinius as delivering it to Damasippus on the bridge. See what I have said of Ofellus's sermon in introd. to Sat. 2. 2.

77. **togam componere**. The Schol. explain it of the respect due to a teacher. They also notice the *ὑστερον πρότερον*. It is like Virgil's 'moriāmur et in media arma ruāmus,' Aen. 2. 353, &c., the order not of chronology of fact but of prominence in thought.

78. **ambitione mala**: Sat. 2. 6. 18; cp. the epithets 'misera gravique,' Sat. 1. 6. 129.

pallet, as 'morbo calet,' the language of medicine.

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81. **ordine adite**, as to an oracle rather than a lecturer. For a somewhat similar mixture of figures, cp. *Od.* 3. 1. 1 foll.

82. **ellebori**, 'hellebore' (*Helleborus orientalis*, Linnaeus) was held a specific for mental maladies, *Plin. N. H.* 25. 5.

pars maxima: as to those whose madness is the maddest.

83. **nescio an**, 'I am pretty sure.'

Anticyram omnem, 'the whole store of Anticyra'; see below v. 166 and *A. P.* 300 'tribus Anticyris caput insanabile.' The Anticyra where Strabo tells us the best hellebore grew, and there was a 'cure' for madness, was in Phocis on the 'Crissaeus sinus'; see on *A. P.* l. c.

84. **summam**: sc. 'hereditatis.' Staberius is quoted as an extreme instance of the value attached to money; he cared for the posthumous reputation of having had it.

85. **centum paria**: a hundred pairs of gladiators would be an unusually large number.

86. **damnati**: a proper legal use for an obligation imposed by the terms of a will; the phrase used would be 'damnas esto dare ...'

epulum, 'a funeral feast.'

arbitrio Arri, 'such as Arrius would order': the reference is to a famous funeral feast which Q. Arrius (*Cic. in Vat.* 12 foll.) had given in honour of his father. Cicero speaks of 'many thousands' having been entertained at it.

87. **frumentī**, a third obligation, viz. a 'frumentatio' or general distribution of corn. The hyperbolic description of the amount is like *Od.* 1. 1. 10 'quidquid de Libycis verritur areis.'

88. **ne sis patruus mihi**, 'do not come the uncle over me'; see on *Sat.* 2. 2. 97. These words are suggested as Staberius' answer to any one of his heirs who criticized his conditions. Stertinius goes on to throw his shield over Staberius; he was acting with foresight and consistency.

ne sis. This is one of the exceptions allowed by *Madv. (Opusc.* 2. p. 105) to the rule that in prohibitions addressed to a definite person writers of the classical age used the perf. subj. not the pres. subj. See on *Sat.* 2. 5. 17. Dr. Kennedy, however (*Cambridge Reporter*, May 8, 1883) made it another case of the final 'ne' (see on *Od.* 1. 33. 1; *Epp.* 1. 1. 13, &c.) explaining the purpose of making a statement 'be it rightly or wrongly, such is my will [and so I tell you] that you may not try to dictate to me.'

89. **hoc... vidisse**. It may be doubted what 'hoc' refers to. Heindorf takes it of the attitude of the heirs which has been assumed in Staberius' words. Perhaps it may be better taken of the explanation to follow in vv. 94 f. 'This I imagine is what Staberius looked forward to.' An interlocutor is supposed to interrupt with 'Quid ergo sensit,' &c. 'What do you mean he perceived?' 'sensit,' being an echo of 'vidisse.' For 'ergo' in an impatient question, cutting short or implying doubt of what has just been said, cp. v. 156,

and for the use of 'hoc' cp. Epp. I. 16. 78 'Opinor Hoc sentit "moriar."' The ultimate answer to 'Quid sensit?' is in vv. 98, 99 'hoc . . . fore.'

91. *quoad*, a monosyllable, as always in Lucretius: so 'prout,' Sat. 2. 6. 67.

92. *ut*, 'so that.'

93. *perisset . . . videretur*. The tenses are proper: 'videretur,' because it is in strict sequence to 'credidit,' &c., 'so that he seemed to himself a worse man' being equivalent to 'so that it seemed to him that he would be a worse man'—'futurus' might have been added to 'nequior': 'perisset,' because it stands for 'perierit' thrown into past time in the *orat. obl.* 'Periret,' which divides the MSS., would not be wrong; but the *plpft.* is more exact, as the being (or being thought) a worse man is the sentence which is imagined as following the crime of dying a poorer one: cp. (with Bentl.) the relation of 'vidisset' to 'crederet' in Sat. I. 6. 79. Prof. Palmer's criticism, that 'periret' is right because if the man had been already dead he would have known nothing of the matter, ties Horace to a logical point of view which would have been strange to him. It is like Aristotle's famous criticism on Solon's saying that no one should be counted happy till he was dead (*Eth. N.* I. 11). Horace would have erred with Solon and Sophocles, not have been right with Aristotle.

94. *nequior*: cp. (with Kiessling) 'nequities,' Sat. 2. 2. 131. 'Nequam,' is the opp. of 'frugi,' and carries a moral stigma. It is the conclusion which Staberius is supposed to draw from his premiss (v. 92) that poverty was a moral vice.

omnis enim res, &c. Stertinus ironically adopts Staberius' premiss.

95. *pulchris*, a transl. of *καλός*: cp. Epp. I. 2. 30 'pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies,' and Virgil's 'pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis,' of types of honour.

96. *parent*, 'are the subjects of'; wealth is the sovereign. Cp. Epp. I. 1. 53 'quaerenda pecunia primum est: Virtus post nummos.' He inverts the true Stoic doctrine 'virtuti omnia parent,' Sall. Cat. 2. 7.

construxerit, 'raised a pile,' Cp. Sat. I. 1. 44 'quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?'

97. *sapiensne?* Stertinus asks and answers the question himself, as also in vv. 89, 90, and below in vv. 99-102, vv. 158 foll. It is an imitation of the Stoic style; cp. Cic. Paradox I 'Cato, perfectus mea sententia Stoicus, . . . minutis interrogatiunculis quasi punctis quod proposuit efficit.' Stertinus is ironically inverting (see on v. 96) his own true-view. Contrast Sat. I. 3. 124, where the 'sapiens' is said to be 'dives' and 'rex.'

etiam, 'even so'; the nearest equivalent to our 'yes,' as in Cicero: see especially Acad. 4. 32 'aut "etiam" aut "non" respondere.'

98. *hoc*: sc. wealth. Here we have Staberius' true motive. To

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have possessed wealth was a proof of virtue, and, if the fact was remembered, a security for fame. ♦

99 f. An answer supposed to be made on behalf of Staberius. Cp. the dialogue on the same subject in Sat. 1. 1. 101 f. There seems to be irony in the form 'quid simile?' which = 'no doubt it is unlike what Aristippus did!' and also a depreciatory sense in 'Graecus,' which is meant to suggest that Cyrenaicism and Epicureanism were Greek schools of thought, Stoicism the Roman one.

100. **Aristippus**: Epp. 1. 1. 18, 1. 17. 14 foll.; the founder of the Cyrenaic school, the predecessors of the Epicureans. The story which Horace tells is to be found in Diog. Laert. 2. 77. Horace lays the scene of it in Libya, i.e. in a journey to or from Cyrene.

103. It is of no use to set up Staberius against Aristippus or Aristippus against Staberius. Each is open to criticism in turn. You have only substituted one question for another. Take examples from some other art; it will be seen at once that a man who accumulates implements and then does not use them is thought a madman.

104. **emat . . . emptas**, 'buy, and after buying pile them on a heap.' For the effect of the repetition cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 420 'offam Obicit; ille . . . Corripit obiectam,' Ov. Met. 9. 74 '(Hydrum) domui domitamque peregi.'

105. **nec Musae**. If he were fond of music at all he might have some conceivable use for the instruments, even if he could not play them himself.

106. **formas**, 'a shoemaker's last.'

non sutor, 'one who is not a cobbler.'

108. **undique**, 'on all hands,' i.e. by every one; see on Od.

1. 7. 7.

qui, 'how,' as Sat. 1. 1. 1.

110. **compositis**, 'after he has stored them'; 'componere opes,' Virg. Aen. 8. 317.

velut. To complete the sentence 'contingere' must be understood before it, 'fearing to touch them as to touch what is sacred'; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 71 'tamquam parcere sacris cogeris,' a parallel for the position of 'velut' as well as for the thought.

111. **acervum**. The picture is of corn just threshed out on the 'area,' which its owner watches himself till it is sold or carried home.

113. **esuriens dominus**, 'though hungry and the master of it.'

contingere. Repeated from v. 110 in order to point the similitude.

114. **parcus**, absol. 'as a miser.'

115. **Chii . . . Falerni**, 'of the best Greek and Italian wines'; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 24.

117. **acetum**, 'wine turned sour.'

age, 'come now,' in pointing a climax.

BOOK II, SATIRE III, 98-141

stramentis, 'a straw bed.'
unde-octoginta. For the division between the two verses cp. Epp. 2. 2. 93 'circum-Spectemus,' A. P. 424 'inter-Noscere,' Porph. (on Epp. 2. 2. 93) speaks of it as a licence copied from Lucilius. The apparent exactness, 'but one short of eighty,' gives verisimilitude.

118. **stragula**, fem. adj. etymologically not differing from 'stramentum,' but by usage of luxurious rugs and coverlets.

120. **nimirum**: Epp. 1. 9. 1; 'no doubt,' 'of course,' a particle of irony: this can be the only reason, but it is a sufficient one.

121. **iaotatur**: as 'calet' and 'pallet' in vv. 78, 80. Avarice is a fever in which a large part of mankind toss. For 'maxima pars,' cp. A. P. 24.

122, 123. Two questions suggesting possible motives for the miser's craving, the first evidently ironical, and sufficiently answered by stating it, the second refuted by the question in 124-126.

122. Cp. Od. 2. 14. 25 foll. 'Absumet heres Caecuba dignior,' &c.

123. **dis inimice**: θεοῖς ἐχθρῆ.

ne tibi desit, 'for fear you should yourself want.'

124. **enim**: as often γάρ, asking for a justification of the previous words. 'Why, how small a sum will be each day's deduction from your capital?'

125. **oleo meliore**: see on Sat. 1. 6. 124, 2. 2. 59.

127. **si quidvis satis est**, 'if you justify your thrift by saying that your wants are very small.'

surripis, aufers, 'illud clanculum, hoc vi,' Orelli.

128. **populum**, &c. If you threw stones at passers-by, or at your own slaves (those who are nothing to you or those who are your own chattels), you would be hooted as a madman. Are you sane when you murder outright your nearest and dearest (to get their money)?

130. **clamentque**. For the position of 'que,' see on Od. 1. 30. 6, and cp. below, vv. 157 and 182.

132. **quid enim**, 'of course you are! It is no high heroic deed in the land of tragedy. It is done in Rome, where the motive is more vulgar, the action more fashionable, the method more artistic. It is not like poor mad Orestes—yes, mad he was, as you say—his act was purely an act of madness, and so is yours.'

135. **malis**: perh. with an ironical touch, 'those naughty Furies' (see on Sat. 1. 5. 14; cp. Sat. 1. 1. 77). So 'ferrum tepefecit,' an imitation of the Homeric realism (as Virgil, 'hasta . . . tepefacta cerebro,' Aen. 9. 418). They introduce the semi-comic conclusion of the passage.

137. **male tutae**, 'unsound.' Bentley showed that 'tutus' was a recognized medical term.

139. **aususve**: see above v. 130 and on Od. 1. 30. 6.

141. **Furiam**. As in Eur. Or. 264 μέθης μί' οὔσα τῶν ἐμῶν Ἐρινύων | μέσον μ' ὀχμάσεις ὡς βάλης εἰς Τάφραρον. No such abuse of Pylades is found in any extant tragedy.

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141. splendida bilis. Horace seems to be playing with medical language, madness being attributed to a special condition of the bile (see A. P. 301 'O ego laevus, Qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam,' and Epp. 2. 2. 137) called *μελαγχολία* (whence our 'melancholy'), 'atra bilis' (Cels. 2. 1.), and this again being described as having a special glittering appearance, *μέλαινα χολή στιλπνότερα αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματος ἐστὶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς νεκρᾶς θαλάττης ἀσφαλτος* Galen, de causis Symptomatum 2. 50. Persius imitating Horace, but also translating another Greek epithet, *δαλώδης*, speaks of 'vitrea bilis,' 3. 8.

142. pauper argenti positi intus: the gen. as in 'pauperrimus bonorum,' Sat. 1. 1. 79, 'dives rerum,' Epp. 2. 2. 31: the words 'positi intus,' 'though there was store of it in his house,' turn it into an oxymoron = 'magnas inter opes inops,' Od. 3. 16. 28. The name 'Opimius' although it is found in Lucilius, and though it is a familiar Roman name, is evidently used here in consciousness of its etymological meaning, forming an oxymoron with 'pauper,' as 'immitis Glycerae' in Od. 1. 33. 2, &c.

143. Veientanum, a poor wine; in Pers. S. 5. 147 'Veientanum rubellum,' and Mart. 1. 104. 9.

144. Campana: Sat. 1. 6. 118, of Horace's own dinner-service, 'Campana supellex.'

trulla (dim. of 'trua'), a small dipping-ladle usually of silver, or gold. Martial (9. 97. 1) talks of stealing a 'trulla' as we of stealing spoons.

vappam: Sat. 1. 5. 16; 'spoiled wine'; described by Plin. N. H. 14. 25. 20 'vitium musto quibusdam in locis iterum sponte fervere: qua calamitate deperit sapor, vappaeque accipit nomen.'

145. lethargo: see above on v. 30.

147. multum celer: see on Sat. 1. 3. 57 'multum demissus.' 'Celer,' of readiness of resource.

150. illud, of what follows. Sat. 2. 5. 70.

151. avidus heres: Od. 4. 7. 19.

152. vigila, 'keep yourself awake.'

hoc age, 'give all your attention.' Epp. 1. 6. 31, 1. 18. 88. It is the Roman sacrificial formula; cp. Lucr. 1. 41 (Munro's note), 4. 969.

153. inopem, 'for lack of support.'

venae. Celsus uses the phrase 'venae conciderunt' for 'the pulse is lowered.' Seneca, probably from this passage, writes 'vino fulcire venas cadentis,' Epist. 95. 22.

154. ingens. The doctor represents the support required as something exceptional and enormous, in order to persuade the patient to face the extravagance of a basin of rice gruel.

fultura. The metaphor from a house in danger of collapsing; cp. Lucret. 2. 1140 'fulcire cibus,' 4. 867 'Propterea capitur cibus ut suffulciat artus,' and Seneca as quoted in the last note.

155. tisanarium, *ππισανάριον*, a dimin., the correl. of 'ingens.'

BOOK II, SATIRE III, 141-176

156. *emptae*: sc. 'oryzae,' continuing the construction. 'What did the rice cost?' The 'tisanarium' could be made at home.

158. Stertinius is preparing to pass to those suffering 'ambitione mala' (v. 78), but he first insists again that there are different forms of 'stultitia,' but that all 'stulti' are also mad. On the arguments by short questions see on v. 97.

160. *continuo*, 'then and there.'

161. *cardiacus*: Juv. S. 5. 32; suffering from a complaint of the stomach; see above on v. 28.

Craterum: another name from Cicero's letters; he is the physician whom Atticus consults, Cic. ad Att. 12. 13. 1. 12. 14. 4. To Persius (from Horace) it has become the conventional name for a doctor, 3. 65.

162. *recte est*? 'is he well?' So in Cic. ad Att. 14. 16.

163. With the substitution of 'si' for 'quod,' and the indic. for the subj., this verse occurs again in Epp. 1. 6. 28.

latus: Sat. 1. 9. 32.

temptentur: Od. 1. 16. 23. The subj. because the reason is given as from Craterus' mouth.

165. *porcum Laribus*. As a thanksgiving for his immunity from these vices.

audax, 'reckless.' The argument is narrowing to the 'ambitiosus,' but it has not yet completely done so. He is viewed here and for some time to come as in a way the opposite ('dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt') of the 'avarus,' the man who, instead of hoarding his money, flings it away recklessly on the objects of ambition.

166. *naviget Antioyram*, 'let him sail for Anticyra,' i.e. to be treated with hellebore; cp. vv. 82, 83.

168. *Canusi*: see Sat. 1. 5. 91, 1. 10. 30. We are in Horace's own neighbourhood in Apulia. Cp. Ofellus in the last Satire.

169. *antiquo censu*, 'as property was reckoned in old days.'

divisse. For the form see on Sat. 1. 5. 79.

171. *talos nuceaeque*, a boy's playthings. So Suetonius speaking of Augustus 'animi laxandi causa . . . modo talis . . . nucibusque ludabat cum pueris minutis'; 'nucibus relictis,' Pers. S. 1. 10. For 'tali' see on Od. 1. 4. 18.

172. *ludere*, sub. 'iis,' 'to play with them,' that is, to gamble, the winner taking the loser's, as Bentley shows; he wished to read 'perdere,' but 'ludere' gives the same sense.

173. *tristem*, 'sour.'

174. *vesania discors*, 'two different kinds of madness.' It may be noticed that Horace exhausts in this Satire the designations of madness, 'insanus,' 'demens,' 'amens,' 'delirus,' 'furiosus,' 'commotus,' 'cerritus,' 'desipere.'

175. *Nomentanum*. The Lucilian name for a spendthrift; see on Sat. 1. 1. 102, and in this Satire v. 224.

Cloutam: above v. 69.

176. *divos Penatis*: Epp. 1. 7. 94.

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178. *coerces*, 'what nature limits' means what does not exceed the requirements of nature; the needs of luxury are artificial. Cp. Sat. 1. 1. 49 'intra Naturae finis viventi.'

179. *titillet*: a word of Lucretius (2. 429) and Cicero (de Fin. 1. 11. 39).

180. *aedilis . . . praetor*. Ritter points out that the two offices named are those which entailed the expense of 'munera,' the charge of the public 'ludi.' Stertinius is still connecting ambition with extravagance.

fuertive: see above on v. 130.

181. *intestabilis et sacer*, 'outlawed and accursed.' Two distinct legal expressions put together to indicate the extreme of disgrace: the first signifying incapability of giving witness in court or bequeathing property; the second the position of a man who has violated a 'lex sacrata,' and thereby forfeited all rights of life and goods to the divine powers offended. Palmer notices that 'is . . . esto' is meant to be the formula of the oath imposed, and quotes appositely Plaut. Mil. G. 5. 21-24 'Py. Iuro per Iovem et Mavortem me nociturum nemini. Pl. Quid si non faxis? Py. Vt vivam semper intestabilis.'

182. *cicere . . . faba . . . lupinis*, different kinds of pulse. 'Cicer' occurs in Horace's own fare, Sat. 1. 6. 115, and as the fare of the humbler part of an audience in a Roman theatre in A. P. 249. These are supposed to be thrown to the populace to be scrambled for, as at the Floralia in Pers. S. 5. 177 'cicer ingere large Rixanti populo.' They are not mentioned as a type of the largest expenditure on such objects, but of the smaller acts of largesse, which are yet enough to ruin those who with small fortunes try to rival the great and wealthy in the race of bribery.

tu. Either of the sons; the contrast is not now between the two, but between either of them and Agrippa, see on v. 185.

183. *latus spatiers*: for the literal sense cp. Epod. 4. 8 'cum bis trium ulnarum toga,' with note thereon. Bentley quotes passages to show that it had acquired also a metaphorical sense of walking proudly, with an air and ostentation, as Sen. Epist. 76 of actors, 'lati (there is a v. l. 'elati') incesserunt et cothurnati,' &c.

in Circo. The aedile might take a turn in the circus to be recognized and complimented on his liberality.

aeneus stes, 'have a statue of bronze'; cp. 'levi de marmore tota . . . stabis,' Virg. E. 7. 31, and see on Od. 4. 1. 20 'ponet marmoream,' Epp. 2. 1. 265 'proponi cereus.' So frequently χαλκούσιν τινά ἱστάναι, as Demosth. Lept. 493.

184. *insane*, the keynote of the Satire; but, as with 'vesania,' in v. 174, the point is the natural way in which the charge comes from the lips of Oppidius.

185. *Agrippa*: see introd. to Ode 1. 6. He was Aedile in B.C. 33, and discharged the office with great magnificence, Dion Cass. 49. 43, Plin. N. H. 36. 24. 15. This allusion gives us a date before which the Satire could not have been written.

BOOK II, SATIRE III, 178-194

186. 'Quia quod leo viribus hoc vulpes astutia agit' Acr. No fable is found to which this is a definite reference, but Horace frequently uses in a proverbial way the raw material of fables.

187-223. Ambition as leading to other crimes. The instance taken is that of Agamemnon sacrificing Iphigenia to effect his political purpose (N.B. that this is a scene vividly drawn, though used for another purpose, in Lucretius 1). The bearing of the act is exhibited in a supposed dialogue between Agamemnon and an unknown speaker, who expresses the views of the Stoic Stertinius. The idea of this is suggested no doubt by some Greek dramatic scene, as that in the Ajax of Sophocles, in which Menelaus forbids Teucer to bury his brother Ajax (see note on v. 204). The unnamed interlocutor pleads the cause of Ajax by showing that though he was admittedly mad in slaughtering the cattle, Agamemnon was at least as mad in sacrificing his daughter. The dialogue ends at 207. In the remaining lines the lesson is drawn, and, though Stertinius seems still to be addressing Agamemnon, the application shows more visibly through the allegory.

187. *ne quis humasse velit*, an old legal formula; for the perf. inf. see on Od. 3. 4. 51. For the quantity of the last syll. of 'velit' see on Sat. 1. 4. 82. The position of 'cur' 'you forbid—why?'—emphasizes the question. So again Sat. 2. 7. 104.

188. Agamemnon seems at first curtly to refuse discussion. The Stoic ironically bows acquiescence. The king goes on to finish his sentence, and explains that he bases his act on reason as well as will, and that he is prepared to argue the question. The Stoic is delighted, but hardly able to believe that a king means to listen to reason.

et joins the clause to *rex sum*, not to the following *ac*.

191. An echo of Hom. Il. 1. 18 ὅμιν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν . . . | ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὐ δ' οἰκὰδ' ἰκέσθαι.

reducere (or 'reducere') is the reading of all the best MSS. It is found with the first syllable long four times in Lucretius.

192. *consulere* . . . *licebit*? the formula with which the consultation of a 'iurisconsultus' was opened (Cic. Mur. 13. 28); as 'respondere' is for the counsel's advice. Part of the humour consists in the burlesque mingling of technicalities of Roman life with Homeric echoes. It is doubted whether both verbs are meant to belong to the Stoic, 'to put questions and presently to assume the counsel myself and advise you,' or the second to Agamemnon, 'shall we be allowed to have a regular consultation, I asking and you replying?' 'Mox' has most force in the first way. Cp. also Sat. 1. 9. 63 'rogat et respondet.'

193. *ab Achille secundus*, 'second to Achilles' as Virg. E. 5. 49 'alter ab illo.' The rank of Ajax is from Hom. Il. 2. 768 ἀνδρῶν αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, | ὅφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μῆνιν ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν. Cp. Soph. Aj. 1339.

194. *putesset*, a coarse word, but probably due to the Homeric πύθεται (as Il. 11. 395, Od. 1. 162).

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195. *gaudeat ut*, 'to the joy of,' of a result so evident that it seems like a purpose. The line is a transl. of Hom. *Il.* 1. 255 (though of a different matter) *ἢ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίamos Πριάμοιο τε παῖδες*.

197, 198. The answer of Agamemnon.

197. *mille ovium*. Horace in every other place prefers the constr. of 'mille' (in the sing.) as an adjective. Cicero has both constructions.

insanus. The word falls first from Agamemnon's own lips, and so leads to the retort which gives the whole story its relevance.

199. *pro vitula natam*. Notice how their acts are paralleled. Ajax mistook the sheep for his comrades. Agamemnon treats his daughter as an heifer.

200. *mola salsa*, the salted grains of spelt strewed on a victim before it was sacrificed. Cp. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 133 '*salsae fruges*.' It is a question whether (as the poets assume) the Roman practice of using salt was also a Greek one.

201. *rectum animi* = 'rectum animum.' Heindorf quotes Ennius in Cic. *de Sen.* 6. 16 '*mentes rectae quae stare solebant*,' opp. to '*dementes*.' Cp. the use of *ῥηθός*, and the phrase '*stas animo*' below, v. 213.

quorsum? The Scholiasts had this reading (unless Porph. had 'quorum'), for they are puzzled by it, and give various explanations. If it is to stand the explanation of the Comm. Cruq. seems the best '*sc. tendis? quid vis? loquitur Agamemnon*'; so, at fuller length, in Sat. 2. 7. 21 '*Non dices hodie quorsum haec tam putida tendant?*' No exact parallel is found for the abbreviation. There is an ingenious emendation of Bothe's, '*Rectum animi servas cursum?*'

insanus; 'the madman, as you call him.'

quid fecit cum stravit, 'what did his crime come to when he butchered the sheep?' For the indic. perf. in this use see Dräger, *Hist. Syntax*, vol. 2, p. 557.

202. *abstinuit vim uxore*: Ov. *Met.* 8. 751 '*ferrum Triopaeus illa Abstinuit*.'

203. *uxore et gnato*. Tecmessa and Eurysaces.

204. *non ille*: cp. '*ille non*,' &c. Od. 4. 6. 13, *οὐκ ἐκεῖνός γε*.

Teucrum. In the Ajax of Sophocles Teucer is absent, and does not return until after his brother's death. Horace is either forgetful of this, or is following throughout some other drama on the subject.

ipsum Vlixen, even Ulysses his mortal enemy.

205. *adverso*, 'the facing shore, i.e. the shore that faced the enemy—the Greek shore.'

206. *prudens*: i.e. quite knowing what I was about. It is an answer to the charge of madness. Cp. v. 89.

207. *nempe*. For this use of 'nempe,' where a speaker ironically completes the sentence of another, cp. *Epp.* 1. 16. 75 n.

208. Bentley's description of this line perhaps still holds good, '*locus lubricus, quem nullus interpretum non attigit, nullus dubium*'

adhuc et incertum non reliquit.' With the exception of *g*, which reads 'veris scelerisque,' all the best MSS. have 'veri scelerisque,' or with a wrong division 'veris celerisque.' With the reading 'veri' the simplest explanation, if it can stand, is that given by Heindorf, who makes 'veri scelerisque' gen. after 'species,' and 'alias veri scelerisque' = 'alias veri, alias sceleris' (no complete parallel for this is quoted), 'differing ideas, now of right, now of wrong, mixed up in confusion.' 'Species' are 'ideas,' but with the metaphor of sight not yet lost, 'images,' 'visions' (cp. A. P. 25 'decipimur specie recti'); 'veri' is used for 'moral right,' as in Epp. 1. 12. 23; cp. v. 312 of this Satire. Mewes and Kiessling give 'veris,' the construction then being 'species alias veris,' 'ideas at variance with truth,' the abl. after 'alias,' as 'alium sapiente bonoque' Epp. 1. 16. 20. For 'tumultu,' whether taken by itself or (as with this last reading) with 'sceleris,' compare Od. 2. 16. 10 'miseros tumultus mentis.' In any case the general meaning is that a confusion of moral ideas, however caused, is a sign of madness. This is most pointedly expressed (if the Latin will bear the sense) by the reading which makes 'veri scelerisque' answer to one another. It is not the falsity of Agamemnon's ideas, but the confusion in them of good ends and bad means, which is stigmatized.

209. **commotus**, as below, v. 278. Pliny has 'mentes commotas,' N. H. 36. 40. 21, 'upset,' 'unhinged.' Cp. the use of 'concussa' below, v. 295.

210. **nihilum**, adverbially, as above, v. 54.

211. **desipit**, 'has lost his wits.' For the position of this word see on Sat. 2. 1. 60 'Quisquis erit vitae, scribam, color.'

212. **prudens**: Agamemnon's own word, v. 206.

ob titulos inanis. For 'titulos' cp. Od. 4. 14. 4, honorary inscriptions on monuments, &c. For the use of Roman phrases of Agamemnon see on v. 192; but in these last lines it is more continuous, and indicates that the allegory is being lost in the application.

213. **vitio**, in its more general sense, 'flaw.'

tumidum: cp. Epp. 1. 1. 36 'Laudis amore tumes.'

cor: the seat here both of intelligence (as in Lucret. 4. 53 'hebeti cognoscere corde') and of passion. Horace recalls, though he does not use, the word 'vecordia,' of madness.

216. **Rufam aut Posillam**, as Bentley notices, common female names (so found in inscriptions), not pet names. The madman is supposed to treat a lamb as a girl, just as Agamemnon had treated a girl as a lamb.

217. **interdicto**. Horace alludes in Epp. 1. 1. 102 ('Nec medici credis nec curatoris egere A praetore dati') to the same legal process of depriving an insane person by the Praetor's 'interdictum' of the control of his property, and putting him under the guardianship ('tutela' or 'curatio') of relations.

220. **integer animi**: see above, v. 65 'integer mentis.'

ne dixeris, 'Do not say so.' With these words Agamemnon is

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finally dismissed, and the general conclusion of his story is drawn, 'Ergo,' &c. For the quantity of 'dixeris' see on Sat. 2. 2. 74.

220. **prava**: which makes a man go wrong.

220-223. Not three types or grades of madness, but three modes of describing such acts as those of Agamemnon (and, it is suggested, of all men of ambition). From each point of view the sentence of madness in the highest degree is affixed to them. The climax is attained by putting last the motive, the desire for fame, as in itself, apart from acts, the proof and result of frenzy.

222. **vitrea**. The key to the epithet is perhaps to be found in a verse quoted among the so-called 'sententiae' of Publius Syrus, 'Fortuna vitrea est: tum cum splendet, frangitur.' It then covers both the explanations that the Scholiast gives as alternatives, 'aut fragilis aut splendida.'

223. **circumtonuit**: cp. 'attonitae Baccho matres' Virg. Aen. 7. 580. For the worship of Bellona and the frenzy inspired by it see Mayor's note on Juv. S. 4. 123 'ut fanaticus oestro Percussus, Bellona, tuo,' which explains 'gaudens cruentis.' Her votaries gashed themselves, like the priests of Baal ('quos sectis Bellona lacertis Saeva movet,' Lucan. I. 565). 'The votary of fame has caught a frenzy which, like that of Bellona, leads to cruel and bloody acts.' It should be remembered that this picture of ambition is drawn by one who had lived through the proscriptions and other horrors of the civil wars. For a somewhat similar comparison of the effects of passion and of the frenzy of inspiration cp. Od. I. 16. 5-9.

224-280. Stertinius proceeds to arraign as madmen the extravagant; the description narrowing itself presently to one special form and cause of extravagance, viz. 'meretricum amores.'

arripe: see on Sat. 2. I. 69.

225. **vincet ratio**: Sat. I. 3. 115 (with 'ut' and subj.), see note there. Cp. 'evincet' below, v. 250.

stultos, closely with 'insanire'; spendthrifts come under the class of 'stulti,' and therefore are mad.

226. **hic**: not necessarily Nomentanus, which, as we have seen (on v. 175), is a conventional name, but δεικτικῶς, a specimen of the class.

simul = 'simul ac,' Od. I. 12. 27, 3. 4. 37.

227. **edicit**, issues his notices, in lordly style; an official word belonging to consuls, praetors, tribunes. Cp. Sat. 2. 2. 51, Epp. I. 19. 10.

piscator, auceps, 'dealers in fish and game'; but, as it seems from v. 234, the procurers of such things also. The requirements are all for a banquet.

228. **Tusci vici**, a street leading from the Forum Romanum into the Velabrum. It was a street of shops, and of bad repute. It was afterwards called the 'vicus Turarius,' and is very probably the street 'vendentem tus et odores,' &c., of Epp. 2. I. 269. Cp. also Epp. I. 20. I n.

BOOK II, SATIRE III, 220-243

229. **fartor** : variously explained as 'poulterer,' 'sausage seller,' or 'professional cook.' The last, which is given by the Pseudo-Acron, would suit the position of the word best. If he were concerned with the purveying of the provisions, we do not see why he should come by himself after the 'scurrae.'

Velabro, in the low ground between the Capitoline, the Palatine, and the river. Plautus, *Curc.* 4. 1. 22, describes its trades, 'In Velabro vel pistorem, vel lanium, vel aruspicem.' The Comm. Cruq. says 'In Velabro prostabant omnia quae ad victus rationem et delicias pertinebant.'

macellum. Ter. *Eun.* 2. 2. 24 'ad macellum ubi adventamus, Concurrunt laeti mi obviam cupedinarii omnes; Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores, aucupes, Quibus et re salva et perdita profueram et prosum saepe.'

230. **venere frequentes** : the antithesis is 'they came in numbers, one was the spokesman.'

233. **aequus**, 'just and generous.' The irony is the same as in *Sat.* 1. 2. 4 'quippe benignus erat.'

234. **in nive dormis** : cp. *Od.* 1. 1. 25-28.

Lucana : 'Lucanus aper,' *Sat.* 2. 8. 6.

235. **verris**, with a sweep-net, *σαγήνη*, 'everriculum,' a word used metaphorically by Cicero, who applies it to Verres plundering his province, *Verr.* 2. 4. 24.

236. **tantum**, 'all this fortune.'

237. **decies**, i.e. centena milia sestertiorum, 'a million.'

239. **filii Aesopi**. The story of this mad freak is repeated by Pliny, *N. H.* 9. 59. 35 (at the same time with the story of Cleopatra and the pearl), with the addition that, having swallowed the pearl himself, he provided one each for his guests also. Aesopus is the famous tragic actor, the friend of Cicero; see on *Epp.* 2. 1. 82. Pliny gives the name of the young man as 'Clodius.' Valerius Maximus (9. 1. 2) speaks of him as 'non solum perditae sed etiam furiosae luxuriae.' 'Metella' is not identified, nor is it essential to the story. It is an ingenious conjecture, accepted by many editors, that she was the Caecilia Metella who was divorced by P. Corn. Lentulus Spinther, and with whom Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, intrigued. Palmer suggests that Cicero's 'Filius Aesopi (he notices the verbal coincidence) me excruciat' (*ad Att.* 13. 15. 3) was connected with these intrigues.

240. **solidum** : sc. 'integrum,' Acr. 'decies' (see above, v. 237), being treated as a neut. subst., 'a million entire—at one gulp'; so *Martial* 4. 37. 4 'tricies soldum.'

241. **bacam**, 'a pearl.' The pearl to the Roman jeweller occupied the place of the diamond in modern times.

qui : above on v. 108.

242. **iaceretve** : above on v. 130.

243. Nothing is known of the brothers. They would seem to be sons of the Arrius mentioned above in v. 86.

par, 'a well-matched pair'; see on *Sat.* 1. 7. 19.

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244. **gemellum**: cp. Epp. 1. 10. 3. Cicero has 'geminum in scelere par,' Phil. 11. 1. 2.

245. **lusciniās**. Their proper pleasure is for the ear, as that of the pearl was for the eye, not for the taste. The two stories are parallel not only as cases of insane extravagance, but of extravagance directed by the caprice which delights in contravening natural distinctions.

impenso: in prose 'impenso pretio,' 'at large cost.'

prandere: no distinction is probably intended between the 'prandium' or early meal, and 'cena' the later, as though an extravagant luncheon were worse than an extravagant dinner. Cp. Epp. 1. 17. 13, A. P. 340.

coemptas: Sat. 1. 2. 9.

246. 'Into which class shall they go? Marked with chalk as sane men or with charcoal (as insane)?' See on Od. 1. 36. 10. The expression 'with chalk or charcoal' is of course proverbial; cp. Pers. Sat. 5. 108 'Illa prius creta mox haec carbone notasti?' Some doubt overhangs the reading of 'sani ut,' variants being 'sani aut,' 'sani an,' 'sani.' If it is to be displaced, it should be rather in favour of the last, the reading of some good MSS., than in favour of Bentley's conj. 'sanin,' i.e. 'sanine.'

247-280. He turns to the madness of foolish attachments, connected with the last as another cause of extravagance.

247. **aedificare casas**: the first of a series of childish amusements. It is probably taken up again in 'in pulvere... ludas opus,' v. 251, and therefore means castle-building on the sand, *ὡς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον παῖς ἀγχι θαλάσσης*, | *ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιήσιν*, | *ἀψ' αὐτῆς συνέχευε ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν ἀθύρων* Hom. Il. 15. 362. Had Roman children boxes of bricks?

248. **ludere par impar** = *ἀρτιάζειν*, Arist. Plutus 816. It was played with 'tali' or with coins or counters which could be held in the hand (sometimes walnuts, Nux Eleg. 79), one holding, the other guessing whether the number was odd or even.

equitare in harundine = a recognized child's play. So Plutarch's Apophthegmata Laconica, of Agesilaus (70) *μικροῖς τοῖς παιδίοις κίλαμον περιβεβηκὼς ὥσπερ ἵππον οἴκοι συνέπαιζεν*.

249. **amentia verset**, 'it must be madness turning his head': no one could doubt it.

250. **ratio evincet**: as 'vincet' above, v. 225.

amare, absol. Epp. 2. 1. 171.

251. **utrumne**: inf. v. 317; Sat. 2. 6. 73. So in direct question Epod. 1. 7, where see note.

252. **ludas opus**: referring back chiefly to 'aedificare casas'; 'opus' being specially used of building operations, fortifications, &c. For 'ludere' with accus. for doing things in play cp. Virg. G. 4. 565 'carmina qui lusi.'

254. **Polemon**. The story of the reform of Polemon was a commonplace. It is told, amongst other places, in Lucian, Bis Accus. 16, 17. He heard Xenocrates lecturing as he passed his school,

entered, was changed by what he heard, and eventually succeeded to his chair.

255. *fasciolas*: some kind of stockings.

cubital, a pillow for the elbow to rest on at banquets.

focallia, 'a scarf for the neck.' They are called here 'insignia morbi,' as badges of luxury and extravagance, additions to the ordinary dress which only the effeminate and luxurious would wear. Cp. Quintil. 11. 3. 144 'Palliolum, sicut fascias, quibus crura vestiuntur, et focallia . . . sola excusare potest valetudo.'

256. *oconas*. For he was returning from a revel when the incident occurred.

257. *impransi*: cp. Sat. 2. 2. 7; 'still fasting.'

258 foll. The lover is like a child in his capriciousness, wanting what is refused.

259. *catelle*: a term of endearment. Plaut. Asin. 3. 3. 103 'dice igitur me anaticulam, columbam, vel catellum.'

260-271. Horace is recalling, almost verbally, the scene at the beginning of the Eunuchus of Terence, where Phaedria is debating with Parmeno whether he shall go back to Thais, who has summoned him after excluding him from her presence. Ter. Eun. act 1. sc. 1

'*Ph.* Quid igitur faciam? non eam? ne nunc quidem
Quom arcessor ultro? an potius ita me comparem,
Non perpeti meretricum contumelias?

Par. Here, quae res in se neque consilium neque modum
Habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes.
In amore haec omnia insunt vitia: iniuriae,
Suspiciones, inimicitiae, induciae,
Bellum, pax rursum: incerta haec si tu postules
Ratione certa facere, nilo plus agas,
Quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias.'

Cp. the picture in Epod. 11. Persius imitates Horace in 5. 161 foll.

260. *agit*. For the lengthening of syll. see on Sat. 1. 4. 82.

261. To the place whither, when he was not invited, he was meaning to return.

262. *invisis foribus*: 'ad non amicos heu! mihi postes et heu! Limina dura,' Epod. 11. 21.

nec nunc. The equivalent of Terence's 'ne nunc quidem.' It must therefore be considered as a single instance in Horace of the use of 'nec,' for 'ne . . . quidem,' which became afterwards established. See Madv. on Cic. de Fin. 1. 11. 39, and excurs. iii.

265. *servus*: Parmeno.

268. *tempestatis ritu*. Od. 3. 29. 33 'Cetera fluminis ritu feruntur'; 'as a storm rises and falls again.'

270. *explicit*: 'disentangle,' 'reduce to order.'

272. *quid, cum*: Sat. 2. 1. 62, like 'quid, si,' &c., Epp. 1. 19. 12 'quid, qui,' &c. Epp. 2. 1. 40, with argumentative questions enforcing or refuting what had been said.

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272. *Picenis* is an 'epitheton ornans.' The best apples came from Picenum, Sat. 2. 4. 70.

273. *cameram*, 'the arched roof.' He is describing an amusement of lovers shooting apple-pips from between their thumb and finger at the ceiling, to see whether their love was returned, the omen being favourable when they hit.

For *percussit* see on Sat. 1. 5. 79 and 2. 7. 68 'evasti.'

penes te, 'under your own control,' i.e. 'sane.'

274. *feris*: interpreted by Persius' imitation (i. 35) '*tenero supplantat verba palato*'; 'trip up your lisping words against an old man's palate.' Cp. '*balbutit*' Sat. 1. 3. 48. He is speaking of the baby-talk of lovers. In an old man it is a proof of second childhood.

275-280. Love leads not only to childishness but also sometimes to deeds of violence.

275. *cruorem*, 'blood' = 'deeds of blood.'

adde means, 'suppose them added, what will your judgment then be of my proposition?'

276. *ignem gladio scrutare*. A translation of the Pythagorean proverb *πῦρ μαχαίρα μὴ σκαλεύειν*. It is given, amongst other places, in Diog. Laert. 8. 18, and is explained by *δυνατῶν ὀργὴν καὶ οἰδοῦντα θυμὸν μὴ κινεῖν*. Possibly *μαχαίρα* meant originally a cook's knife; and the saying was equivalent to 'do not make a hot fire hotter.' But, like the other proverbs, it had probably various turns given to it. Horace possibly mistranslates, at any rate gives his own application of it. Cp. his use of *γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἀλλοτριόισιν* in v. 72 of this Satire. Cp. also his reference to another Pythagorean proverb in Sat. 2. 6. 63.

modo, 'just now.'

277. Nothing is known of this story of love, murder, and suicide, but what Horace tells us.

For *cum praecepit* cp. above, v. 61 '*cum edormit*.' For the form of suicide cp. Od. 3. 27. 61 foll., and the story of Sappho's leap.

278. *commotae mentis*: see on v. 209.

280. *ex more*, 'as men so often do.'

cognata vocabula: i.e. '*scelus*' and '*commota mens*' are names which, though not the same, are first cousins to one another—the distinction is without a difference.

281-295. The superstitious. The instances are a freedman who hoped by prayers to escape the universal debt of mortality; and a mother, who, in her anxiety for her boy's recovery from an ague, vows that if he gets well he shall do that which is sure to bring the illness back in a worse form.

281. *circum compita*: see on v. 26. Here the '*compita*' are named as places where there were altars to the '*Lares compitales*.' *siccus*. He had not drunk; the explanation of his folly did not lie there.

282. *lautis manibus*, a ritual propriety. The edd. quote from Il. 6. 266 *χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διὶ λείβειν αἶθρα οἶνον | ἄξομαι*.

BOOK II, SATIRE III, 272-299

283. **quid tam magnum?** He puts what is the essence of the impossibility, the fact that it would be the breach of a universal law, as though it were the convincing proof of its easiness—it is such a small concession.

surpите, for 'surripite'; see on Od. 4. 13. 20 'surpuerat.' So in Virg. Aen. 8. 274 'porgo' for 'porrigo,' and in common use 'surgo' for 'surrigo.'

285. **nisi litigiousus**, 'unless he wished for a law-suit.' For the practice of warranting a slave when sold, and specifying his defects, see Epp. 2. 2. 1-19. The verb 'excipere' is used there (v. 16) as here. The figure is specially applicable here as the person spoken of is a 'libertinus.' 'Were he still a slave, and being sold, his master would,' &c.

286. **vulgus**: i.e. the superstitious, for there are plenty of them.

287. **Chrysippus**. The Stoic's textbook; see above on v. 44, Sat. 1. 3. 127.

Meneni. The 'gens Meneni' must mean lunatics; but why, the Scholiasts knew no more than we.

289. **cubantis**, 'who has been keeping his bed'; see on Sat. 1. 9. 18.

290. **quartana**: an ague whose fits return at intervals of four days.

291. **quo tu indicis ieiunia**. The reference is, as is usual when superstitious observance is in question, to the adoption of Jewish practices. The division of time by weeks, and the naming of the seven days after the sun, moon, and five planets, though not adopted civilly till the time of Theodosius, was known to the Romans at this time, and is the subject of occasional allusion. The 'dies Iovis,' therefore, is our Thursday; but the fast on the fifth day was not a Roman but a Jewish practice, one of the interpolated 'two fastings in the week' of St. Luke 18. 12. Cp. Tibullus 1. 3. 18 'Saturni sacram me tenuisse diem,' where 'Saturni dies' is the Jewish sabbath. On the whole subject see Hare's article on the 'Days of the week' in vol. 1 of the Philological Journal, 1832.

292. **levavit**: for the omission of 'si' see on Sat. 1. 1. 45; 'have lifted him from the brink.' 'In praecipiti' is used for 'in mortal peril' by Celsus the medical writer, 2. 6.

294. **fixum**, 'by planting him.'

295. **quone**. For the redundant 'ne' see on Epod. 1. 7, Sat. 2. 2. 107.

timore deorum, *δεισιδαιμονία*.

296. For **mihi Stertinius** see on Sat. 1. 10. 72.

sapientum octavus: one who deserved to be ranked next to the famous seven sages of Greece.

297. **compellarer**, 'be called names'; Sat. 1. 7. 31.

298. **totidem**, neut. plur., a word for every one of his.

299. **ignoto**, 'of which he knows so little.' The reference is to the fable of the two wallets, 'Peras imposuit Iuppiter nobis duas; Propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit: Alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem,' Phaedr. 4. 10.

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300. **Stoics.** With the last line Damasippus' report of the speech of Stertinius ends, and Horace addressing Damasippus, who has so amply proved his acquaintance with the principles of Stoicism, goes back to the sentence pronounced on him in v. 32 'insanis et tu,' and asks his critic to define the form of madness which he imputes to him.

sic: see on Od. 1. 3. 1; 'as you answer me this question.'

pluris, 'at better profit' than you did before your bankruptcy. Horace forgets or ignores the fact that Damasippus has given up the trade.

303, 304. The reply of Damasippus: 'Of course you do. The strongest evidence does not convince mad people that they are mad.'

Agave, holding in her hands the head of her son Pentheus, whom she has torn to pieces in her Bacchic frenzy, is a picture from the Bacchae of Euripides, a play which attracted Horace; see on Od. 2. 19 *passim*.

303. **manibus.** The more picturesque and forcible reading of V, restored to the text by Bentley as against 'demens.' *Κράτα δ' ἄθλιον | ὅπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτηρ χεροῖν* Eur. Bacch. 1137.

305. **veris,** neut. as 'pravorum' v. 244, 'totidem' v. 298; 'let me give in to truth.'

306. **edissere:** Virg. Aen. 2. 149 'haec edissere vera roganti.'

308. **aedificas:** no doubt, on his Sabine estate.

hoc est, longos imitaris. 'This means, you ape full-grown people, though you are a dwarf'; a figure, but in playful allusion to the fact that he was really 'corporis exigui' Epp. 1. 20. 24. See Augustus' jests on the subject in his letters to the poet in the extracts from the Suetonian life of Horace given in the Introd. to vol. 1.

309. **moduli bipedalis.** Suetonius mentions a dwarf actually 'bipedali minor,' Oct. 43.

310. **corpore maiorem,** 'too big for his body': cp. 'onus corpore parvo maius' Epp. 1. 17. 40, 'maiores pennas nido' Epp. 1. 20. 21.

Turbonis, according to Scholiasts, a gladiator of small size but great courage.

312. **verum,** 'right,' above v. 208; Epp. 1. 1. 11, 1. 7. 98, 1. 12. 23.

te: sc. 'facere.'

313. **tantum,** the reading of V; other MSS. having 'tanto,' an accommodation to the 'tanto' which follows. As Bentley shows, 'tanto,' though right with the comparative, would not be suitable with the positive. 'Tantum' on the other hand is Horatian: cp. Epp. 1. 10. 3 'multum dissimiles,' inf. v. 317 'tantum magna.'

certare, best taken (with Bentley) after **minorem,** as Virgil's 'cantare pares' E. 7. 5, to be added to instances of the inf. after an adj. in vol. 1, App. 2, § 2.

314. The fable of the Frog and the Ox freely retold by Horace. It is to be found Phaedr. 1. 24, Babrius 28.

BOOK II, SATIRE III, 300—SATIRE IV

317. *quantane*: see above on v. 295 ('quone?') and Epod. I. 7.

fuisset: the questions of the mother frog are indirect, the answers of the young frog direct.

318. *maior dimidio*, 'half as big again.' Bentley felt strongly the impropriety of the answer, and proposed, though hesitatingly, '*pernimio*.' To others the incapacity of the young frog to measure size will seem part of the picture.

320. *abludit, ἀπαξ λεί.*

321. *oleum adde camino*: 'to throw oil on the fire' is a proverb in all languages for to make bad worse.

322. *quae si quis sanus fecit*. Poetry has always been attributed to *μανία*. Cp. A. P. 296.

323. *horrendam rabiem*: a playful exaggeration of what he attributes to himself in Epp. I. 20. 25 '*Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem*.'

cultum: Sat. 2. 2. 66; style of living.

324. *maiores censu*, greater than your property warrants.

teneas tuis te, 'keep to your own business,' 'leave me alone': perhaps a reference to Damasippus' confession v. 19 '*aliena negotia curo*.'

326. *maior . . . insane*. Düntzer points out the way in which '*insane*' comes *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* to spoil what had seemed to be a compliment and a surrender.

SATIRE IV

CATIUS: OR THE ART OF DINING

HORACE meets Catus hurrying home to arrange his notes of a gastronomical lecture which he has just heard. When pressed to name the lecturer he makes a mystery of it, but he gives the heads of the lecture (1-10).

It comprised hints on choosing eggs (11-14), cabbage (15, 16), on dressing a fowl hastily so as to be tender (17-20), on choosing mushrooms (20, 21), on the wholesomeness of certain articles of diet (21-29), the season and locality of various shellfish (30-34), the importance of studying sauces (35-39), subtle points with respect to the condition and age of various animals, fish, and birds (40-46), the error of concentrating attention on one thing in a banquet and forgetting others equally important (47-50), the treatment of different wines (51-57), and the way to keep a drinker in taste for his wine (58-62), the composition of the 'simple' and 'double' sauce (63-69), the choice of apples and grapes for dessert (70-72), the garnishing of the table (73-75), size of dishes, tricks of slaves, importance of cleanliness in arrangements (76-87).

THE SATIRES OF HORACE

The Satire ends with Horace's expressions of admiration and earnest entreaty to be taken where such lore and secrets of happiness were to be learnt (88-end).

Who was Catius, and what is his relation to the gastronomic lecture of which he is the mouthpiece? It can hardly be a name which carried no associations, for the drama would lack point.

1. The Scholiasts give us a complete answer and one which meets fairly the conditions. They say (1) that Catius was an Epicurean who had written a treatise '*de Rerum Natura et de summo bono*'; (2) that in this Satire Horace is playing with the Epicureans as in the last he played with the Stoics.

It is a striking confirmation of this statement that (as they do not say) a Catius is named in one of Cicero's letters (ad Fam. 15. 16). He is rallying Cassius on his Epicurean tenets, and quotes jestingly a use of the term 'spectra' by 'Catius Insuber Epicureus qui nuper est mortuus.' If this is the person meant the dramatic framework of this Satire will turn, as does that of the first and of the third Satire in this book, on a character from Cicero's Epistles.

Some such play as the Scholiasts suggest suits well enough with Horace's attitude towards rival philosophies, with his principle of placing his poems (whether Satires, Epistles, or Odes) as companion or contrasted pictures, and possibly with hints in the Satire itself¹. We need not make this relation between Catius and the discourse on cookery very close. Horace's primary purpose was probably to laugh at people who made gastronomy into a science and professed to know better than their neighbours how to cook a chicken or arrange a dinner-table (cp. the play of Sat. 2. 8). It occurred to him to give a further point to the Satire by its framing and placing, much as he gives a point to the idyllic praises of country life in Epod. 2 by putting them into the mouth of the 'fenerator Alfius.' He chooses for the purpose an Epicurean of the last generation, known to him chiefly, perhaps only, as having been laughed at by Cicero.

2. Both Acr. and the Comm. Cruq., though giving the theory just stated at the beginning of the Satire, and referring to it again on v. 88, have a note on v. 47, which, unless it is corrupt, must belong to a rival tradition as to the person of Catius and the point of the

¹ Whatever hints of play there are seem to point in this direction. Catius in v. 3 speaks of the lecture as a philosophy: that he does not name Epicurus may be dramatic. Horace in v. 95 welcomes the teaching as an art of living, not only of dining, '*vitae praecepta beatae*,' and parodies the famous words of Lucretius, as though to suggest that it is a new '*De Rerum Natura*,' that we have been listening to. Add the reference to the attitude of the '*sapiens*' in the presence of these problems (v. 44), the criticism of a previous teacher (v. 24), the affectation of such terms as '*praecepta*,' '*quaesita*,' '*ingenium*,' '*natura*,' '*ratio*.'

BOOK II, SATIRE IV, 1-9

Satire. In its fullest form it runs 'Irridet eum quod de opere pistorio in suo libro scribit de se ipso: Haec primus invenit et cognovit Catius Miltiades.' Nothing else is known of such a work or person.

3. A third view was suggested by Manso, and is advocated warmly by Palmer. It is that Catius is a pseudonym intended thinly to veil the name of C. Matius, the correspondent of Cicero (see especially ad Fam. 11. 27 and 28), and the friend of Julius Caesar and of Augustus. Columella tells us that he wrote a book on the art of cookery, divided into three parts, which were called severally *Coquus*, *Cetarius*, *Salgamarius*. Pliny speaks of his having given his name to an apple (N. H. 15. 14).

In any case the humour of the Satire probably consisted mainly in the mixture of truisms and paradoxes on the subject, and in the introduction of authority in a matter where each man should be allowed his own taste. Orelli well compares Sat. 2. 2. 51 'Si quis nunc mergos suavis edixerit assos Parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus.'

Notice also that the topics follow the usual course of a Roman supper 'ab ovo usque ad mala' (Sat. 1. 3. 6).

1. **Vnde et quo**: more fully in Sat. 1. 9. 62 'unde venis et quo tendis?'

non est tempus: i.e. I have no time to stop and talk to you, for I am in a hurry (*aventi*), &c.

2. **ponere signa**, a doubtful phrase, possibly only = Cicero's 'consignare litteris,' 'to put into writing'; but also explained with some probability of the symbols of some 'memoria technica,' such as is described in Cic. de Orat. 2. 86-88. 351 f. This suits well with the assurance expressed in vv. 6, 7, that Catius' memory is excellent, both natural and *artificial*.

vincent: the new philosopher will drive the old masters from the field.

3. **Anyti reum**. Socrates was accused by Meletus, Lycon, and Anytus.

4. **cum**, 'since,' 'in that.'

laevo: contrast Sat. 2. 1. 18 'dextro tempore'; 'tempore laevo' explains 'sic,' or we may take 'sic laevo' together, as 'sic raro,' Sat. 2. 3. 1.

6. **repetes**, 'you will recover it.'

7. **hoo**, the power of remembering.

artia, of the art of mnemonics; see on v. 2.

8. Catius is mollified by the compliment, and enters into the thought. 'Aye, that is what I was thinking of, how to keep in my mind every single word, for indeed they were nice points, and handled throughout in nice style.'

9. **utpote**: Sat. 1. 4. 24, 1. 5. 94, A. P. 206.

tenuis, λεπτός, opp. to what is coarse and common; see on Od. 2. 16. 38.

THE SATIRES OF HORACE

10. **ede**: Sat. 2. 5. 61. The word is used of oracles, of persons who speak with authority, &c.

simul et, a common combination in prose; 'at the same time also.' 'Romanus[ne sit] an hospes.'

11. **canam**, answers 'ede'; of oracular utterance, Sat. 1. 9. 30.

oelabitur auctor: a part of the play, but beyond our guessing.

12. **ovis**: see on Sat. 1. 3. 6 'ab ovo usque ad mala.' The eggs come first in the lecture, as first served in the feast.

13. **sui**, 'flavour,' as explained by Plin. N. H. 10. 74. 52 'quae oblonga sint ova gratioris saporis putat Horatius Flaccus.'

alba: the epithet probably refers to the white as it looks when cooked—it is whiter.

14. **ponere**, 'to serve'; see on Sat. 2. 2. 23.

namque: it is implied that an egg which would hatch a cock-bird is fuller flavoured. Columella (8. 5. 11) and Pliny (l. c.) agree with Horace that the longer eggs produce the cocks, the rounder ones hens; Aristotle (Hist. Anim. 6. 2. 2) states the fact the other way.

callosa: either the white is firmer, or, possibly, the skin which encloses the yolk is stronger.

15. **suburbano**: the market-gardens near Rome would be more carefully irrigated, probably more richly manured. Pliny's statement (N. H. 1. 9. 41) coincides, 'humor fimusque si defuere maior saporis gratia est, si abundavere laetior fertilitas.'

16. **elutius**, 'more watery,' 'tasteless.'

horto, i.e. the contents of a garden.

17. **vespertinus hospes**: cp. Epod. 16. 51 'vespertinus . . . ursus,' Sat. 1. 6. 113 'vespertinum forum,' 2. 6. 100 'nocturni sub-repere,' Epp. 1. 6. 20 'vespertinus pete tectum.'

oppresserit, 'have surprised you.'

18. **malum**, adverbially. Cp. 'canet indoctum,' Epp. 2. 2. 9; 'malum responset' 'makes unkind answer,' 'disappoints.' It is not quite the same use as **responsare** without an adv. in Sat. 2. 7. 85 and 103, Epp. 1. 1. 68.

palato, 'the taste,' as below, v. 46.

19. **doctus eris**. The tense corresponds to 'si oppresserit,' 'you will know what to do.'

mixto Falerno. Grammatically rather an absol. than a local abl., to mix Falernian and drown the fowl; the water is taken for granted; 'mersare' probably, as Bentley took it, = 'mersando occidere.'

20. **pratensibus**: as contrasted with those of the woods.

21. **male creditur**: Virg. E. 3. 94 'non bene ripae Creditur.'

23. **ante gravem solem**, 'before the sun is hot on them.'

24. **Aufidius**. It is suggested that this may be the M. Aufidius Turco mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 10. 23. 20) as having made a large fortune by setting the example of fattening peacocks for sale.

miscebat: i.e. in making the 'mulsum' or drink of honey and wine; cp. Sat. 2. 1. 56, 2. 2. 15. With 'forti' cp. the epithets 'severi Falerni' Od. 1. 27. 9, 'ardentis' Od. 2. 11. 19.

BOOK II, SATIRE IV, 10-38

25. **venis**: see note on Od. 2. 2. 14.
26. **leni**: the emphatic word, opp. 'forti' v. 24.
27. **prolueris**: Sat. 1. 5. 16, Virg. Aen. 1. 739 'pleno se proluit auro.'
28. The statements of the lecturer are in accord with the medical doctrines of Celsus, 2. 29 'Alvum movent . . . lapathum . . . coctae, ostrea, pelorides, echini, muscoli, et omnes fere conchulae . . . vinum dulce vel salsum.'
- mitulus**. Schütz points out the force of 'et,' adding the genus, 'the mussel and shell-fish generally.' Cp. Sat. 2. 7. 36 'Mulvius et scurrae,' Mulvius being a 'scurra' himself.
29. **lapathi**, 'herba lapathi prata amantis,' Epod. 2. 57; 'sorrel.'
- Coo**, wine of Cos (Sat. 2. 8. 9, and see on Od. 4. 13. 13). Coan wine, according to Pliny, was much mixed with salt water, and the mixture called Leucocoum, N. H. 14. 10. 8.
30. **lubrica**. The epithet probably refers to their look and to the way they slip over the tongue. The fancy that the shell-fish varied with the phases of the moon is found in Lucilius, fr. inc. 21. 46 'Luna alit ostrea et implet echinos.'
31. **generosae**, of good kinds; used of wine, Epp. 1. 15. 18.
32. The '**murex**' (an edible purple mussel) every one gets from Baiae; the '**peloris**' (or giant mussel) 'is even better, provided it comes from the Lucrine lake.'
33. **Circeis**: the promontory in Latium; cp. Juv. S. 4. 140 'Circeis nata forent an Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu.'
- Miseno**: the promontory which terminates on the north the bay of Naples.
- 35-37. **nec . . . nec**, 'nor . . . nor,' two qualifications to be added to the one named in vv. 31-34. Your shell-fish must come from the right places, and you must not forget that it is of the utmost importance to understand how to flavour and how to dress.
35. **arroget**, the apodosis of a conditional sentence rather than a hortative subjunctive.
36. **exacta**, 'thoroughly studied.' See Conington on Virg. Aen. 4. 475 'tempus secum ipsa modumque Exigit.'
- tenui**, 'subtle,' 'nice,' see on v. 9.
37. **averrere**. The verb describes the indiscriminate purchase, taking whatever there was, at whatever price. Perhaps there is a sense of metaphor from the sweep-net 'gathering of every kind'; see on Sat. 2. 3. 235.
- mensa**, the market-stall on which the fish was exposed.
38. **ignarum**, with the subj. of 'averrere,' 'while ignorant what had better be stewed and what broiled.'
- ius**, the sauce in which the stewed fish was served. The edd. quote from Varro, R. R. 3. 9, the pun 'in ius vocat piscis coquus.'
- quibus est . . . reponet**: to be added to the few cases such as

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Virg. Aen. 6. 614 'ne quaere doceri . . . quae forma viros fortunave mersit,' where the classical poets seem to adopt the ante-classical usage of an indic. in indirect questions; cp. Epp. 1. 7. 39 'Inspice si possum.' See Dräger, *Hist. Syntax* 2. p. 474, *Madv.* § 356, obs. 3.

38. *assis*: see on Sat. 2. 2. 51.

39. *in cubitum se reponet*. Ritter seems first to have urged that these words should express the return to a position of repose. Cp. 'cubito remanete presso,' Od. 1. 27. 8. We are to picture the guests (see Dict. Ant. s.v. 'triclinium') as leaning forward over the table with both arms free in eating, and in the intervals resting on the left elbow. The sentence then must mean 'which when broiled the guest will eat till he is tired, and only then replace himself on his elbow': 'quibus assis' may be taken as an abl. absol., or directly with 'languidus.' The Scholiasts' way of taking it is, 'for which when broiled the tired guest (cp. 'marcens potor' of v. 58) will at once place himself again on his elbow.' They imagine, that is, that he is lying back on the cushion, and that he rouses himself again for the appetizing dish. This is excellent if the picture of his attitudes is right, but this seems doubtful.

40-43. 'As with fish, so with game; think of the place it comes from, and so of the food on which it has fattened—a boar from the oak forests of Umbria, not from the marshes of Laurentum: the roe that has fed in vineyards is at times less good eating.'

41. *vitantis*, after *lances*.

inertem, 'flavourless.'

42. *Laurens*: cp. Virg. Aen. 10. 708 'aper, . . . quem . . . defendit . . . palus Laurentia, silva pastus harundineatas.'

43. *summittit*, 'supplies.'

44. *fecundae*, 'prolific.' The reading of V, rightly defended by Bentley against 'fecundi,' which was an alteration due to the fact that 'lepus' is usually masculine, but in this case the feminine gender is appropriate. The Scholiasts no doubt explain it rightly 'quia dicuntur semper praegnantes esse lepores,' with reference probably to the belief in their superfetation (Pliny N. H. 8. 55). It means therefore a doe hare. For a gastronomical refinement turning on a similar point see Sat. 2. 8. 43: see also 2. 8. 89. The key of the passage lies in vv. 45, 46. It professes to contain original observations 'de natura,' about the physical conditions of shell-fish, boars, roe deer, hares. The lecturer contents himself with suggesting, without proving, that he has in store other observations of the same kind 'de natura aut aetate' of fish and birds. Note also that there is both in v. 43 and 44 an air of mystery affected, of truth only partially revealed.

sapiens, 'the philosopher.' The word is in the spirit of vv. 2, 3; cp. 'ingenium' v. 47.

45. *quae natura*: not absolutely, but in reference to their fitness for table; but the language is as if he were a new Aristotle, 'palatum' coming almost *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, at the end.

BOOK II, SATIRE IV, 38-61

47-50. 'The philosopher must take a large view, not narrow himself to a single corner of his subject.' This is an apology for the apparently miscellaneous character of the precepts; vv. 49, 50 also give a rough summary of the passage to follow, v. 49 referring to vv. 51-62, v. 50 to vv. 63-69.

47. *crustula*, 'pastry'; see on Sat. I. 1. 25.

48. *satis*: sc. 'est.'

consumere, 'to use it all,' 'use it up.'

50. *securus*, with the indirect question. So Od. I. 26. 6, Epp. 2. 1. 176.

51. 'Put your Massic wine in the open air to tone it down. Do not strain it or you will spoil the flavour. Surrentine wine should be mixed with the lees of Falernian, and then cleared with a pigeon's egg.'

53. *odor nervis inimicus*. Cp. Virgil's description of a potent wine 'temptatura pedes,' G. 2. 94. The intoxicating effect is here attributed to the smell.

illa: sc. 'Massica vina.'

55. *Surrentina*, from Surrentum at the south end of the bay of Naples. Pliny names the wine as 'concalescentibus probatum propter tenuitatem,' N. H. 14. 8. 1. It is to be fortified with the hardened sediment of the stronger Falernian. This is a mode of treatment described by Columella (12. 30) 'sumito facem vini boni et panis facito et in sole arefacito . . . postea terito et pondo quadrantem amphoris singulis infricato.'

vafer, 'as a connoisseur.'

57. *quatenus*, 'inasmuch as.' See on Sat. I. 1. 64.

aliena, 'all foreign matter'; the floating particles called 'limum' in v. 56.

58-62. 'If the fault is not in the wine but in the drinker, you must keep him up to the mark with salt and piquant dishes.' He seems to be speaking of the later courses. A salad of 'lactuca,' 'lettuce,' was the traditional end of a Roman supper. Cp. Mart. 13. 14 'Claudere quae cenas lactuca solebat avorum, Dic mihi, cur nostras inchoat illa dapes?' The lecturer takes sides against the old fashion.

58. *marcentem*, 'flagging.'

aquillia, 'prawns.' Sat. 2. 8. 42.

59. *innatat*: i.e. remains undigested; Pliny N. H. 23. 22. 1 'dulce (vinum) stomacho innatat, austerum facilius concoquitur.'

61. *immorsus*, participle = 'vellicatus,' 'excitatus.' Cp. 'qualia lassum Pervellunt stomachum,' Sat. 2. 8. 9. 'It entreats to be freshened by the sharp sting rather of dried ham, rather of sausages.' Lambinus followed a few MSS. in separating the words 'in morsus,' comparing Virgil's 'reficitque in proelia,' Aen. 11. 731; but the only sense that can be put on them is 'to be freshened to a new appetite.' But 'in morsus' would be a strange phrase—Bentley asks 'an stomachus dentis habet?'—and the end in question is not to renew the appetite for eating but for drinking.

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61, 62. 'To a cold salad the stomach would prefer even the coarse dishes of the cookshops, provided they were hot and savoury.'

62. *popinis*: illustrated by Mart. 1. 42. 9, quoted by Bentley, 'Quod fumantia qui tomacla raucus Circumfert tepidis coquus popinis.' 'Popinis' is probably used there of the portable ovens of street-hawkers, and it may be so here. Otherwise the abl. had better be taken as local, 'all that is served hot and hot in the cookshops.'

63-69. The use of oil and other ingredients in the sauce or pickle served with fish. See above v. 50.

63. *est operae pretium*. Perhaps there is a mock heroic reminiscence of Ennius. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 229.

duplicis, either in direct opposition to 'simplex,' but in that case there is some little awkwardness in the sense, as there are more ingredients than two named in the fuller sauce, or (as Bentley) = of two kinds—the 'simplex,' which follows, being one of the two—the 'compound' being described, but not characterized in a single adjective.

65. This line begins the description of the compound sauce: 65 and 66 describe the materials—oil, wine, and brine; 67-69 describe the process and order; 'hoc' is the mixture of the 'merum' and 'muria,' which are to be well mingled ('confusum'), boiled with chopped herbs, sprinkled with saffron, left to cool, and then to have the best oil added. Cp. the account of the 'ius mixtum' in Sat. 2. 8. 45-53.

pingui, rich and sugary.

66. 'Of the kind of which a Byzantine jar has reeked.'

putuit, 'putesco' (see Sat. 2. 3. 194). Byzantium was the centre of the thunny fishery. The 'muria' spoken of seems to have been a preparation of the roe and other parts of the thunny, salted and kept. So 'garum' (Sat. 2. 8. 46) from the 'scomber.' They are analogous to our caviare.

67. *sectis herbis*. Some such herbs as are named in Sat. 2. 8. 51. It is an abl. absol. adding a circumstance to the mixture and the boiling.

68. *Corycio*: from Corycus in Cilicia.

69. *Venafranae*: see on Od. 2. 6. 15.

remisit: Sat. 2. 8. 53.

70. We have got now to the dessert, 'ab ovo usque ad mala' Sat. 1. 3. 6. For the apples of Picenum see Sat. 2. 3. 272, of Tibur cp. Od. 1. 7. 14.

succo, 'flavour,' above v. 13.

71. *Venuola*. Understand 'uva' from the next clause. It is the name of the kind of grape—not apparently local.

convenit ollis, 'suits the preserving jars.'

72-87. The speaker claims for himself the introduction of these smoke-dried Alban grapes at dessert. This suggests some other original devices of his own, for putting within reach of all guests condiments and provocatives of appetite. This again suggests the

importance of attention to the accessories of a banquet—especially cleanliness of table, dinner-service, floor, hangings, &c.

73. **hanc**, after 'circumposuisse,' or rather, some simple verb meaning 'to have served.'

faecem et allec = 'allec, faecula Coa,' Sat. 2. 8. 9 n. The invention seems to be leaving them on the table during the meal.

74. **invenior**, i.e. those who investigate it find that I was the first, &c., as though a history of the art were being written.

piper album cum sale nigro. Horace, or the lecturer, is pleased with the verbal contrast of colour; and the epithets given, being the opposite of what would be generally expected, give the idea of special refinements of taste. White pepper is described by Pliny as the seed at an earlier stage than the black, and as being less pungent (N. H. 12. 14. 7). Black salt seems to refer to the method of its preparation, *ibid.* 31. 40. 7.

75. **inoretum**, from 'incerno,' 'sifted into them.' Notice that all the epithets are directed (1) to make the most of the invention:—it may be a small matter, but there are great refinements in it; (2) to lead to the following remarks on the importance of attending to minute details.

puris (like 'album' and 'nigro'), an epithet for the eye (see on Od. 2. 7. 21), leads specially to what is to be said on scrupulous cleanliness. Cp. Od. 2. 16. 13 n.

catillis, the dim. of 'catinus'; see Sat. 1. 3. 92. It seems to stand here for little salt-cellars.

76. **immane vitium**. A playful exaggeration.

terna. The distributive means 'for each fish.'

macello, where the fish itself was bought, Sat. 2. 3. 229.

77. **angusto vagos**. The verbal antithesis is to express the incongruity. To come more closely, it may be doubted whether 'vagos' describes the look of the fish 'sprawling,' 'all abroad,' on the dish too small for it, or (as though he gave a slightly ludicrous reason) its previous habits, with the sea to roam in, now cooped up where it could not lie at length. Cp. the picture in Sat. 2. 8. 42 'squillas inter murena natantis In patina porrecta.'

79. **dum**: depends on 'unctis,' 'which have become greasy whilst,' &c. Cp. the slave in Sat. 1. 3. 80 'patinam qui tollere iussus Semeos piscis tepidumque ligurrierit ius.'

80. **gravis**, 'offensive.'

veteri: like the epithets in vv. 83, 84 'varios,' 'Tyrias,' to emphasize the inconsistency; an old and valuable mixing-bowl; but left uncleaned.

limus, dried sediment.

81. **scoopis**, from 'scopa,' 'brooms.'

mappis. Here apparently napkins for the waiters. In Sat. 2. 8. 63 and Epp. 1. 5. 22 they are for the guests.

scobe. Mayor on Juv. Sat. 14. 67 shows that the sawdust (some-

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times coloured and perfumed, sometimes of precious material) was strewn on the floor and remained there during the feast.

81. *quantus*, 'how great is it?' i.e. 'is it a large one?'

82. *neglectis*, abl. absol., supply 'est.'

83. *ten . . . radere*. See on Sat. 1. 9. 72 'huncine solem Tam nigrum surrexe mihi!' 2. 8. 67.

lapides varios, the tessellated pavement.

palma, a broom of palm-leaves.

84. *illuta toralia*: Epp. 1. 5. 22 'ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa Corruget naris.' 'Toralia' are of some washing material thrown over or round the permanent covers of richer stuff.

For *vestis*, of the covers of couches, see Sat. 2. 3. 118, 2. 6. 103, 106.

86. *reprehendi*, 'they are complained of'; a short way of saying 'every carelessness about them is complained of.'

88-95. Horace returns to the mystery of v. 11, 'Who can the great teacher be? The best reporter will not make up for him. I must see him and learn the secrets of a happy life.'

89. *perges quocumque*, 'whithersoever it be that you will go,' i.e. to hear some more such lectures.

91. *interpres*, 'being only a reporter.'

94. From Lucretius 1. 927 'iuvat integros accedere fontis Atque haurire,' &c. He makes fun of the culinary lecture by speaking of it as though it were what the Epicurean philosophy was to Lucretius.

SATIRE V

TIRESIAS: OR LEGACY-HUNTING

THIS practice is touched in passing in Epp. 1. 1. 77. It is described in Cicero, Paradox 5. 2 'An eorum servitus dubia est, qui cupiditate peculi nullam conditionem recusant durissimae servitutis? Hereditatis spes quid iniquitatis in serviendo non suscipit? quem nutum locupletis orbi senis non observat? Loquitur ad voluntatem: quidquid denunciatur sit, facit: adsectatur, adsidet, muneratur.' The 'orbitas,' which was the temptation to it, belongs to that disinclination to marriage and its responsibilities which was a marked feature of Roman life. See notes on Od. 4. 7. 19, C. S. 18-20.

The satirical description of the arts of a 'captator' (v. 57) is thrown into the form of a burlesque continuation of the dialogue between Ulysses and the shade of Tiresias in Odys. 11.

It starts with Tiresias' prophecy in v. 114 foll.

ὄψ' ἐκὼς νείαι δλέσας ἀπο πάντας ἐταίρους,
νῆος ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης· δῆεις δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ
ἄνδρας ὑπερφιάλους οἱ τοι βίοντον κατέδουσι.

BOOK II, SATIRE IV, 81—SATIRE V

- Verses 1-3. *Ulysses*.—One more thing, Tiresias; you should tell me how to retrieve my lost fortunes. Why do you laugh?
- 3-5. *Tiresias*.—Is it not enough for a man of your resource that you shall get safe home?
- 5-8. *Ulysses*.—The good part of your prophecy is no doubt true; but so is the bad, and I am to arrive at home stripped of all I have, and find my stores plundered by the suitors. What is a man without substance, even if he be a king or a hero?
- 9-10. *Tiresias*.—It is a simple case, and may be prescribed for simply. What you dread is 'pauperies'; listen, and hear how to become 'dives.'
- 10-17. Make up to some rich old man. If a delicacy is given to you, send it on to him—the best produce of your farm; he must come before the household gods. Whatever his character and antecedents, never refuse to walk with him and give him the place of honour.
- 18-22. *Ulysses*.—The place of honour to Dama! That is to belie all I ever was.
- Tiresias*.—Very well, then you must be content to go without wealth.
- Ulysses*.—I submit; I have borne worse than this—only tell me, prophet, how to amass wealth.
- 23-26. *Tiresias*.—I have told you already. Turn legacy-hunter; don't be easily discouraged if one or another escapes you.
- 27-44. If a case is being heard in the forum, and one party is a rich man without children, ask nothing more—espouse his cause—address him by his praenomen—make him go home and nurse himself, and leave his case in your hands; stick to it through midsummer or midwinter. Your assiduity and energy will attract attention and open the way to other ventures.
- 45-50. Look also for a rich man with one sickly heir. It is really a safer game than with one evidently without heirs.
- 51-55. If you are offered a will to read, refuse it steadily; yet in putting it from you manage to catch a side glance at the second line on the first page; see if your name is there, and alone or with others.
- 55-59. There are many slips. A Coranus will often outwit a Nasica.
58. *Ulysses*.—What can you mean? Are you jesting with me?
- 59-60. *Tiresias*.—Do not laugh at my prophecies. They are as true as all prophecy.
61. *Ulysses*.—Explain.
- 62-69. *Tiresias*.—It is a tale of the days of Aeneas' great descendant. Nasica will give his daughter to Coranus in the hope of a legacy which shall free him from debt. Coranus will hand him his will to read; after much refusal Nasica will take it and find himself disappointed.
- 70-83. My further instructions. If your patron is under the rule of

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some dishonest dependents, make up to them. Humour his own tastes.

84-88. Be warned by the story of the old woman of Thebes, who was determined to slip through her heirs' fingers after her death as she had not done so while alive.

88-91. There are dangers on both sides: too little zeal and too much; loquacity and silence.

91-98. Play the obsequious slave of the stage—watch your patron's needs and whims.

99-106. Do not drop your attentions when he is dead and you find yourself left with a quarter of his property. Gain credit by show of your feeling.

106-109. Make up to one of your coheirs.

109-110. But Proserpine summons me—I must away.

1. **praeter narrata.** As we have seen, it is supposed to be a continuation of the conversation in *Odyss.* 11. So the 'amissas res' in v. 2 refers to the prophecy of v. 114 quoted above.

3. **quid rides?** *Sat.* 1. 1. 69. He sees a smile on Tiresias' face. Tiresias proceeds to explain it.

iam, ἤδη, 'Is this what we have come to?'

doloso, 'to a man of craft.' A trans. of Homer's epithets for Ulysses *πολύτροπος, πολύμητις, κερδαλέόφρων*. Tiresias affects surprise that a man of such resource should show such lack of self-dependence.

5. **nulli quioquam mentite:** perhaps in remembrance of the description of Tiresias as in *Soph. Antig.* 1092 *ἐπιστάμεσθα . . . μή πάπορ' αὐτὸν ψεύδος ἐς πόλιν λακείν*, *Oed. R.* 298 *μάντιν . . . φ | τὰλῆθές ἐμπέφυκεν ἀνθρώπων μόνῳ*.

6. **te vate:** *Epod.* 16. 66; 'according to your prophecy,' i. e. in *Odyss.* 11. 113.

7. **apotheca,** 'storeroom,' and especially the room upstairs, and often connected with the chimney, where wine was stored. See on *Od.* 3. 8, 11, 3. 21. 7, 3. 28. 7 (it is called there 'horreum'). *Cp.* *Cic. Phil.* 2. 27. 67.

8. **villior alga,** a proverbial comparison. *Virg. E.* 7. 42 'proiecta villior alga': *cp. Od.* 3. 17. 10 'alga inutili.'

9. **missis ambagibus:** 'Let us use plainness of speech.' It apologizes for the bluntness of describing what Ulysses dreads as 'pauperies,' and what he seeks as 'ditescere.' These words occupy the emphatic places. 'Pauperies' has in Horace's language almost a technical sense; see on *Od.* 1. 1. 18, *Epp.* 1. 1. 45. The word transfers the question from the heroic age to the age of the poet. The complaint is the very one so dreaded in our Roman society, the prescription may well be the same which it adopts.

10. **turdus,** 'obeso Nil melius turdo,' *Epp.* 1. 15. 41. For the omission of 'sive' before 'turdus' see on *Od.* 1. 3. 16, 1. 6. 19, *Sat.* 2. 8. 16.

BOOK II, SATIRE V, 1-20

11. **privum**, to be taken with **dabitur**, for 'your own peculiar eating.' It is a phrase of Lucilius.

devolet: a humorous adaptation of the verb to the first-named present.

12. **poma**: cp. Epp. I. 1. 78 'sunt qui Frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras.'

13. **honores**: see on Od. I. 17. 16 'ruris honorum,' i. e. fruit, flowers, &c.

14. **ante Larem**, i. e. the Lares Rurales, who guarded the interests of the husbandman, and to whom offerings were made of his produce. See an excellent note by Prof. G. G. Ramsay on Tibullus I. 1. 20. 'Consuetudo fuit ut rerum primitias Laribus ponerent,' Porph.

15. **sine gente**: either because of his origin or because he has become 'capite deminutus.'

16. **fugitivus**, one who has never even obtained, legitimately, his freedom; cp. Sat. I. 5. 66.

17. **exterior**, i. e. as the Schol. explains, 'on the left side,' which is that on which a walker is more defenceless. To take the left side of a companion was called 'latus claudere,' Juv. S. 3. 131, or, as here, 'tegere'; cp. Suet. Claud. 24, where it is used of an act of condescension of Claudius towards his friend Plautius. Eutropius, relating the same incident, uses the phrase 'laevus incederet.' Ovid has the correlative 'interior' in speaking of two men walking together, Fast. 5. 67.

si postulet: not 'ask you to take that position,' but 'ask you to walk abroad with him.' If he asked, it would be assumed that he did so as the superior.

ne recuses: see note on Sat. 2. 3. 88. This is, if the text is sound, an instance of the pres. subj. in prohibition which does not admit, as possibly that does, of being explained away. Those who, on such grounds, are ready to alter texts may perhaps accept the reading of the St. Gall MS. (σ) 'non,' comparing v. 91 of this Satire 'non sileas'; but it seems safer to allow that Horace, who has Plautus and Terence at his finger-tips, returned, at least in this instance, to a freedom habitual with them, as he does in Sat. 2. 4. 38, in the case of the indic. in an indirect question. See also note on v. 89 of this Satire.

18. **utne tegam**: Madv. § 353, obs. It is an analogous construction to the indignant use of the infinitive with a question, as in Sat. 2. 4. 83. Cp. also the exclamatory use of 'ne' ('quine') in Sat. I. 10. 21.

Damae: inf. v. 101; a frequent name with Horace for a slave: Sat. I. 6. 38, 2. 7. 54; cp. Pers. S. 5. 78. It is said to be an abbreviation of 'Demetrius.'

19. **melioribus**: prob. as Palmer suggests, a Homeric echo, κρείσσειν ἴφι μάχεσθαι, Il. 21. 486, &c.

20. **tolerare iubebo**, &c. after Homer's τέταθι δὴ κραδίη' καὶ κῆτερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης, Odys. 20. 18; and so 'fortem' repre-

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sents the Homeric epithets of Ulysses, *τλήμων, ταλασίφρων*, and the like.

22. *ruam*, of making a heap, as in Virg. Aen. 11. 211 'confusa ruebant Ossa focis.'

augur, the Roman equivalent of *μάντις*. See on Od. 1. 2. 32.

25. *praeroso hamo*, 'having bitten the bait off the hook'; having accepted your presents without being induced by them to alter his will.

27. *res certabitur*: cp. Sat. 2. 1. 49 'si quid certes.' The cogn. accus. has become the subject of the verb in the passive.

28. *uter*, the rel. of which 'illius' is the antecedent, 'whichever of the two . . . take his side.'

improbis answers to 'fama priorem,' and so is to be repeated from the following words, 'though he be disreputable, though,' &c.

ultro, 'wantonly,' 'with no case.'

32. *puta*, 'suppose,' 'let us say.' It is parenthetical.

gaudent praenomine. The slave on manumission received a 'praenomen.' To be addressed by it would be a pleasure at once as a sign of familiarity and as sinking the old name with its associations. Cp. Pers. S. 5. 78 'Verterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit Marcus Dama. Papae! Marco spondente recusas Credere tu nummos? Marco sub iudice palles? Marcus dixit, ita est,' &c.

molles, 'sensitive.' Persius 'tenerae auriculae,' 1. 107.

34. *ius anceps*, 'the law with its ambiguities.' Cp. 'vafri iuris,' Sat. 2. 2. 131.

36. *contemptum pauperet*, 'despise you and beggar you.'

cassa nuce, 'a nutshell.' Plautus has 'cassa nux' Ps. 1. 3. 137, 'cassa glans' Rud. 5. 2. 37. Cicero uses 'cassus' (Tusc. 5. 41. 119) as a syn. for 'inanis,' and Virgil (Aen. 2. 85, &c.) constructs it with an abl. We know it in the compound 'incassum.'

37. *locus*, 'an object of mirth,' as 'risus' in Sat. 2. 2. 107.

38. *pelliculam curare*. So 'cutem curare,' Epp. 1. 2. 29, 1. 4. 15. It is a more or less contemptuous expression for 'making oneself comfortable.' Observing the distinction, noted on Epod. 17. 22, between 'pellis' and 'cutis,' as well as the diminutive, we may take the expression here as containing an additional shade of contempt ('his precious hide').

cognitor: in the technical sense, the fully authorized representative of one of the parties to a suit.

39. *seu . . . seu*. The ridiculous description of the heat of summer, 'splitting the poor dumb statues,' is no doubt a parody, probably from the same tasteless poet as the following description of the cold of winter.

40. *pingui tentus omaso*: Epp. 1. 15. 34 'patinas cenabat omasi'; as though the coarseness of taste in his metaphors were connected with coarseness of taste in his feeding.

41. *Furius*: see on Sat. 1. 10. 36. The Scholiasts' note on this

BOOK II, SATIRE V, 20-55

place is 'Furius Vivaculus (Bibaculus) in pragmatia (*πραγματεία*, 'a narrative poem') belli Gallici, Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuat Alpīs'; a line which Quintilian (8. 6. 17) quotes, without naming the author, as an instance of a harsh metaphor.

42. 'Those who see you will notice to one another your zeal for your friend, and you will catch some more rich fools to make your prey.'

cubito tangens, 'nudging.' Pers. S. 4. 34 'est prope te ignotus cubito qui tangat.'

prope, with 'stantem,' 'his next neighbour.'

43. **amiciis aptus**, 'at his friends' disposal.'

44. Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 79 'excipliantque senes quos in vivaria mittant.' It is to be noticed how Horace plays round the metaphor suggested by the habitual phrases 'captare testamenta' (v. 24), 'captator' (v. 57).

45. **validus male**, as 'male sanos' Epp. 1. 19. 3. Notice the antithesis expressing the advantage on both sides, 'a sickly heir,' 'a splendid property.'

46. **sublatus aletur**, 'shall have been born and be being reared.'

47. **caelibis**, the 'locuples sine natis' of v. 28, the obj. gen. after 'obsequium.'

nudet te, 'expose your purpose.' Sat. 2. 8. 74.

48. **officiosus**, 'by the fullness of your attentions.'

secundus heres seems to mean what was legally called 'heres substitutus,' i.e. a person named to receive the inheritance in default of the first-named heir ('institutus').

49. **Orco**: for dat. see on Od. 1. 24. 18.

50. **alea**. It is a hazard, a playing for chances, as contrasted with the simpler process of making up in the first instance to a childless man, but it is a hazard that seldom disappoints.

51. **quicumque**, (as often) = 'whenever any one.'

53. **limis**: sc. 'oculis,' 'by a side glance.'

prima cera, which Juvenal (S. 4. 19) calls 'praecipua cera'; the will is supposed to be written on several waxed tablets.

secundo versu, 'the second line'; the first would contain the testator's name. It is implied that the second would contain the name of the legatee.

55. **plerumque**, 'very often.' See on Sat. 1. 10. 15. 'What is here described will very often happen.'

recoctus scriba ex quinqueviro. A commissioner who has gone into the melting-pot and come out as a clerk. Cicero uses 'quinquevir' as the title of one of the humblest of public officers, Acad. Prior. 2. 44 'neminem consulem praetorem imperatorem, nescio an ne quinquevirum quidem quemquam nisi sapientem.' A commission of five, perhaps the one intended, had charge of the night police. The purpose of the description is not apparent. Possibly, as some editors think, it means that he was a man whose antecedents made it unlikely that he should be taken in. But it

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may be only personal, and beyond our power (as indeed the story is) wholly to unriddle.

56. *corvum hiantem*. The raven in Aesop's fable (Phaedr. 1. 13) opened its mouth, at the fox's flattery to sing, and dropped the cheese. Horace is referring to this fable, but as usually is the case with his reference to fables, to a single point in it.

59. It seems clear that Horace is parodying the ambiguous utterance of an ancient oracle. 'locatur in ambigua responsa,' Schol. The words might mean to Tiresias 'will be (if so I have said) or will not be (if so I have said),' but they would also bear and were meant to bear the safe meaning 'either will be or will not be.'

62. *iuvenis*: Od. 1. 2. 41 n.

alto: Od. 3. 4. 37 n. Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 500 'genus alto a sanguine Teucric.'

63. *demissum*: Virg. G. 3. 35 'demissaeque ab Iove gentis,' Aen. 1. 288.

genus, of a single descendant, as 'Valeri genus,' Sat. 1. 6. 12. Cp. Od. 1. 3. 27, and Virg. Aen. 6. 500, just quoted.

65. *metuentis*: shrinking from as from something to be avoided if possible.

soldum, his debt in full, as Cicero, Rab. Post. 17. 46 'ita bona veneant ut solidum cuique solvatur.' Some edd. imagine the debt to be money borrowed of Coranus, which he hopes to be excused, in return for his daughter; others think of him as generally indebted and hoping for a legacy to put him straight. The story and personages are apparently familiar (notice e.g. the epithet 'procera,' which adds nothing to the scene as an ideal one) and therefore needing no explanation. For his wider circle of readers Horace is content to leave much to the imagination, which will fill in the details variously. For the syncopated form 'soldum' see on Od. 1. 36. 8.

67. *multum*, as Epp. 1. 3. 15 'monitus multumque monendus.'

69. *praeter plorare*, *χωρὶς τοῦ κλαίειν*. It may be doubted whether 'praeter' is used here as a preposition, the infinitive being treated as an accusative in government after it, or rather as an adv. = 'praeterquam'; see Madv. § 172. III. obs. 2.

suisque. Even his daughter has got nothing by the sacrifice.

70. *illud*: Sat. 2. 3. 150 n.

71. *delirum*, 'doting,' as usually in Cicero, 'senex' de Or. 2. 18. 75. 'anus' de Div. 2. 68. 142, Tusc. 1. 21. 48.

temperet, 'rule.'

84. *me sene*. Palmer points out the play by which Tiresias, speaking as a shade, is made to refer back to his old age in the actual way that a living person says 'me puero,' &c. He speaks in character and lays the scene of the story at Thebes. The edd. show that Roman jurisprudence discouraged foolish and malicious instructions as to the testator's sepulture; but this indicates that such instructions were not uncommon. Whether the present story is more than a caricature we cannot pronounce.

BOOK II, SATIRE V, 55-100

improba, ἀναιδής.

87. *scilicet*, explaining her motive in the condition.
si, 'to see if she could.'

89. *neu desis . . . neve abundes*. It is possible to take these as final or interpretative clauses after the previous imperative, but it is simpler to take them independently. See on v. 17 of this Satire.

abundes is used absolutely, but an abl. or gen. of respect can be supplied in sense from '*operae*,' 'be unmeasured and overflowing in your zeal.'

90. *difficilem*: A. P. 173.

morosum: Od. 1. 9. 18 '*morosa canities*,' 'moody.' Cicero couples the two adjectives, *Orat.* 29. 104.

ultra: sc. '*quam ut garrulitatem vites*.'

91. *non sileas*. The form of the advice is softened to a potential; but here, as in the somewhat similar cases with the third person (*Epp.* 1. 18. 72, *Virg. G.* 3. 140, *Aen.* 12. 78; see Wagner's note there, and cp. Dräger, *Hist. Syntax* 1. p. 286), there is a special emphasis on the negative giving it a stronger force of contrast. 'Be cautious, &c., . . . but this does not mean that you would go into the other extreme and be silent.'

Davus comicus: 'the Davus (i.e. the slave) of the comic stage.' So '*comicus*,' *Cic. Rosc. Am.* 16. 47. Davus is the name of Horace's own slave in *Sat.* 2. 7, who is there represented (except during the *Saturnalia*) as '*multum similis metuenti*'; see vv. 1, 2. We do not know of any reference to a special comedy.

92. *capite obstipo*, 'bent head.' *Pers. S.* 3. 80 '*obstipo capite et figentes lumine terram*.'

multum, with '*similis*,' as '*multum dissimiles*,' *Epp.* 1. 10. 3.

93. *grassare*, 'proceed,' 'make your approaches,' as frequently in *Livy*, '*iure non vi grassari*,' 3. 44, &c.

increbruit, 'has freshened.' *Cic. ad Fam.* 7. 20. 3 '*ventus increbrescit*,' *Virg. Aen.* 3. 530 '*crebrescunt aurae*.'

95. *substringe*. It is doubtful whether the expression is *literal*, of the actual attitude of a hearer who is rather deaf or fears to miss a word, holding the ear with his hand below it, or *metaphorical*, 'hold your ear fast,' i.e. do not allow your attention to wander; '*subiunge, patienter audi*,' *Schol.*

96. *importunus amat*, 'is eager in season and out of season.'

ohe. *Pers. S.* 1. 23 '*dicas cute perditus, Ohe!*' The fuller phrase is '*Ohe iam satis est*,' *Sat.* 1. 5. 12. Orelli and others make '*ohe iam!*' the exclamation; but the quotation from *Persius* makes for '*ohe!*' '*Iam*' then qualifies '*dixerit*'; 'till he already shall lift his hands to heaven and cry "hold!"'

98. *utrem*: the more you see the bladder swell, ply the more the bellows of flattery. Cp. a similar metaphor in *Sat.* 1. 4. 19.

100. *certum vigilans*. With the certainty that you are not dreaming. Ovid has the opposite, '*incertum vigilans*,' *Her.* 10. 9.

quartae partis: the technical phrase would be '*ex quadrante*.'

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101. **audieris**, for the long is see on Sat. 2. 2. 74.
ergo: Od. 1. 24. 5.
Dama: so he has called the rich man in v. 18.
102. **nusquam est**. In Greek it would be οὐκέρ' ἔστιν. Cicero, Tusc. 1. 6. 11 (of the dead) 'ubi ergo sunt, quos miseros dicis?' 'Ego vero nusquam esse illos puto.' 'Igitur ne esse quidem.' 'Prorsus isto modo.'
unde tam fortem: for the ellipse cp. Sat. 2. 7. 116 'unde mihi lapidem?'
103. **sparge subinde**: Virg. Aen. 2. 98 'spargere voces in vulgum'; 'let fall from time to time,' such utterances as the two just given.
illaorimare, imperative deponent.
est, ἔξεστι: Epod. 17. 25, Epp. 1. 1. 32.
105. **permissum arbitrio**, 'if it is left to your discretion.'
108. **sit emptor**, 'should he wish to be a purchaser.'
109. **nummo te addicere**, 'that you gladly knock it down to him for a sesterce,' i.e. make it his at a nominal price. Cic. pro Rab. Post. 17. 45 'Ecquis est qui bona C. Rabirii Postumi nummo sestertio sibi addici velit?'
110. **imperiosa, ἐπαινή Περσεφόρεα**. 'Saeva,' Od. 1. 28. 20. It is Persephone who sends and withdraws the shades that visit Ulysses in Odys. 11. vv. 47, 213, 226, 385, &c.
vive valeque, a Roman farewell; Epp. 1. 6. 67.

SATIRE VI

THE MOUNTAIN HOME: OR COUNTRY AND TOWN

- Verses 1-5. IN my Sabine farm I have got just what I longed for; and more than that, I have nothing more to ask for.
6-15. My prayers are the acceptable prayers of honesty, soberness, and contentment.
16-19. Here then is the first theme for my satiric muse, my happy mountain home, and the contrast with the vexations and dangers of the city.
20-26. Janus, god of the morning as of all beginnings, let us record a day in Rome from its beginning. First you summon me in hot haste, in any weather, to give surety for a friend.
27-31. When that dangerous business is over, I have to fight my way through the streets. 'What are you about,' cries angrily one whom I have jostled, 'in such a hurry to keep an engagement again with Maecenas?'
32-39. Aye, *there* is the sweetening of town life to me, but I cannot even go to Maecenas' house in peace. As I get near it one waylays me to remind me that Roscius claims my attendance

BOOK II, SATIRE V, 101—SATIRE VI, 7

in the Forum to-morrow. Another that the clerks want me to-day. Another desires Maecenas' signature and I must get it for him. If I promise to do my best, he thinks I am putting him off.

- 40-49. That is the way with my friendship for Maecenas. All these (nearly) eight years it has been misunderstood, the object of remark and of envy.
- 50-58. I am catechized about state secrets, and thought a wonderful man for not revealing what I do not know.
- 59-76. So a day is wasted in Rome. What wonder if I sigh for the country, for my books, my siesta, my simple supper, amongst friends and home-bred slaves, no ceremony, no gossip, but talk on things of moment, the nature of happiness, the grounds of friendship, the end of life.
- 77-end. My neighbour, Cervius, has always one of his simple stories which just hits the point. For instance, if any one is rash enough to speak admiringly of the wealth of Arellius, he will tell the fable of the town mouse and the country mouse.

The Satire is of importance in fixing the chronology of Horace's life and writings. If it can be dated itself it fixes (v. 40) the date of his admission to Maecenas' intimacy, and so gives a starting-point for dating most of the Satires of Book I. Three indications of date seem to be given in the Satire, in vv. 38 and 55, 56. For their full discussion see Introduction to the Satires.

1. **Hoc**: this that follows, 'modus agri,' &c.
- erat in votis**, was a subject of my prayers. Cf. Epp. I. 11. 5 'venit in votum.' Persius has 'erat in voto,' 3. 49.
- modus agri**: Juv. S. 14. 172.
- non ita magnus**, 'not so very large,' i. e. 'of moderate size.'
2. **iugis**, with 'aquae,' as Epp. I. 15. 16.
3. **paulum silvae**. Cf. Od. 3. 16. 29. Schütz reminds us of his words 'Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus,' Epp. 2. 2. 77; cp. Od. I. 1. 30.
- super his**, 'besides these.'
4. **bene est**, 'I am content.' It is used with a dat. in Od. 3. 16. 43, Epp. I. 1. 89.
5. **Mala nate**. Mercury is the luck-bringer. We are not to think here of the special ground on which Horace claimed his patronage somewhat later, as the god of the lyre; Od. 2. 7. 13, 2. 17. 29.
- propria**, 'my own,' in the sense that they are not to be taken away again; so Od. 2. 2. 22, Virg. E. 7. 31 'Si proprium hoc fuerit.'
6. **si**. 'If, as is the case,' the apodosis being in v. 13 'hac prece te oro'; a form used in prayers; cp. Od. 3. 18. 1-5.
7. **vicio culpave**: 'culpa' includes errors in judgment. Ov. Trist. 4. 1. 24 'Et culpam in facto, non scelus, esse meo.'

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8. *veneror nihil horum*. 'Veneror,' in the sense of 'to offer prayers,' is used (1) most commonly, with obj. accus. of the deity addressed, as in Virg. G. 1. 338 'in primis venerare deos.' (2) With *both* an obj. accus. *and* an 'ut-' clause, or jussive or optative subj. or a cogn. accus. of the prayer or wish, as Plaut. Aul. prol. 8 'venerans me ut id servarem sibi,' Virg. Aen. 3. 34 'Nymphas venerabar agrestis Rite secundarent visus'; cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 2. 124, Caecin. apud Cic. Fam. 6. 7. 2 'Multa deos venerati sint contra suam salutem.' Cp. Hor. C. S. 49 n. (3) As here, with a cogn. accus. *only*.

stultus, with 'veneror,' so that it falls under the negative of 'nihil,' 'I offer no such foolish prayer.'

9. *denormat*, spoils its regularity.

10. *illi qui mercennarius*, 'to the hired labourer who,' an instance of the attraction of which Horace is fond; cp. Sat. 2. 2. 59 'Cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre,' and see on Epod. 2. 37 Horace seems to be referring to some well-known story. We are reminded of the parable of the treasure hid in a field of St. Matt. 13. 44. With the wish cp. Persius' imitation, 2. 10 'O si Sub rastro crepet argenti mihi seria, dextro Hercule!' which passage (see Conington's note) also illustrates the reference to Hercules as the giver of treasure-trove. For this see the full note of Ramsay's on Plautus' *Mostellaria*, 4. 3. 45. Mommsen (Rom. Hist. Bk. I. ch. 12) thinks there was a confusion of the Greek Heracles with the Sabellian Hercules or Hercules, the god of the homestead and so of property generally.

13. *quod adest*: Od. 3. 29. 32. It is questioned, but it is difficult to decide, whether 'gratum' is the acc. masc. or the nom. neut. 'Iuvat' is used absolutely in v. 32.

14. *pingue*, with a play on its sense of 'stupid'; Sat. 1. 3. 58, Epp. 2. 1. 267.

16. *in montis et in arcem*: see Od. 2. 6. 22 n., 'my mountain stronghold,' my safe retreat.

17. *satiris*: Sat. 2. 1. 1.

musa pedestri: 'the Muse that goes afoot,' with no wings for poetic flights; see on Od. 2. 12. 9, and cp. A. P. 95; and with the description of his Satires as 'prose-poetry' cp. Sat. 1. 4. 42, 48 'sermoni propiora,' 'nisi quod pede certo Differt sermoni, sermo merus,' and Epp. 2. 1. 250 'sermone . . . repentis per humum.'

• 18. *ambitio*, the pretentious and pushing life of the city. Horace speaks here as if in Rome he could not keep quite clear of it. In Sat. 1. 6. 129 he classes himself as one 'solutorum misera ambitione gravique.' Orelli quotes Ovid's pretty line, Met. 11. 765 'Secretos montis et inambitiosa colebat Rura.'

plumbeus Auster: of the depressing effect of the sirocco; Od. 2. 14. 16.

19. *Libitinae*: Od. 3. 30. 7, Epp. 2. 1. 49, the goddess who presides over the funeral rites, so that the sense is the same as Epp. 1. 7. 5 'ficus prima calorque Dissignatorem decorat lictoribus atris.'

quaestus, 'a source of gain.'

20. The commencement is mock heroic. He proceeds 'illustrare ruris felicitatem' by painting the troubles of life in Rome. The form is as Virg. E. 3. 60 'ab Iove principium,' Theoc. 17. $\tau \acute{\alpha} \kappa \Delta \iota \delta \omicron \varsigma \alpha \rho \chi \acute{\omega} \mu \epsilon \sigma \theta \alpha$: cp. Od. 1. 12. 13.

matutine pater, 'sire, god of the morning.' The Roman conception of Janus as the god of beginnings, entrances, undertakings, is described in Ovid, Fast. 1. 63 foll. He was worshipped at the beginning of the year, the month, the day.

Iane, audis. 'Audire,' like Gr. $\acute{\alpha} \kappa \omicron \upsilon \epsilon \iota \nu$, was used in the sense of 'to be named,' cp. Sat. 2. 7. 101, Epp. 1. 7. 38, 1. 16. 17; but the voc. 'Iane' in this place makes us take 'audis' in the simpler sense, 'you hear,' sc. the address. Cp. 'audit continuo, "quis homo hic?"' Sat. 1. 6. 29.

21. **unde**='a quo,' Od. 1. 12. 17 n.

23. **sponsorem**. So in the list of distractions for a poet in Rome, Epp. 2. 2. 67 'Hic sponsum vocat.' Janus is said to 'hurry him off to be surety for a friend,' with the meaning that this is the first occupation of his morning.

eia . . . urge, the words with which Janus presses him. For 'eia' cp. Sat. 1. 1. 18 n.

24. **urge**. We are not to understand a personal object; the true parallel of the use (as Schütz points out) is the construction 'urgere opus,' 'to push on a work'; for 'opus' is substituted the obj.-clause 'ne prior . . . respondeat,' 'be instant that none be before you,' &c. Cp. Od. 2. 18. 20 n.

officio respondeat, as Cic. 'officio satisfacere,' to fulfil an expected service.

25. 'However cold the wind or dark the mornings.'

26. **interiore . . . gyro**: 'a smaller circle,' the arc traversed apparently by the sun growing smaller from day to day.

trahit, best taken with the Scholiasts as='breviorem facit,' 'contrahit'; cp. Lucretius 6. 967 'coria et carnem trahit et conducit in unum.' It is also explained of making the day come slowly.

27. **postmodo quod mi obsit**, 'to my own harm presently,' i.e. if my friend, for whom I have given security, plays false. 'Postmodo' has been also taken with 'luctandum,' 'presently,' i.e. as I go home from court; but cp. Od. 1. 28. 31 'nocituram postmodo te natis.'

clare certumque. Palmer suggests very probably that these words were part of the formula in which the 'sponsor' was called upon to give his pledge.

29. **quid vis, insane**. The words of the 'tardus' whom Horace has elbowed. Most of the best MSS. have 'Quid tibi vis,' which makes the line unmetrical. Bentley pointed out that this rather than 'quid vis' was the usual phrase (cp. especially Propert. 1. 5. 3 'Quid tibi vis, insane?' and Pers. S. 5. 143 'quo deinde, insane, ris? quo? Quid tibi vis?'). He therefore wished to accept it,

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and to emend the verse by reading 'quam rem' for 'quas res,' quoting many instances of 'quam rem agis' from the comic writers. It is of course quite possible on the other side that the fact that 'quid tibi vis' was the commoner phrase led to the early corruption. Several MSS., reading 'quid tibi vis,' otherwise emend the line, some omitting 'agis,' others omitting 'et,' and putting 'insane' after 'agis.'

30. *precibus*, i.e. 'imprecations.' Epod. 5. 86; cp. Sat. 2. 3. 203 'mala multa precatus,' 2. 7. 36 'non referenda precati.'

tu pulses. Best taken as a further remonstrance of the 'improbus,' the 'unreasonable' fellow who does not like to be jostled by a man in a hurry. Horace in his self-consciousness imagines him to know where he is going. Grammatically it is a regular conditional sentence. 'Is this the principle, that if you, sir ("tu"), are in a hurry to get to Maecenas' house, where you remember an engagement, you would elbow anything or anybody that was in your way?'

31. *recurras*. Schütz well compares 'revocant' in Od. 4. 1. 8. The 're-' implies that Maecenas' house is his habitual resort. With the whole picture of the man in a hurry, making his way by jostling, cp. Plaut. Capt. 4. 2. 11 foll. 'Eminor interminorque, ne quis mihi obstiterit obviam, Nisi qui sat diu vixisse sese homo arbitrabitur: Nam qui obstiterit ore sistet,' &c.

32. *hoc*: these visits to Maecenas. 'They are, I will confess it, a sweetening of town life; but I can't even pay them in peace. My very friendship with Maecenas is a source of fresh worries.'

atras, from the old use of the place, before Maecenas built his palace and laid out the gardens; see Sat. 1. 8, introd. The epithet is complained of as out of keeping here; but it seems purposed, and to refer to what follows: 'something of the old gloomy associations still hangs about it.'

34. *per caput*, 'over head and ears.' The use of 'per' as in Catull. 17. 9 'per caput pedesque.'

circa latus, 'in front and on flank.' The metaphor of *saliant* is doubtful: of a hailstorm? of waves (Ritter)? of a swarm of troublesome insects? It has been questioned whether the lines that follow describe requests which Horace remembers, or such as are urged by messengers who waylay him near Maecenas' door. A strong argument for the latter view is the repetition of 'orabant,' which has a definite point if two independent messages are reported, both harping on the same troublesome string, but is un-Horatian if he is speaking himself. If they are in the mouth of messengers the tense of 'orabat,' 'orabant,' is the 'epistolary' imperfect (Madv. § 345) used also in messages, as Ter. Eun. 3. 3. 26 'Thais maxumo te orabat opere ut cras redires.'

ante secundam . . . adesses ad Puteal. Cp. the parallel quoted from Cic. pro Quinctio 6. 25 'necessarios . . . corrogat ut ad tabulam Sestiam sibi adsint hora secunda postridie.' 'Tabula Sestia' is

BOOK II, SATIRE VI, 29-46

not mentioned elsewhere, though 'tabula Valeria' occurs in similar connexions in Cic. pro Vatin. 9. 21 and ad Fam. 14. 2. They are variously explained as bankers' counters where money would be paid or accounts verified, and as the localities of courts for the settlement of money questions. A similar doubt, as old as the Scholiasts, besets the meaning of 'puteal'; 'locus Romae ad quem veniebant feneratores; alii dicunt: in quo tribunal solebat esse Praetoris' Acr. Some passages in which 'puteal' occurs (Pers. Sat. 4. 49, Ov. R. A. 561 'Qui puteal Ianumque timet celeresque Kalendas'; Cic. Sest. 8. 18 'puteali et feneratorum gregibus inflatus') point rather to a place of money transaction than to a legal tribunal. It cannot therefore be certainly determined whether Horace's unknown friend Roscius has asked his countenance in court (for 'adesset' in this sense cp. Sat. 1. 9. 38) or his presence or guarantee at a banker's. On 'puteal' see further on Epp. 1. 19. 8.

36. **re communi.** The 'scribae,' clerks in public offices, were organized in 'decuriae.' Cicero calls them collectively 'ordo' in Verr. Act. 2. 3. 79. 183. Horace had held a clerkship in the quaestor's office. 'Communi' naturally means 'common to them and you'; but this would not necessarily imply that Horace was still engaged as a 'scriba.' His interest in these affairs would still be taken for granted by the 'scribae,' though from his own point of view he classes them amongst 'aliena negotia.'

37. **Quinte.** The familiar address as to an old colleague. This is the only place where Horace's 'praenomen' is named in his writings.

reverti: to come back from the Esquiline to the Forum.

38. **imprimat signa.** It is a highly probable inference from these words that Maecenas was at the time of the writing of the Satire in the position described in Dion Cass. 51. 3, having charge of affairs at home during Octavianus' absence from Italy, and bearing his signet ring; see Introd. to the Satires.

39. **dixeris,** the subj. of supposition, the second person generalizing, as though Horace's experience were not peculiar; 'if one says.'

40. **septimus octavo propior iam fugerit,** 'the seventh year, already nearing the eighth, will soon be gone,' i.e. it is now seven, or more nearly eight years since, &c.

42. **dumtaxat ad hoc,** 'at least to this extent,' the extent defined by the relative clause 'quem tollere vellet,' &c.

44. **hoc genus.** Madv. § 237, c. obs. 3.

Thraex: Epp. 1. 18. 36: a gladiator armed with Thracian buckler and short sword. A 'Thraex' was usually coupled with a 'mirmillo.' **Gallina** (a nickname, perhaps of a Gaul) and **Syrus** are proper names.

45. **mordent:** so of heat, Epp. 1. 8. 5.

46. **rimosa,** 'leaky': Ter. Eun. 1. 2. 25 'plenus rimarum sum, hac atque illac perfluo'; 'things which may be safely talked of

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to the most indiscreet.' Cp. the epithet 'patulae aures,' Epp. 1. 18. 70.

48. **noster**, 'our friend,' i.e. I myself, *ἄνῃρ ὅδε*, a colloquialism found from time to time in Plautus, as Rud. 4. 7. 19 'minime istuc faciet noster Daemones,' where Daemones is speaking. Bentley first perceived the meaning.

spectaverat: he carries on the third person from 'noster.' For the plpf. indic. of a case supposed cp. Epp. 2. 2. 151.

una, i. e. with Maecenas.

49. **Fortunae filius**: our figure would be 'Fortune's favourite.' Sophocles' *παῖς τύχης* Oed. R. 1080 is hardly relevant.

50. **frigidus**, i. e. alarming.

a Rostris per compita: the rumour would start from the centre of Roman life, and spread through the lesser gathering places. For 'compita' see on Sat. 2. 3. 26.

manat, the indic. of a supposition: see above on v. 48.

51. **o bone**: infra v. 95, Sat. 2. 3. 31, Epp. 2. 2. 37.

52. **deos**, as the fountain-head of knowledge.

53. **Dacia**. For the bearing of this question see Introd. to Satires. ut: an exclamation, as Sat. 2. 8. 62 'ut semper gaudes'; cp.

Od. 1. 11. 3 n. 'ut melius.'

55. **si quicquam**: sc. 'audivi.'

quid? a fresh question, perhaps a fresh questioner.

Triquetra. Lucr. 1. 717 'triquetris terrarum in oris,' of the three-cornered island 'Trinacria,' Sicily. The reference is probably to the assignment of lands to the soldiers after the 'bellum Actiacum.'

57. **unum**, one above all others; the only one that deserves to be so styled. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 24, Epp. 1. 9. 1. This is analogous to the use of 'unus' with the superlative, 'iustissimus unus Qui fuit in Teucris,' Virg. Aen. 2. 426. It is distinct from the instances sometimes quoted to illustrate it, 'unus caprimulgus' Catull. 22. 10, 'unus paterfamilias' Cic. de Or. 1. 29. 32. See notes of Ellis and of Wilkins on these places. That use is inclusive, 'one of the class,' this is exclusive, 'the one and only one.'

58. **solicet**, as often in an ironical quotation of the words imagined. Cf. Sat. 2. 2. 36, 2. 3. 240, Epp. 1. 6. 36, 1. 20. 2, &c.

59. **perditur**, 'is wasted.' The only instance in good Latin of the pres. pass. of 'perdo.' On which account Lachmann would alter it, suggesting 'porgitur,' others 'proditur,' 'mergitur,' &c.

votis: illustrated in the aspirations of vv. 60-65.

61. **veterum libris**. What books they would be we may see in Sat. 2. 3. 11, Epp. 1. 2. 1.

somno: Od. 1. 1. 20, Epp. 1. 14. 35.

62. **ducere**: Od. 1. 17. 21. The metaphor is evidently from the waters of Lethe.

vitae, the gen. obj.

63. **fabula Pythagorae cognata**. For the allusion cp. Epp. 1. 12. 21 n., and Juv. S. 15. 173. 'Pythagoras cunctis animalibus

abstinuit qui Tamquam homine, et ventri indulsit non omne legumen,' with Mayor's exhaustive note. The reference is to the Pythagorean proverb *κύμων ἀπέχεσθαι* Diog. Laert. 8. 18. It is one of a series of short rules on diet, some of which were generally interpreted literally, some as metaphors. Cicero mentions it (de Div. 1. 30. 62) 'Pythagoricis interdictum ne faba vescerentur,' and explains it 'quod habet inflationem magnam is cibus, tranquillitatis quaerentis vera contrariam.' Many other fanciful reasons are given. The ground given in the text, connecting it with the doctrine of metempsychosis, as though in eating a bean you might be unconsciously eating a kinsman, whether it be an original jest of Horace's or not, suits well with the tone of amused interest with which he habitually refers to the Pythagorean school. See introd. to Od. 1. 28, and cp. also his treatment of another Pythagorean proverb in Sat. 2. 3. 276. The immediate purpose of the allusion in this place is to give a humorous exaltation to the vegetable which Horace appreciates: Pythagoras honoured it in one way, Horace honours it in another.

64. *satis*, with *unota*. For the dish cp. Sat. 2. 2. 117 'holus fumosae cum pede pernae.'

65. *mei*, the guests; his easy relation to whom he describes in the following verses.

66. *procaces*, 'saucy.' He is painting the freedom and homeliness of his establishment. Cp. the similar scene in Epod. 2. 65 'Positosque vernas . . . Circum renidentis Lares.'

67. *libatis* (Virg. Aen. 5: 92 'Libavitque dapes'), 'tasted,' i.e. from the master's table, and with plenty still left for the slaves. The word denotes the moderation of the meal.

prout, a monosyll., as 'quoad,' Sat. 2. 3. 91.

68. *inaequalis*, i.e. mixed in different proportions, as explained in the following line. See on Od. 3. 19. 11.

solutus legibus insanis: see on Sat. 2. 2. 123.

70. *uvescit*. Cp. the adj. 'uvidus' in Od. 2. 19. 18, 4. 5. 39.

ergo, 'and so'; as in Epod. 2. 9, there is slight illative force. The freedom to talk of what is interesting is part and parcel of the absence of other foolish conventionalities. With the picture of the conversation on high matters which gives its flavour to the simple feast cp. the words of Lucilius quoted by Cic. de Fin. 2. 8. 24 'Condito sermone bono,' evidently in the same connexion.

71. *de villis . . . alienis*, i.e. topics of envy, as the following line represents those of frivolity.

72. *Lepos*: according to the Schol. the name or nickname of a famous 'mimus' of the day, so named 'quod molliter saltaret et eloqueretur.'

73. *nescire malum est*. We might without harm be ignorant of the merits and demerits of a dancer.

utrumne: see on Sat. 2. 3. 251.

75. *usus*: τὸ χρησιμὸν.

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77. **Cervius** . . . **Arelli**, names of neighbours. The name 'Cervius' occurs in a wholly different connexion in Sat. 2. 1. 47.

garrit, of light and easy talk. Cp. Sat. 1. 10. 41.

78. **ex re**: stories 'of the nursery,' but redeemed from triviality by their being exactly 'to the point.'

79. **sollicitas ignarus**: exactly the collocation of adjectives which we notice in the Odes. See on Od. 1. 3. 10 'fragilem truci' olim, 'once upon a time,' the formula of a fable, Epp. 1. 1. 73.

80. **rusticus urbanum murem mus**: the pairing of the words and the repetition say rather happily 'it is only a story of mice, but the essential difference is the same as if they had been men.'

82. **asper**: perhaps like Virgil's 'asper victu,' Aen. 8. 318, 'faring roughly.' The mouse of the country is painted as like a countryman; cp. 'durus attentusque,' Epp. 1. 7. 91.

ut = 'ita ut,' a qualification of the two adjectives, 'not but that he unbent occasionally.'

83. **hospitiis**, 'acts of hospitality,' the abl.

ille, 'a mouse of his character': for the use of 'ille' cp. Od. 4. 9. 51, Sat. 2. 3. 204.

84. **sepositi**, = 'choice.'

longae, of the shape of the grain of oats. It is then in contrast with the round pea. The banquet is described from the point of view of the mouse, who pictures his dainties to the eye as well as the taste, as the human epicure does. For Horace's way of suggesting a contrast by an epithet with one of the two subjects, see on Od. 2. 3. 9, 3. 4. 46, 3. 13. 7, 4. 4. 10. The gen. of respect is Greek; οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ | ἀλλοτρῶν φθονέειν, Hom. Od. 18. 18; see on Ode 2. 9. 17.

87. **male** with **tangentis**, 'just touching,' of his languid and fastidious air.

88. **palea horna**, threshed out straw fresh from the threshing-floor. Horace is preparing the contrast of 'purpurea porrectum in veste' v. 106.

89. **ador**: 'spelt,' a harder and coarser grain.

lolium, darnel, the 'tares' of the Parable, which would be cut with the corn and left unthreshed on the floor.

90. **ad hunc**: not unlike the use in Epod. 9. 17; 'at the sight of him,' 'in reply to him.'

91. **patientem**, absol., as Sat. 2. 5. 43, but with more sense of a life of hardship: as in Virg. E. 10. 52 'in silvis inter spelaea ferarum Malle pati.'

92. **vis tu**, 'surely you will.' Bentley was the first to point out (on this place) the idiomatic force 'orantis, hortantis, flagitantis, iubentis,' which belongs to this form, as contrasted with 'vin tu' (Sat. 1. 9. 69), which only asks a question. Cp. Juv. S. 5. 74 'Vis tu consuetis audax conviva canistris Impleri panisque tui novisse colorem?' 'have the goodness, please, bold guest,' &c.

93. **mihi orede**, 'trust my advice.'

quando: 'since,' the town mouse preaches the Epicurean lesson.

BOOK II, SATIRE VI, 77—SATIRE VII

95. *quo, bone, circa.* A tmesis not found elsewhere. For 'bone' see Sat. 2. 3. 31 n., and this Satire v. 51.

98. *pepulere*, 'struck,' 'impressed,' a Ciceronian use.

100. *nocturni*, 'while it was still night.' For the adj. instead of a temporal adverb cp. Sat. 1. 3. 117, and especially Epp. 1. 6. 20, where '*vesperinus*' answers to '*mane*.'

iamque tenebat. Notice the Epic form, and cp. Sat. 1. 5. 9.

103. *canderet*, 'glowed.' It is a poetical extension of the use of the word for fire and things glowing from heat: '*lamna candente*,' Epp. 1. 15. 36. The subj. is due to the causal force of '*ubi*,' explaining '*loeuplete*.' We return to the indicative in '*quae . . . ineran*,' which states that there actually were such remains.

vestis, of the covers of furniture. See on Sat. 2. 4. 84.

105. *procul*, 'hard by.' It expresses separation, but not necessarily distance. Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 32; and see Conington's note on Virg. Aen. 10. 835.

hesterna, 'of yesterday's feast.'

107. *veluti succinctus*. Like a waiter with his tunic girt up. Sat. 2. 8. 10 '*alte cinctus*.'

108. *continuat dapes*: 'serves course after course without pause.'

ipsis officiis, 'plays to the life the part of a homebred slave, even in his attentions, by licking every dish before he serves it'; with reference to the habits of slaves noticed in Sat. 1. 3. 81, 2. 4. 79.

112. *valvarum strepitus*: the noise of opening doors indicates that the household is awakened and the servants coming to clear the '*triclinium*.'

114. *simul* = '*simul ac*.' The barking of the watchdogs, who are disturbed by the movements, adds to the alarm of the mice.

Molossis: Epod. 6. 5, Virg. G. 3. 405. Mayor (in a long and interesting note on Juv. S. 15. 7) remarks on the noticeable absence in this fable (as in Greek and Roman life generally) of the cat.

115. *haud*. The emphatic negative, with '*mihi*'; 'whatever you may think.'

116. *et 'valeas'*: adding a second utterance—others print '*et valeas*' when '*et*' must = 'and so.'

me solabitur, 'will satisfy my needs.' Cp. Virg. G. 1. 159 '*Concussaque famem in silvis solabere quercu*.'

SATIRE VII

DAVUS: OR FREEDOM AND SLAVERY

A DIALOGUE during the Saturnalia between Horace and his slave Davus.

Verses 1-5. D. 'If I could only have my turn at fault-finding.'

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H. 'Is that Davus?'

D. 'Yes, Davus, not a bad bargain to his master, for all his faults.'

H. 'Well, use the licence of the Saturnalia, and say your say.'

6-20. Davus starts off in the style in which Horace represents a Stoic lecturer as declaiming, with stock instances to illustrate his picture of life.

'Mankind is divided into those who are consistent in their vices, and those who hover between vice and virtue.

'Priscus was an instance of the last, Volanerius of the first, and his life was the less miserable of the two.'

21-45. Horace interrupts. 'What a long preamble, what does it all refer to?'

D. 'To you.'

H. 'How, villain?'

D. 'You praise moderation but don't practise it. You praise the country when you are in town—the town when you are in the country. If you are not asked out to dinner, it is all "a dinner of herbs." If an invitation comes rather late you are in a fuss and fury to be gone. The poor parasite who meant to sup with you goes away disappointed, but he sees through you, and is more honest than you are. Nay, I, your slave, am more of a philosopher than you. Don't frown at me; listen to the lessons which I picked up from the porter at Crispinus' lecture-room.'

[46-71. Davus then begins again with a coarse declamatory comparison, evidently not addressed personally to Horace, between the vices of slaves and those of their masters, to the disadvantage of the latter, as worse and leading to a more hopeless slavery.]

72-94. He supposes Horace to protest: 'non sum moechus'; but brushes the excuse aside with the Stoic doctrine that abstinence from vice from secondary motives is no true abstinence. 'You are a slave whom no manumission can free. I am at most your deputy slave or your fellow slave. No one is free but the wise man, who is master of himself. That is not the position of one who is at the beck and call of a mistress.

95-101. 'So you share your slave's other faults. He loiters to look at pictures (after his degree), so do you: though they call you a man of taste for it, while they call him a lazy fellow.

102-111. 'He likes a smoking cake; your virtue is not proof against a good supper. If he gets a thrashing, you get a fit of indigestion. It is as bad to sell your estates to feed your gluttony, as for a slave to exchange his master's *strigil* for a bunch of grapes. [Davus is getting away from Horace again.]

BOOK II, SATIRE VII

111-115. 'Nay, you are a runaway, for you are always trying to escape yourself and give the slip to care; but you are caught again; as a slave might be.'

116-end. This last sally is supposed to exhaust Horace's patience, and after one more thrust Davus is driven away by the threat that he shall be sent to the Sabine farm.

It is a companion Satire to the third of this Book. The substantial part of both is in the playful use of a Stoic paradox as a text for a discourse on the follies of men. In both Horace turns the laugh against himself, Damasippus there, Davus here charging him with his own faults and especially with the two, laziness (Sat. 3) and changeableness (Sat. 7), to which he professes to plead guilty in Epp. 1. 8. 10-12. In the third Satire the thesis taken is the one dealt with in Cicero's Paradox, 4 *ὅτι πᾶς ἀφρων μαίεται*, in this one Cicero's Paradox, 5 *ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ πᾶς ἀφρων δοῦλος*. There are signs in each that Horace was familiar with Cicero's exposition of the text. The setting in each case is dramatic, the paradox being pressed on Horace in Sat. 3 by the bankrupt virtuoso, who has himself been saved from suicide by discovering that he was no more mad than most men—in this Satire being put into the concrete form of a slave's claim, urged with the freedom of a licensed moment, to be as good as his master. In neither Satire is the dramatic purpose kept perfectly; when the Stoic teaching is reached the style becomes declamatory and imitative of the lecturer, and the particular occasion is for the moment forgotten.

The Bland. MSS. had this Satire (as have some good extant MSS.) written continuously with the preceding one—evidently a mistake; but it bears witness to a true instinct of the close relation between it and its predecessors. Bentley explains 'iamdudum ausculto' in v. 1 of Davus having heard Horace declaim Sat. 6, and feeling stirred to answer it. This is probably put too narrowly; but the position of the Satire in relation to Sat. 6, when compared with that of Sat. 3 to Sat. 2, and its position in relation to the Book in view of its manifest reference to both the directly didactic Satires (cp. vv. 22, 23 with Sat. 2. 2. 89-93, as well as v. 28 with Sat. 6), make it clear that one purpose is to lighten with his habitual irony any tone of assumption that might be felt in the preceding Satires. 'Who am I to lecture others? They may very well return it in kind.'

It should be noticed that it is irony, though the irony be a veil of real modesty. Not to speak of the graver charges which he seems to countenance against himself, his love for the country which he appears here, for fear of having spoken too enthusiastically about it in Sat. 6, to undervalue as a mere phase of feeling, was deep and true; see Epp. 1. 10. 2 and the whole of 14. He contrasts his own constancy in respect of it with his bailiff's changeableness, Epp. 1. 14. 14-26.

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1. **Iamdudum ausculto**, 'I have been all this time listening.' Bentley asks, 'to what?' and answers, 'to the reading of the preceding Satire,' Davus being supposed to have overheard it and to wish to take the conceit out of its author; but see Introduction. The scene is a fragment. Davus, accustomed to listen, claims for once to be listened to.

2. **ita**, 'just so,' 'yes,' a colloquial use.

3. **frugi**: 'servus frugi,' Cic. Clu. 16. 47; 'honest,' 'serviceable.'

4. **ut vitale putes**: that you need not fear his being 'too good to live'; according to the proverbial saying in Menander, fr. 4. 105 *ὅν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος*.

ut explains 'quod sit satis' as qualifying the preceding adjectives. Cp. Sat. 2. 6. 82. For 'vitale' cp. Sat. 2. 1. 61.

libertate Decembri. The Saturnalia were a remembrance of the golden age—men were equal again: 'Saturnalibus tota servis licentia permittitur' Macrob. Saturn. 1. 7, 'mos traditus illinc Iste ut cum dominis famuli epulentur ibidem' Accius quoted ibid.

6. Notice that there is no attempt to make Davus speak in character. He begins at once with a Stoic apophthegm, illustrated by stock instances after the manner of Satire. Priscus and Volanerius are not persons within his own cognizance.

7. **natat**, of one who is 'at sea,' who has no solid ground under him. Cicero uses it N. D. 3. 24. 62, but the figure is there helped by the jest of deriving the name Neptunus 'a nando,' 'magis tu mihi natate visus es quam ipse Neptunus.'

8. **notatus**: see on Sat. 1. 3. 24, 1. 6. 14; 'noticed,' and by way of criticism.

9. **cum**, 'as being with,' 'as wearing.' Three rings are spoken of as an extreme number. In later times Martial's fop 'Senos . . . omnibus digitis gerit' 11. 59, and Seneca, Nat. Quaest. 7. 31 says 'exornamus anulis digitos: in omni articulo gemma disponitur.' The original Roman practice (for those who had the 'ius anuli') was to wear one signet ring of iron.

laeva, the hand for rings, 'usus anulorum, exemptus dexterae quae multum negotiorum gerit, in laevam [relegabatur] quae otiosior est,' Ateius Capito apud Macrob. Saturn. 7. 13.

10. **inaequalis**. Compare the picture of Tigellius' 'inconsistencies,' 'Nil aequale homini fuit illi,' Sat. 1. 3. 9.

ut, after the adj., as though 'tam' had preceded it. Cp. Sat. 1. 7. 19.

clavum mutaret: now the senator's laticlave, now the equestrian angusticlave.

in horas, 'from hour to hour'; 'mutatur in horas,' A. P. 160. Cp. Od. 2. 13. 14, A. P. 60.

11. From a grand house he would plunge suddenly into quarters from which a freedman of any refinement would be ashamed to be seen emerging.

13. **doctus**. It is with some hesitation that I print 'doctus,' against 'doctor,' the reading of most of the oldest MSS. (including

BOOK II, SATIRE VII, 1-24

the 'Bland.') and of the Comm. Cruq., who annotates 'dicitur enim Priscus oratoriam décuisse.' The corruption, if it is a corruption, is an early one. There is respectable authority for 'doctus,' which is accepted by most of the recent editors. Bentley printed 'doctus,' though in his note he holds the balance even between the two readings, 'nescire contenti erimus.' 'Doctus' is the more natural antithesis—the 'man of learning,' against the 'man of loose pleasures.'

14. 'Born under the evil influence of Vertumnus in all his thousand shapes.' Ovid calls Vertumnus 'conveniens diversis iste figuris . . . deus,' Fast. 6. 409, and describes at length, in Met. 14. 642 foll., his metamorphoses when he was wooing Pomona. He was in origin the god of the changing year, generalized as the god of change. He has made Priscus as changeable as himself.

15. *iusta*, 'well-earned.'

17. *phimum*. The Greek name for a dice-box; whether of precisely the same kind as the 'fritillus' is a moot question. The Scholiasts differ. See Mayor's note on Juv. S. 14. 5.

19. *levius miser*: perhaps with some feeling of the use (common in Plautus) of 'miser' for 'sick.' Cp. Cicero's 'leviter aegrotare.'

19, 20. Few lines of Horace have been more vexed by copyists. The variants are, in v. 19 (a) 'ac prior ille'; (b) 'ac prior illo'; (c) 'acrior ille'; (d) 'acrior illo.' In v. 20 (a) 'iam . . . quam'; (b) 'tam . . . quam'; (c) 'iam . . . iam.'

Of those in v. 19, the reading of strongest external authority is 'acrior ille,' which was in three of the Blandinian MSS. and was interpreted by Acr. 'Ac prior,' however, which was in the fourth Bland., and is found in good extant MSS., is not like an emendation. It is easier to imagine the obliteration of 'p' in some archetype. The hesitation between 'ille' and 'illo,' and the variations of v. 20 seem due to different, and some awkward, attempts to make sense of the lines. 'Iam . . . iam' was interpreted by Acr. 'iam "modo" intellegendum = modo laxo, modo contento.' As given in the text, the lines present no difficulty. 'Prior' has the sense of 'better,' 'in a better position,' as in Epp. 1. 1. 88. If 'ille' is read, 'ac' must be taken as following the comparative 'levius'; and 'prior' in the sense of 'the first mentioned,' i.e. Priscus,—an awkwardly prosaic expression.

20. *contento . . . laxo fune*. The metaphor is perhaps from a ship. The danger may be either from straining the rope too tight or from letting it swing too loose. Cp. the metaphor from a similar subject in Od. 3. 10. 10.

21. *hodie*, 'must I wait all day without your telling me what all this stale stuff comes to?'

22. *furoifer*. One who has worn or deserves to wear the 'furca,' an instrument of servile punishment—a yoke in the shape of a V, which was put over the neck, the arms being fastened along it.

23. The reference seems to be to Sat. 2. 2. 89-93.

24. *si quis deus*: Sat. 1. 1. 15.

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25-27. 'Either because it is all talk, not your genuine feeling, or because with right purposes you have not the energy to carry them out.'

27. Cp. the Greek proverbial expression, as in Aesch. Cho. 697 *ἔξω κομίζων . . . πολλοῦ πόδα*.

28. In this and the following verses there is of course primarily reference to Sat. 2. 6. 60 foll. For the charge of inconstancy in his preference of town and country, cp. Epp. 1. 8. 12.

absentem, of the place from which one is absent; cp. Epp. 1. 11. 21.

30. **velut usquam vinotus eas, ita**. 'Ita' is to be taken before 'velut'; 'just as though you went anywhere in chains,' i.e. on compulsion. For 'usquam eas' see on Sat. 1. 1. 37 and cp. Epp. 1. 7. 25.

31. **amasque**, 'hug yourself,' i.e. are pleased with yourself. The comm. quote Cic. ad Att. 4. 16 'in eo me valde amo.'

33. **serum convivam**. Evidently, of a guest invited late, to fill up a vacancy.

sub lumina prima, about the lighting of the lamps; Epp. 2. 2. 98.

34. **oleum**. Doubtless for the lamp to light him through the dark streets. On this see Juv. S. 3. 285 foll., with Mayor's note. The Scholiast took it of the anointing at the time of the bath, 'ut lotus et unctus abeat cenatum'; but this would imply an earlier hour and more leisurely start.

35. **fugis**, 'you are off.' The reading is doubtful. V had 'furis.' Acr. interprets 'fugis' 'expressit velocitatem hominis festinantis ad cenam.'

36. **Mulvius**. An unknown name. **et** adds the genus, 'Mulvius and (other) parasites.' See on Sat. 2. 4. 28. These professional diners-out have come to share Horace's meal and they have to go away supperless.

precati='imprecati'; Sat. 2. 3. 203, 2. 6. 30.

non referenda, 'not meant to be repeated to you.'

37. **dixerit ille**, sc. 'Mulvius.' Davus imagines what the lesser parasite may have said of the greater; the only difference is that Mulvius avows his motives more honestly than Horace.

38. **supinor**. For the quasi-middle use Schütz compares 'purgor bilem,' A. P. 302. The verb describes the opening of the nostril and laying back of the head in snuffing up the savoury smell.

40. **tu**, 'you, sir.' Cp. with the pronoun and the whole construction Sat. 2. 6. 30.

41. **insectere**, i.e. in the satires which assail gluttony and laugh at parasites.

42. **me ipso**. Davus begins to speak himself, contrasting himself in these words with Mulvius.

43. **quingentis drachmis**: 'a fair price for a good ordinary slave,' Dict. Ant. s. v. 'Servus.' It was almost equivalent to £18 of our money. For a higher price of a slave see Epp. 2. 2. 5. A foreign slave assesses his value in Greek coinage.

aufer terrere, an infin. substituted for the usual accusative after 'aufer' = 'lay aside,' 'cease.' 'Aufer lacrimas' Lucr. 3. 955, 'nugas' Plaut. Truc. 4. 4. 8, &c.

45. **Crispini**: see on Sat. I. 1. 120.

ianitor. The doorkeeper has picked up fragments of the master's lectures and retails them to men of his own class. It is not the actual teaching of Crispinus nor of his 'ianitor,' but a lecture by Davus to Horace in the style of Crispinus, as reported by his 'ianitor.' We need not imagine it to be too appropriate at every turn to Horace. There ought to be some Stoic commonplace in it. Some should be evidently inappropriate, and under cover of this there should be some sly hits at his actual or reputed character.

76. **minor**, ἥττων, 'at the mercy of.'

vindicta: the rod with which a slave was touched in the legal form of manumission; see Pers. Sat. 5. 75-88, and ib. 124, 125.

77. **formidine**: first a slave's fear of a master; but in interpretation, the fear which, according to the Stoic, was inseparable from desire, and which was the essence of the 'slavery' of the unemancipated soul; see Epp. 1. 16. 65 'qui cupiet metu et quoque: porro Qui metuens vivit liber mihi non erit unquam.'

78. **super**: best taken (with Bentl.) as = 'insuper' (cp. Epp. 2. 2. 33), 'dictis' being the abl. of comparison after 'levius.'

nam: to our usage, redundant; as γὰρ often is, where it justifies the assertion that something will be said *by saying it*.

79. **vicarius**: a slave was allowed to purchase out of his 'peculium' a slave to do his work. This deputy was called 'vicarius': see Mart. 2. 18. 7, where a metaphorical use of the custom is made similar to this one.

80. **vester**. Davus speaks of the habits of the Roman world as standing himself, as a slave, outside of it.

nempe, 'I will tell you'; used with some irony where the speaker after asking a question answers it himself: see inf. v. 107, and Epp. 1. 10. 22.

82. **alienis**: 'which another will pull.' Persius has the same figure with reminiscence of this place, 5. 127 'servitium acre Te nihil impellit, nec quicquam extrinsecus intrat Quod nervos agitet': see Conington's note there. Bentley quotes the description of marionettes from Apuleius, de Mund. p. 125 'illi qui in ligneolis hominum figuris gestus movent, quando filum membri quod agitari solet traxerint torquebitur cervix, nutabit caput, oculi vibrabunt, totus videbitur vivere.' 'Lignum' is intentionally contemptuous, 'a block of wood,' which owes any movement or simulation of life entirely to the showman's strings.

83. **sibi qui**: the greater number of MSS. is for 'sibi que'; the sense is for 'qui,' which is read by Bentl., Keller, Munro, and Kiessling; 'sapiens' is more forcible as the single answer to the question 'who?'—'The philosopher of the Stoics,—the other words give the justification of the answer. 'Sibi imperiosus,' ἐγκρατής: 'qui imperat sibi, qui se habet in potestate,' Sen. de Benef. 5. 7.

THE SATIRES OF HORACE

85. **responsare** : inf. v. 103, Epp. 1. 1. 68 ; in the sense of 'to have always an answer for,' not to acquiesce at once in.

86. **fortis**, with infin., as Od. 1. 37. 26.

in **se ipso totus** : explained by Cicero's words in Parad. 2 'qui totus aptus est ex sese, qui in se uno ponit omnia' ; 'self-contained,' *αὐτάρκης*.

teres atque rotundus, 'smoothed and rounded.' The Stoic similitude of a sphere for the mind of the wise man seems to include the idea of perfection (the sphere being the most perfect figure) and of independence of external things, the surface presenting no angles or flat surface to give lodging to alien matter, as explained in the next line. Ausonius imitates the passage Idyll. 16. 1 'Vir bonus et sapiens . . . Iudex ipse sui totum se explorat ad unguem ; Quid procures vanique ferat quid opinio vulgi Securus, mundi instar habens teres atque rotundus Externae ne quid labis per levias idat.'

88. **manca** : she has lost her usual means of taking hold of him.

89. **ut proprium**, 'as belonging to you.'

89-101. Both in particular expressions and in the order of the topics it is evident that Horace has in view Cicero's declamation in Parad. 5 'An ille mihi liber videatur cui mulier imperat ? cui leges imponit, praescribit, iubet, vetat, quod videtur ? qui nihil imperanti negare potest, nihil recusare audet ? Poscit ? dandum est. Vocat ? veniendum. Eicit ? abeundum. Minatur ? extimescendum . . . Pari stultitia sunt quos signa, quos tabulae, quos Corinthia opera, quos aedificia magnifica magno opere delectant.' Cp. also Sat. 2. 3. 259 foll., and the picture which Horace professes to give of himself when he turns the sting of his iambic verse on himself in Epod. 11.

94. 'Goads you sharply when you are weary, and tugs at your mouth when you jib.'

95. **Pausiaca** : Pausias of Sicyon, a painter of the same age as Apelles, about B.C. 360-330.

torpes : a stronger form of the same figure as 'stupet Albius aere,' Sat. 1. 4. 28, so *ἐκπλήττεσθαι*. Cp. the expression when there is no sting of satire, 'suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella,' Epp. 2. 1. 97.

96. **Fulvi Rutubaeque . . . Pacideiani** : names of gladiators. The third is certainly from Lucilius, who speaks of him as 'optimus multo Post homines natos gladiator qui fuit unus,' fr. 4. 11 ; a passage referred to several times by Cicero, as in Tusc. 4. 21. 48. See Intro. to the Satires.

97. **contento poplite**. It is a doubt as old as the Scholiasts whether these words describe the attitude of the gladiators as drawn, or of the spectator standing on tiptoe to get a better view of the drawing. There is force in the argument of Schütz (who takes them as grammatically qualifying 'picta'), that we want some characteristics of the drawing in order to explain 'velut si re vera pugnent.' Horace means to describe the exaggerated drawing which would mark such rough work.

BOOK II, SATIRE VII, 85-118

98. *rubrica*, red ochre.

100. *oessator*, 'an idle fellow'; Epp. 2. 2. 14.

101. *callidus*: Sat. 2. 3. 23.

audis: Epp. 1. 7. 38, 1. 16. 17.

102. *nil ego*. 'Nihil esse' is a Ciceronian phrase, as Div. in Q. Caecil. 14, in the sense of 'to be worthless,' 'nequam esse.'

103. *responsat*: see above on v. 85.

104. For the position of 'cur' making the question more emphatic see on Sat. 2. 3. 187.

105. *enim* gives the reason why the question may be asked. 'At first sight it may seem that gluttony does harm me most, for I suffer for it on my back; *but* is your punishment less?' The position of 'enim' connects 'tergo plector' closely together, the emphasis being on 'tergo.'—So Lucr. 1. 699 'Quo referemus enim?' But it is found in prose under similar circumstances, as 'in eo est enim illud' Cic. Off. 1. 20. 67.

qui: not 'why?' but 'how?' as is clear in Persius' imitation, 5. 130 'si intus et in icore aegro Nascantur domini, qui tu impunitior exis?' &c.

107. *nempe*: see above on v. 80.

108. *illusi*, 'made fools of.' Cp. Virgil's figure, G. 2. 94 'temptatura pedes.'

109. *hic qui puer*: Sat. 1. 4. 2, 1. 10. 16; Epod. 2. 37 n.

110. *mutat*: used with an accus. of that which is taken in exchange; see on Od. 1. 17. 2. The 'strigil' was an instrument of bone or metal used to scrape the skin after bathing. It stands for a thing of little value, that will be scarcely missed.

qui praedia vendit: 'who sells his estate': *gulae parens*, though it is placed so as to construct with *nil servile habet*? belongs also in sense to 'praedia vendit.' Cp. Epp. 1. 15. 32, Juv. S. 1. 138 'una comedunt patrimonia mensa.'

112. *tecum esse potes*, 'can bear your own company.' Sen. Epist. 10 'non invenio cum quo te malim esse quam tecum.' Horace has in mind in the following words Lucr. 3. 1053 foll., esp. v. 1068 'hoc se quisque modo fugit.'

113. *ponere*, 'to lay out,' 'employ,' frequent in Cic. with 'tempus,' 'diem,' and the like.

115. Cp. Od. 2. 16. 22, 3. 1. 40.

116. *unde mihi lapidem*? For the ellipsis cp. Sat. 2. 5. 102.

unde sagittas? Ritter suggests that Davus, in spite of his assumed unconsciousness of Horace's purpose in desiring a stone, is edging away out of his reach.

117. *aut insanit*. 'He is either mad or (what is next door to it) composing verses.' Davus recognizes the rhythm in Horace's words. With this sally cp. the comic explanation of the fate of the unhappy poet in A. P. 470, &c. 'nec satis apparet cur versus facit.'

118. It is the standing threat to slaves in the comic dramatists that they shall be transferred to the 'familia rustica'; sent to harder work and fewer pleasures in the country. Plaut. Most. 1. 1. 18 'Augēbis ruri numerum'; see Prof. Ramsay's excursus to the Mostel-laria 'on slave punishments.'

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SATIRE VIII

NASIDIENUS: OR AN UPSTART'S SUPPER-PARTY

A SKETCH of a supper given to Maecenas by a man of wealth without taste or breeding. Horace puts the description of it into the mouth of Fundanius, the comic poet, of whom he speaks with admiration in Sat. 1. 10. 40: but it represents, no doubt, many entertainments at which he had himself suffered and been amused.

Three men of letters have been invited as appropriate guests to meet Maecenas, Fundanius himself, Viscus (see on v. 20), and Varius. The rest of the company consists of the chief guest with two 'umbræ' (vv. 21, 22) whom he has brought, and two 'scurrae,' 'Nomentanus,' and 'Porcius,' who are habitual frequenters of the host's table.

The host is called Nasidienus Rufus (vv. 1, 75, 84, and 58). A conjecture of Lambinus identifies the person so disguised with Salvidienus Rufus, who had been advanced by Octavianus 'ex infima fortuna' (Suet. Oct. 66), and who was put to death by him for conspiracy against his interests in B.C. 40. In that case the Satire would be written some years after his death. Nasidienus was itself a Roman name and occurs in Martial 7. 54.

What is satirized is the vulgarity of the man. He has literary men to meet Maecenas, but he can talk of nothing but the dishes. He is full of the gastronomic art, but the results are shown in paradoxes, not in perfection. There is display and yet meanness (cp. A. P. 374, 375). The sketches of the four 'scurrae' are drawn in a few strokes: Vibidius the hard drinker and Balatro the buffoon, both presuming on their relation to the great man to quiz or patronize the host; Nomentanus and Porcius (for their names see on v. 23) playing to Nasidienus, and making the most of their own supper. It will be noticed that Maecenas is not mentioned.

The affectation of gastronomic preciseness in this Satire will be compared with the fourth Satire. It is perhaps meant as a specimen of the kind of talk at supper-tables which moved Horace's spleen, and which he laughed at more elaborately in that Satire.

Verses 1-5. *H.* How did you enjoy Nasidienus' supper? I heard you were there.

F. Vastly.

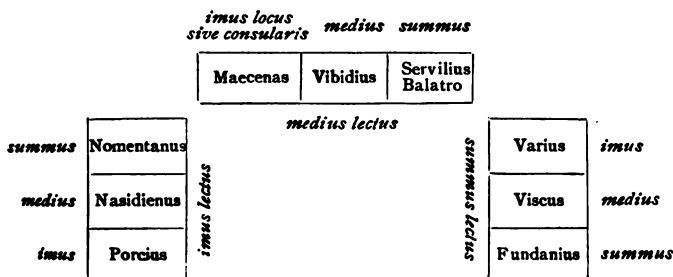
H. Tell me the order of proceedings.

6-9. *F.* First there came a wild boar, and our host told us all about it; where it came from, and when it was killed. It was garnished with salad and things of piquant flavour.

10-17. Then a bustling page wiped the maple table with a purple cloth, while another gathered up the fragments, when entered a solemn procession, an Indian slave carrying Caecuban wine,

BOOK II, SATIRE VIII

- a Greek slave with Chian. The host asked Maecenas if he would prefer Alban or Falernian; both were in the house.
- 18, 19. *H.* What a miserable exhibition! But who were your party?
- 20-26. *F.* On one couch myself, Viscus, and Varius; on the next Maecenas and his two 'umbræ,' Servilius Balatro and Vibidius; on the third the host in the middle, Nomentanus on one side of him, Porcius on the other. Nomentanus was so placed in order to point out to Maecenas the secrets of the banquet.
- 26-33. Most of us were hopelessly puzzled, as I soon found. Meanwhile the host lectured us on the proper time to pick apples. You must ask him what the reasons were.
- 33-41. Vibidius, determined to take out his revenge, asked for larger cups, which made our host turn pale. He dislikes hard drinkers, probably because their tongues are too free, or their palates too dull. At the suggestion all filled the new cups except the two parasites of the house.
- 42-53. Then came a lamprey in a big dish garnished with shrimp sauce. The host told us of its condition and how the sauce was composed.
- 54-74. At this moment the awning fell on the table with clouds of dust, frightening us all. The host put down his head and cried. Nomentanus consoled him. The more courteous guests tried to stifle their laughter. Balatro, with mock sympathy, tried to encourage him.
- 75-78. Nasidienus rose and left us, and we fell to whispering.
- 79, 80. *H.* What sport! And what was the next scene?
- 80-end. *F.* Vibidius calling again for wine; the company finding excuse for laughter. Presently Nasidienus comes back with his self-possession restored, more slaves bearing a huge charger filled with divers delicacies, not bad in themselves, but rendered unendurable by the host's discourse upon them. We avenged ourselves by going away without tasting them.
- Orelli, who is in accord with most authorities, arranges the 'triclinium' thus:



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Maecenas occupied the place of honour. The only departure from usual practice is that noticed by Horace in v. 23, viz. that Nasidienus put Nomentanus in his own place next to the chief guest, as more able than himself to do the honours of the table.

1. **Vt.** In a question, as in Epp. 1. 3. 12. As we learn from v. 19 Horace is addressing his friend Fundanius, Sat. 1. 10. 42.

Nasidieni. For the scansion (cp. below, vv. 75, 84), the second 'i' being treated as a 'y,' see Sat. 1. 7. 30 'vindemiator.' In this case it apparently has the effect, as in Od. 3. 4. 41 'consilium,' 3. 6. 6 'principium,' of lengthening the preceding vowel, for Martial 7. 54. 11 has 'Nasidienne, tibi' as the end of a pentameter.

beatl, with a tinge of irony, 'fortune's favourite.'

2. **dictus.** The omission of 'es' is less common than that of 'est,' but it occurs in Virgil, Aen. 1. 237 'pollicitus,' 5. 687 'exosus,' 10. 827 'laetatus.' There and here some editors would write 'pollicitu's,' 'dictu's,' &c.

3. **de medio die:** cp. Epp. 1. 14. 34 'media de luce'; not 'from noon,' but (as 'de nocte' Epp. 1. 2. 32, 'media de nocte' Epp. 1. 7. 88) 'before the period of midday is over'; see note on 'de die,' Epod. 13. 4. The reference is to what Cicero calls 'tempestivum convivium,' a banquet which begins before the usual hour; see on Epp. 1. 7. 71.

4. **fuerit melius,** 'I enjoyed myself more'; so inf. v. 19 'pulchre fuerit'; cp. Sat. 2. 2. 120 'bene erat.'

5. **placaverit:** cp. Sat. 2. 2. 18 'Latrantem stomachum bene leniet.'

6. **Lucanus:** Sat. 2. 3. 234.

leni Austro: see Sat. 2. 2. 41. The point apparently is the vulgarity of the host in discoursing on the dishes presented, and his affectation of gastronomic precision. The boar was from the forests of Lucania, not from the lowlands (see on Sat. 2. 4. 40-43). It had been killed when there was a south wind, but not a strong sirocco. We should probably be going wrong in thinking (with Gesner) of irony, as though the boar was really tainted, and Nasidienus was making the best of it.

7. **cenae pater:** cp. 'pater domus,' Sat. 2. 6. 88.

circum, garnishing the table. A comparison with Sat. 2. 4. 73 n. makes it appear that putting these stimulants and condiments on the table through the meal was a recent affectation.

8. **rapula:** Sat. 2. 2. 43.

9. **siser,** 'skirwort,' a plant of which the root was pickled and eaten.

altec: Sat. 2. 4. 73.

faecula, the dim. of 'faex.' It is used by Lucr. 2. 430.

10. **alte cinctus,** as was the fashion; 'ex alticinctis unus atrien-sibus,' Phaedr. 2. 5. 11; so below v. 70 'praecincti.' It gives the idea of 'active,' 'bustling': cp. 'altius ac nos praecinctis' Sat. 1. 5. 5, and Sat. 1. 8. 23 'succinctam.'

BOOK II, SATIRE VIII, 1-23

acernam. Much store was set by the material and beauty of the tables; see on Sat. 2. 2. 4, Mayor on Juv. S. 1. 137: the favourite wood being the 'citrus,' Maple is named by Pliny, N. H. 16. 20, as an inferior material 'citro secundum.' It would seem that what is laughed at is the pretentious care taken of a second-rate table.

11. **gausape.** Hor. is imitating Lucilius (20. 1) 'Purpureo tersitum latas gausape mensas.'

13. **ut Attica virgo:** like a *κανηφόρος* in the rites of Demeter or Athene: cp. Sat. 1. 3. 10 'velut qui Iunonis sacra ferret.' The pompous dignity of these slaves is contrasted with the fussy activity of the preceding ones: each is equally inappropriate.

15. **maris expers:** *οὐ τεθλαττωμένον* Athen. 1. 32 D; brine was mingled with Greek wines both for the sake of the taste and for wholesomeness. This is the simplest explanation, and it suits Persius' imitation 5. 39; see Conington's note. Why the usual treatment has been omitted is not clear. It may be a 'fad' of Nasidienus, or he may wish to make the wine less drinkable. Various other suggestions have been made, as (1) that 'maris expers' means 'home-made,' a Greek wine 'that never crossed the sea'; (2) that, as Casaubon took it in Persius, 'maris' is from 'μαρ,' 'that has lost its strength,' 'insipid.'

16. The host offers what he does not expect to be accepted; shows off his cellar and spares it. 'Sive' is omitted before 'Albanum'; cp. Sat. 2. 5. 10, Od. 1. 3. 16.

18. **divitias miseras.** Horace's comment. 'What a miserable exhibition of wealth of the "beatus Nasidienus," ostentation with meanness.'

19. **pulchre fuerit:** see above on v. 4.

laboro: Epp. 1. 3. 20.

20. **summus ego.** For the placing of the guests see introd.

Viscus Thurinus, i. e. of Thurii (Od. 3. 9. 14), on the west side of the Tarentine gulf. From his juxtaposition here, as in Sat. 1. 10, with Varius and Fundanius, he is probably one of the two Visci named in Sat. 1. 10. 83.

21. **Varius:** Od. 1. 6. 1 n., Sat. 1. 5. 40, &c.

Servilio, to be scanned as a trisyllable: see on Sat. 1. 7. 30 'vindemiator'; the first 'i' is long: see Juv. S. 10. 319.

Balatrone: Sat. 1. 2. 2. It would seem to be a nickname = 'jester' or 'buffoon.'

22. **umbras.** Epp. 1. 5. 28; uninvited guests brought in the suite of some guest of distinction.

23. **Nomentanus** and **Porcius** are the parasites of the host.

ipsum, Nasidienus. As explained in the introduction, Nomentanus occupied the place usually belonging to the host. The reason is given in v. 25, for 'ad hoc' goes back to 'erat super ipsum.' He was put there as knowing more about cookery than Nasidienus, to point out the features of the banquet to Maecenas. The names are chosen each with a malicious purpose, Nomentanus recalling

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the 'spendthrift' of Sat. 1. 1. 102 (see note there), 1. 8. 11, 2. 1. 22, 2. 3. 175, 224; Porcius as suiting his greediness.

24. *ridiculus absorbere*: vol. 1, App. 2.

simul. The MSS. vary between 'simul' and 'semel.' Either makes sense; 'totas simul' or 'semel' ('at one mouthful') *absorbere*.'

26. *indioe digito*, the forefinger.

oetera turba, the rest of us, besides Maecenas.

28. *celantia* adds to the force of *dissimilem noto*; the look gave no indication of the taste.

29. *ut vel continuo patuit*. Palmer proposes to give more point to this by taking 'ingustata' to mean 'without tasting,' i. e. the strangeness of the flavour became apparent to an earlier sense; but this is perhaps broader humour than Horace intends. The uninitiated wanted a guide, for neither the look of the dishes nor their previous experience prepared them for the manifold surprises. Fundanius learned this early when he was handed this dish 'which he had never tasted before.' The words are carefully chosen to emphasize the novelty of the cookery and avoid any expression either of approval or disapproval.

passeris, a flat fish compared by Plin. N. H. 9. 36 to the 'rhombus.'

30. *porrexerat*. The subj. is the host.

31. *melimela*, 'honey apples,' 'dulcibus aut certant quae melimela favis,' Mart. 1. 43. 4; a special kind of sweet apple.

minorem ad lunam, by moonlight, and when the moon was waning.

34. *damnose*, 'ruinously,' so as to drink him 'out of house and home.'

moriemur inulti: an epic parody.

35. *calices maiores*: not apparently an unusual liberty for guests to take, at some period at any rate. The edd. quote Cic. Verr. 2. 1. 26. 66 'poscunt maioribus poculis.'

vertere: see on Epod. 4. 9.

36. *parochi*: see on Sat. 1. 5. 46. Its application here to the host has an air of slang.

37. *vel . . . vel*: reasons suggested ironically, the true one being that he would spare his cellar, as Nomentanus and Porcius were aware, v. 41; but they are illustrations also of his own style of making rather transparent excuses.

39. *Allifania*, the dat. after *invertunt*. Allifae was a town in the valley of the Volturnus on the frontier of Campania and Samnium, 'ubi fictiles et latiores calices fiebant,' Comm. Cruq.

40. *imi convivae lecti*, i. e. Nomentanus and Porcius; see on v. 37, and cp. Epp. 1. 18. 10 n. 'imi derisor lecti.'

42. *squillas*: Sat. 2. 4. 58.

murena: Juv. S. 5. 99; a fish greatly prized by the Romans; see Mayor's note there.

natantis, i. e. in the sauce which Nasidienus describes in v. 45 foll.

BOOK II, SATIRE VIII, 23-63

43. **porrecta**: Sat. 2. 2. 39. Contrast Sat. 2. 4. 77 'Angustoque vagos piscis urgere catino.'

sub hoc: Epod. 5. 83 'sub haec,' Epp. 2. 2. 34 'sub hoc tempus.'

gravida, i.e. before spawning. For similar gastronomic refinements see Sat. 2. 4. 44 n.

45. **his**, of these ingredients. For the composition of this sauce see Sat. 2. 4. 63 foll.

prima, usually, and perhaps rightly, taken for 'at its first pressing.' Columella tells us that the olives were pressed three times, the quality of the oil being best at the first. The Schol. says 'optima.'

Venafri: Od. 2. 6. 16, Sat. 2. 4. 69.

46. **cella**= 'cella olearia,' the store or garner in which the olives were housed, and in which the presses stood. 'Cella pressit' as 'area triverit,' Sat. 1. 1. 45.

garo. 'Garum' was a preparation of the roe of the 'scomber' or mackerel. The best came (according to Plin. N. H. 31. 43) from New Carthage in Spain, thence called here 'piscis Hiberi'; see Sat. 2. 4. 66 n.

47. **citra mare nato**, i.e. Italian; cp. Sat. 1. 10. 31 'natus mare citra.'

48. **octo**, an abl. abs. Italian wine is to be stirred in while the sauce is simmering; when it is ready for use Chian is to be added.

50. Vinegar made from Lesbian wine.

mutaverit: Sat. 2. 2. 58.

51. **erucas** . . . **inulas** (Sat. 2. 2. 44 'acidæ'). The herbs to be so used are not named in Sat. 2. 4. 67 'ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis.'

52. **illutos**, and so with the salt water still in them.

53. **ut melius**, &c., 'as something, better than fish pickle, which the sea shell-fish of itself yields': 'quod' = 'id quod,' 'id' resuming 'illutos echinos,' which was equivalent to 'sea urchins with their brine.' For 'muria' see on Sat. 2. 4. 66.

remittat: Sat. 2. 4. 69, Epp. 2. 1. 235.

54. **aulaea**, as this passage shows, an awning between the roof and the table. The dust would lodge upon it; see on Od. 3. 29. 15, and Conington on Virg. Aen. 1. 697.

57. **maius**: 'ruinam domus metuentes,' Comm. Cruq.

58. **erigimur**, metaph. 'recover ourselves'; so 'tolleret,' v. 61.

Rufus, i. e. Nasidienus.

62. **ut semper**: Sat. 2. 6. 53 'ut tu Semper eris derisor.' No-mentanus consoles him by representing his calamity as part of the common lot of humanity.

illudere: cp. Od. 3. 29. 49 'Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax.'

63. **mappa**: see on Sat. 2. 4. 81. Varius stuffs his napkin in his mouth.

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64. **suspendens omnia naso**, 'who has a sneer for everything'; see on Sat. 1. 6. 5 'naso suspendis adunco.'

65. **eo**: Sat. 1. 3. 30; 'for that reason.'

67. **tene**: for construction see on Sat. 1. 9. 72, 2. 4. 83, Madv. § 399. There is irony in 'tene . . . ut ego,' Balatro making the most of the difference between Nasidienus and himself, and yet professing to suppose that the entertainment was for the sake of himself.

68. **adustus**, 'scorched,' 'overbaked.' On the nicety of the Romans in respect to the quality of bread cp. Sat. 1. 1. 47, 1. 5. 89 foll., and especially Juv. S. 5. 67 foll. with Mayor's notes. The 'sneer' of Balatro consists in the profession of sympathy which he does not feel, and in his encouragement of the host to new efforts which he expects to be as ludicrous in their results as the former ones.

69. **ne male conditum** refers to Nasidienus' account of the thought he has bestowed on the sauce, v. 45 foll., as the next verse refers to the actual dress of the waiters, v. 10.

72. **ut modo**, 'as they did just now.'

agaso: lit. a stable-boy. Here probably (and in Pers. 5. 76) for a clownish slave. We are not to think with Heind. that Nasidienus has actually brought his groom in to wait.

77. **soleas**: Sat. 1. 3. 128, Epp. 1. 13. 15; slippers worn indoors. The guests lay with their feet bare (cp. the story in St. Luke vii. 37, 38). When they moved they resumed the 'soleae.' Plaut. Truc. 2. 4. 12 'cedo soleas mihi,' when Dinarchus rises from table, *ibid.* 16, when he sits down again, 'deme soleas.' Cp. Mostell. 2. 1. 37 with Ramsay's note.

78. Notice the imitation of whispering in the accumulated sibilants.

81. **quoque**, with the sentence, 'whether the wine-jar had been broken as well,' i. e. besides the accident of the awning.

83. **flotis rerum**: see on Sat. 2. 2. 25 'vanis rerum'; 'pretended jests,' to conceal the fact that they were really laughing at their host and his shifts.

secundo, 'strenue adiuvente,' the metaphor from 'vento secundo,' 'Balatro filling our sails.'

84. **Nasidieno**. The vocative is mock heroic, after Homer's *Ὀδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο*, &c.

redis mutatae frontis, an extension of the common use of the gen. of quality with 'sum'; see on Sat. 1. 4. 17.

arte, from Ter. Adelph. 4. 7. 23 'illud quod cecidit forte, id arte ut corrigas.'

86. **mazonomo**. Probably a trencher for serving barley-cakes (*μαῖζα*) on (Athen. 4. 149 A). Here it is used for a large dish on which was collected this medley of delicacies.

87. **gruis sparsi**. It is noticed that 'grus' is in all other places feminine, 'anser' masc. (The reading 'albae' here is that of V.) It is very possibly intended to indicate that Nasidienus called

BOOK II, SATIRE VIII, 64-95

attention to the sex of the birds, cp. v. 43; so he spoke of the diet on which the goose had been fattened, of its colour, of the part chosen of the hare. See on this last Sat. 2. 4. 44.

90. *edit*: subj. as Epod. 3. 3.

pectore adusto (see above v. 68). This, as 'sine clune,' seems to have been a drawback or peculiarity. In spite of these, Fundanius says, the dishes were not bad if the host would have let them be eaten in peace without his lectures upon them.

91. *vidimus*, as v. 94 shows, emphatic: 'we saw but did not taste.'

92. *causas, naturas*: words that suggest a philosophy of the table. 'Rerum causas' Virg. G. 2. 490, 'rerum naturam' Lucr. 1. 21, &c. Cp. the similar play in Sat. 2. 4.

95. *peior serpentibus*. For the poisonousness of the serpent's breath the edd. quote Colum. 8. 5. 18 'cavendum ne a serpentibus adflentur [pulli] quorum odor tam pestilens est ut interimat universos.'

Afris: 'Mauris anguibus,' Od. 3. 10. 18. For Canidia as a witch see introd. to Epod. 5 and 17, Sat. 1. 8. She is introduced here as a sort of refrain, a literary reminiscence (the words are still in Fundanius' mouth, but he is made in effect to say 'I am speaking Horace's feelings'), like the 'Tityre, te patulae,' which ends Virgil's G. 4 as an echo of the 'Tityre, tu patulae' of E. 1. 1.

EPISTLES. BOOK I

EPISTLE I

TO MAECENAS

THE Epistle is written for its place. It is the dedication to Maecenas of the First Book of the Epistles, and it is an apology (1) for his change of style—from the Odes to the Epistles; (2) for the subject-matter of his new compositions. He has outgrown the power and taste for lyric poetry. His soul is set now on attaining a philosophy of life. He has not done so; but short of that, he would make the most of such eclectic and elementary fragments of truth as he has made his own. It is his own mind and life that he professes to be thinking of; but it is implied that his compositions will reflect his new tastes.

Verses 1-6. You have every claim on me, Maecenas, and I have always acknowledged it; but what you ask of me now is to shut the door of the training school again on a gladiator who has earned his discharge.

7-9. I am for turning a horse out to grass in time, before he breaks down.

10-12. So now I am laying down lyric poetry as one of my play-things. I am thinking now of philosophy, with a practical aim.

13-19. Do not suppose that this means that I have a system cut and dried. I am still an eclectic. At one time I think myself a Stoic, at another I relapse into Epicureanism.

20-26. I am impatient for the day when I may accomplish the most serious work of life by attaining a true philosophical scheme.

27. Meanwhile I would guide and comfort myself with such rudimentary lessons as these.

28-32. A little is better than nothing—especially in a medicinal art.

33-40. There is no passion that does not admit of mitigation if the patient will submit to treatment.

41-48. Humble and negative as this is, it is the first necessary step to virtue and wisdom. If only men were as eager to escape wrong desires as they are to escape poverty!

49-52. On all analogy they should be so; for the prize offered is greater, the effort required less; for virtue is to gold as gold is to silver.

BOOK I, EPISTLE I, 1

- 53-56. Unfortunately the opposite doctrine is preached by the business world of Rome and learnt eagerly by all classes.
- 57-64. The arrangements of social rank go the same way. Your place depends on your money. How much better our boys could teach us with their nursery jingle 'Rex eris si recte facies.' That is sounder than the law of Otho.
- 65-69. Which is the better adviser, one who says, 'Make money without regard to the means,' or one who says (and teaches you how to do it) 'Stand up like a man and face fortune'?
- 70-75. If the world were to ask me why I do not acquiesce in its judgments, I should answer, first, in the words of the old fable, that I will not enter its den because I never see that any who do so come out again.
- 76-80. Secondly, that it is difficult to imitate when, even where men are agreed on the end, they differ greatly as to the means:—where in the scale of disgrace am I to stop?—
- 81-90. nay, when no one man has the same taste for an hour together.
- 91-93. In this matter of capriciousness there is no difference of rank. The poor follow the rich:
- 94-105. I am as bad as others; but though you are ready to laugh at incongruities of dress and habit, you do not notice incongruities of mind and life: or if you do, you think them such common forms of madness as not to call either for cure or for restraint.
- 106-end. What is the conclusion? what but the sum of all the Stoic paradoxes? All the world is sick, except the philosopher—he never, except when he has a cold.

Note the accumulated irony of the ending. (1) Who am I, to preach? I am hitting myself as hard as any one. (2) What does my preaching come to? Am I not assuming the very Stoic tone at which I am always laughing?

1. *Prima dicta*, after Homer's *ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι* Il. 9. 97, Virg. E. 8. 11 (to Pollio) 'a te principium, tibi desinet.' There is reference of course to the place which Maecenas occupies in Horace's previously published collections of poems, Epod. 1, Od. 1. 1, Sat. 1. 1. For 'dicere' in the sense of 'cantu praedicare' see on Od. 1. 12. 13. Note the careful order. First the address, which means, 'you have infinite claims on me, and you know that I have never failed to acknowledge them'; then the circumstance which should exempt Horace from the present request, 'I have already earned and received my discharge'; then the fact that Maecenas is actually making the request, and the true nature of the request—the vocative, which gives the tone of remonstrance, being put between these. Then follows in language free from metaphor, but directly answering the 'iterum antiquo,' the reason why what was possible before is not possible now.

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2. *spectatum*, 'approved,' like 'rude' and 'ludo,' a technical term of the gladiator's life. 'Tesserae' have been found with the inscription 'SP' which are supposed to have been presented to gladiators as marks of popular approval.

rude, the gladiator's wooden sword, used for practice and given to the retiring gladiator as a symbol of his discharge. Cic. Phil. 2. 29. 74 'tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?' Ovid, perhaps remembering that Horace has the metaphor of literary effort, Trist. 4. 8. 24 'Me quoque donari iam rude tempus erat.' Cp. Juv. S. 7. 171 'Ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem.'

3. *ludo*, the gladiator's training school.

4. *mens*, 'inclination.' The words imply that the one has changed with the other.

Veianius: evidently a retired gladiator of note. The Scholiasts say that his arms were dedicated at a temple of Hercules at Fundi (in Latium). For the practice of dedicating to some deity the implements of a discarded craft see on Od. 3. 26. 3. Hercules is a natural god for a gladiator to honour in this way; and the Scholiasts' note may point to some special connexion of Veianius with Fundi and so with a temple there. No proof is alleged of any more specific relation between gladiators and the worship of Hercules beyond Vitruvius' injunction (1. 7), quoted by Orelli, that temples of Hercules should be built near gymnasia, amphitheatres, or (as at Rome) the Circus.

5. *abditus*: Od. 3. 4. 38, of retired veterans, 'abdidit oppidis.' But here with 'latet' there is a stronger sense of hiding; 'he hides himself out of sight in the country.' So Cicero of his retirement from public life, de Off. 3. 1. 3 'abdimus nos quantum licet et soli sumus.'

6. The idea seems to be that if he were tempted or forced back into the arena he would have each time again to win his discharge by appeal to the people. He wishes to have done with it once for all.

extrema harena, 'from the arena's edge,' i.e. approaching the parapet round the arena behind which the most distinguished spectators sat. The explanation given of *populum exoret* is that of Acron, who vouches for the fact that gladiators obtained their 'rudis' in this way. Some editors interpret it of his being defeated and having to appeal for his life; cp. Juv. S. 3. 36 'verso pollice vulgus Quem iubet occidunt populariter.' It is more difficult however to give in this way a satisfactory meaning to *totiens*; and the chance of ending with a breakdown seems to be kept as a last consideration for the following verses and a different similitude.

7. *est mihi*, i.e. an inward monitor. Cp. Pers. S. 5. 96 'Stat contra ratio et secretam garrit in aurem Ne liceat facere,' &c.

purgatam. It is a double statement; that there is such a monitor, and that the poet's ear is open to listen. Cp. 'auriculas . . . collecta sorde dolentis,' Epp. 1. 2. 53.

BOOK I, EPISTLE I, 2-16

8. **mature sanus**, 'be wise in time and loose,' &c.

9. **illa ducat**: the tired horse which stands 'straining his flanks' in the effort to get breath.

10. **et cetera ludicra**, 'among my other playthings.' Cp. Epp.

2. 2. 55 'Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes: Eripuere iocos, Venerem, convivia, ludum; Tendunt extorquere poemata.'

pono, sc. 'depono.'

11. **quid verum**, sc. 'sit.' 'Verum' and 'decens' are two descriptions of moral right, both from philosophical language of the day. For 'verum' in the sense of true to a moral standard cp. Sat. 2. 3. 208, 312; Epp. 1. 7. 98, 1. 12. 23; Virg. Aen. 12. 694 'me verius unum Pro vobis foedus luere.'

decens, acc. to Cicero's definition (Off. 1. 27. 93) the equivalent of 'honestum' and of the Greek *πρέπον*.

omnis in hoc sum: Sat. 1. 9. 2 'totus in illis.'

12. **condo**, of storing material.

compono, of setting it in order.

depromere, a continuation of the metaphor, 'to bring out of the store' for use. He is accumulating or digesting principles of practical philosophy for his own guidance.

13. **ne roges**, 'to forestall your asking'; the negative purpose of the statement made in v. 14 foll. See on Od. 1. 33. 1, and cp. Epp. 1. 16. 1, 1. 19. 26, 2. 1. 208.

quo duce: 'dux' was used both of a leader in war and of the chief of a philosophical school. See Munro on Lucr. 1. 638.

lare, a variation of the frequent use of 'familia' and 'domus' (Od. 1. 29. 14) for such a school.

me tute: the verb is best adapted to the metaphor of the last of the two substantives.

14. **addictus**: properly of a debtor who has been by sentence of court given over for the time as slave to his creditor; then used metaphorically, as Cic. Tusc. 2. 2. 5 'qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententiis addicti et consecrati sunt.'

iurare in verba: cp. Epod. 15. 4 'in verba iurabas mea'; to swear after a formula dictated. It was specially used of the military oath of allegiance, as in Liv. 28. 29 'in verba P. Scipionis iurarunt.' Here however the reference is to the oath of obedience taken by those who engaged themselves as gladiators; 'magistri' being a title of the 'lanista' or trainer of a gladiatorial school (Cic. de Or. 3. 23. 86 'magister Samnitium'). See Mayor on Juv. S. 11. 8 'leges et regia verba lanistae,' and cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 7. 58 'uri, virgis ferroque necari, Auctoratus.' 'Addictus' here takes the place of 'auctoratus' ('having hired himself out'). The inf. in both cases is of the class discussed in Appendix 2 (§ 2) of vol. 1.

15. **deferor hospes**, 'I come to land and claim hospitality.' The metaphor is a natural one, but cp. Cic. Acad. Prior. 2. 8 'ad quamcumque sunt disciplinam quasi tempestate delati.'

16. **agilis**: Epp. 1. 18. 90 'agilem navumque'; 'a man of action.' Cicero, de Fin. 3. 20. 68, quotes Chrysippus as teaching

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the Stoic doctrine that the wise man should take part in public life, 'velit gerere et administrare rempublicam.'

civilibus undis: Epp. 2. 2. 84 'rerum fluctibus in mediis.'

17. **verae:** true to its standard, not lowered to suit men's weakness.

custos rigidusque satelles. 'Rigidus' belongs to both substantives and is outside the metaphor, describing otherwise the strictness of the true Stoic: 'custos,' 'satelles,' as though Virtue were a sovereign.

18. **Aristippi:** Sat. 2. 3. 100, Epp. 1. 17. 14, 23; the founder of the Cyrenaic school, who 'voluptatem finem esse voluerunt,' Cic. Acad. Prior. 42. 131.

furtim relabor, as though he was ashamed of it. Horace does not paint this eclecticism as an ideal. He is in search of a philosophical system. This hesitation is a proof that he has not attained it.

19. 'Try to make things serve me, not myself serve them.' A general description of his own attitude towards external things in his Epicurean moments. He finds the principles of his life in his own inclinations, not in rules, claims, relations outside himself.

21. **opus debentibus,** 'whose work is a matter of debt.' A man who is working for his own pleasure or advantage finds the day too short.

22. **pupillis . . . custodia.** The former is a technical word, the latter not. The boys are orphans and therefore 'pupilli,' 'wards' of some guardian, 'tutor,' appointed under the father's will. They live still with their mother and are therefore under her control in fact, though not in law, as a woman could not be a 'tutor.'

dura, 'irksome.'

24. **id quod, &c.,** i.e. the obtaining of fixed principles of conduct.

25, 26. **prodest . . . nocebit.** The future adds 'by and by, though it may not seem so at the moment,' and it suits the comparison in its clause between successive stages of life. The young see no evil results, but such results will follow equally.

27. **restat:** till I attain to the system, I must do what I can with so much of the alphabet of philosophy as I have learnt.

his: such as are exemplified in the rest of the Epistle.

ego me ipse emphasizes again that his aim is practical and personal. He is not going to mount the professor's chair.

regam solerque: the practical aims of moral philosophy, guidance in conduct, and the attainment of content and tranquillity.

28-31. These lines contain an apology: 'little is better than nothing.' They also offer a first example of the 'elementa' of philosophical commonplace of which he speaks.

28. **non possis:** see on Sat. 1. 1. 45. The omission of the concessive or conditional particle, that is, the return to co-ordinate construction, has the effect of contrasting more forcibly the possible

BOOK I, EPISTLE I, 16-36

hypothesis and the impossible conclusion which might wrongly be drawn from it. Notice that in using the second person henceforth in the Epistle (at least until v. 95), Horace has in view not Maecenas, but an imaginary disputant or object of his teaching. See note on Epp. 1. 16. 41-43.

oculo contendere: lit. 'to make an effort with the eye,' as Cic. Lig. 3. 6 'voce contendere.' The position of 'contendere' makes it the inf. not after 'possis,' but after 'potuit' or 'potuisset,' in the rel. clause.

Lynceus: one of the Argonauts, famous for keenness of sight. Pind. Nem. 10. 62 *κείνου γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων πάντων γένετ' ὀξύτατον ὄμμα*.

29. **hippus inungi**: Sat. 1. 5. 30.

30. **Glyconis**. Lessing pointed out that a famous athlete, Glycon of Pergamum, is the object of an epigram by Antipater of Thessalonica, a contemporary, as appears, of Horace. Otherwise his name is unknown, and as early as Acron the conjecture 'Milonis' had been substituted in some copies. Curiously, Milo is the name in the sentence which is quoted from Epictetus, and which possibly was suggested by this passage: *οὐδὲ γὰρ Μίλων ἔσομαι, καὶ ὁμως οὐκ ἀμελῶ τοῦ σώματος· οὐδὲ Κροῖστος, ἀλλ' ὁμως οὐκ ἀμελῶ τῆς κτήσεως*.

31. **cheragra**: Sat. 2. 7. 15.

32. **est, ἔξεστι**. Sat. 2. 5. 103.

quadam . . . tenuis. The tmesis as in Virg. Aen. 5. 603 'Hac celebrata tenuis.'

33. **fervet**. Perhaps, 'is fevered,' the metaphor being continuous in this and the two following lines. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 79 'luxuria . . . aut alio mentis morbo calet.' Otherwise we should take it as Cicero's 'fervet ferturque avaritia' Quinct. 11. 38, or Ovid's 'tumida fervebat ab ira' Met. 2. 602; 'is in a ferment.' For the indicative of hypothesis cp. inf. v. 58 and 87.

misero: Sat. 1. 4. 26 'ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat,' ib. 1. 6. 129.

cupidine: a larger word than 'avaritia,' including all the ways of desiring instead of enjoying, of which that is (to Horace) the standing instance. See introd. to Sat. 1. 1. Cp. the phrase 'inops cupido' in Epp. 1. 18. 98. For the gender of 'cupido' see on Od. 2. 16. 15.

34. **verba et voces**: perhaps with remembrance of Eur. Hipp. 478 *εἶσιν δ' ἐπῳδαὶ καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριοι* | *φανήσεται τι τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου*, where *ἐπῳδαί* would answer to 'voices,' *λόγοι* to 'verba.' The teachings of philosophy are likened to the spells of the *ἱατρομαντις*.

36. **laudis amore**: ambition stands next to avarice, as in Sat. 1. 4. 26, 2. 3. 179 foll.; Epp. 2. 2. 205.

tumes, as Sat. 2. 3. 213. The choice of the figure is due to the windy, unsubstantial, character of the objects of ambition, 'inani ambitione' Epp. 2. 2. 206. But it is also another medical word, ambition is as a dropsy.

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placula : continuing the figure of ancient medicine, which mixed the arts of the physician and of the seer.

37. **ter** : see note on Sat. 2. 1. 7.

pure, as Orelli explains it = *ἀγνός, καθαρὸς*. So, with a similar mixture of medical and religious import, Plin. N. H. 22. 10 (12) 'radix caste pureque collecta.'

libello. The word covers both the philosophical treatise and the book of magic formulae to which it is likened.

41. **virtus**. We are probably, as is usual with Horace, to understand 'prima' from the second substantive. 'It is a first step in virtue to avoid vice, as it is the first step in wisdom to have got rid of folly.' He is still apologizing for the elementary and negative character of the wisdom which is to come.

43. **censum . . . repulsam**. These follow the order of the two vices of which he has spoken, avarice and ambition.

turpem : cp. Od. 3. 2. 17 'repulsae . . . sordidae.'

44. **animi capitisque labore**. A difficulty was early felt in the apparent contrast of 'animi' and 'capitis.' Our opposition of 'heart' and 'head' is not to be thought of. The true explanation is probably indicated in the early glosses which have in some MSS. crept into the text as substitutes for 'labore,' (1) 'dolore,' i.e. 'labor' means 'pain' rather than 'effort'; (2) 'periculo,' i.e. 'labor' is used with something of a zeugma, 'capitis labore' having rather the sense of 'risk to life.'

46. **per mare . . . per saxa, per ignis**. The enumeration is proverbial and metaphorical, though it begins with a danger which may be understood literally. Cp. Sat. 1. 1. 38, 2. 3. 54. With the general picture of the trader cp. Od. 3. 24. 36 foll.

47. **ne cures** : the negative purpose of 'discere,' &c., 'to save yourself from caring for,' &c.

48. **meliori** : cp. Epp. 1. 2. 68 'te melioribus offer.'

49-51. These lines enforce by an illustration the appeal of vv. 47, 48. 'Compare the prize in the two cases and the effort required. It is as though a hack prize-fighter were offered a garland at Olympia without having to fight for it.'

50. **coronari Olympia**, a Grecism : *στεφανοῦσθαι Ὀλύμπια*, as Ennius 'vicit Olumpia,' quoted by Cic. de Sen. 5. 13.

52. **vilius**, &c. This is the interpretation of the preceding question. 'Virtue is the prize offered, and that is as much more valuable than gold, which you are seeking at such cost, as gold itself is more valuable than silver. But (he goes on) here is the difficulty:—this doctrine which seems to me so clear is the very opposite of the doctrine which all the world preaches and repeats.'

54. **Ianus summus ab imo**. As to the exact meaning of this phrase see on Sat. 2. 3. 18 'Ianus ad medium.' In any case it means, generally, the head-quarters of the business of money-making.

55. **prodocet**, an ἀπαξ λεγ. It seems to answer to 'recinunt dictata'; 'deals forth as from the teacher's chair.'

BOOK I, EPISTLE I, 36-60

recinunt dictata: Epp. 1. 18. 13 'saevo dictata magistro Reddere' (cp. Sat. 1. 10. 75), of lessons taught orally and repeated in sing-song by the class.

56. The line is repeated from Sat. 1. 6. 74, where see note. It seems here to emphasize 'senes' ironically. 'Yes, the old, in this matter, are as true schoolboys as those whom I used to see and whom I described tripping to school at Venusia.' Similar repetitions of a line with a purpose occur between Sat. 1. 2. 27 and Sat. 1. 4. 92; Sat. 1. 8. 11 and Sat. 2. 1. 22; apparently without a purpose between Sat. 1. 2. 13 and A. P. 421; Sat. 2. 3. 163 and Epp. 1. 6. 28; and, though the reading is questioned, Epp. 1. 14. 34 and Epp. 1. 18. 91. It is also a usage found in the Odes under both circumstances. Cp. Od. 1. 19. 1 with 4. 1. 5; and Od. 3. 21. 20 with 4. 8. 33.

57, 58. The great majority of editors since Cruquius place these verses in this order, and there is some MS. authority for it (most of the good MSS. reverse it). Bentley, who argues strongly for it, supposes 57 to have been at some time omitted and wrongly replaced. He points out that in one of his MSS. (that belonging to Magdalen College, Oxford) it is inserted after v. 61.

If 58 is to be put before 57, we must imagine it to be a reply of the money-seeker, answering to that made in Sat. 1. 1. 62 'Nil satis est, inquit, quia tanti quantum habebas sis.' 'Nay, the world is right, not you, for I am still some way off the income which carries with it respectability.' But this is a serious break in an otherwise orderly series of thought. Putting 57 before 58, we find Horace still pursuing his statement that the world puts money before merit. That is the lesson taught on 'Change. That is the lesson (so vv. 57-59 run) of our social distinctions.

57. **est**, 'suppose you have.'

animus: 'gifts of mind,' = 'ingeni vena' in the similar Od. 2. 18. 9.

lingua fidesque. Some relation is to be felt between these. Contrast Plaut. M. G. 2. 2. 35 'os habeat, linguam, perfidiam.'

58. **quadringentis**, the 'equestris summa' of A. P. 383, a fortune of 400,000 sesterces.

sex septem, 'six or seven,' a colloquial use. Ter. Eun. 2. 3. 40 'his mensibus sex septem,' Cic. ad Att. 10. 8 'sex septem diebus.'

59. **plebs** for 'plebeius.' Wilkins points out the Homeric parallel, *δῆμον ἔδντα*, i.e. one of the people, Il. 12. 213. 'Plebs' is used with its usual Horatian meaning of 'the people' in a depreciatory sense, 'one of the crowd.'

at. Horace's answer to the judgment of the world.

60. **si recte facies.** The Scholiast gives the full line of the 'nenia,' a trochaic tetrameter catal., 'Rex eris si recte facies, si non facies, non eris,' and the same verse is quoted as a proverb by Isidore of Seville (beginning of 7th cent.) in his *Origines* (9. 3. 4). What meaning the boys gave to 'recte facere,' whether 'to play well' or 'to keep the rules' is a matter of guessing. Horace is concerned with the words, and the connexion into which 'rex' and

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'recte facere' are brought. Plato (*Theaetetus*, p. 146) alludes to a Greek game of ball in which the player who missed the ball was called *δνος*, the one who kept it up *βασιλεύς*.

hio: for the attraction of the pronoun see *Madv.* § 316.

murus aeneus, i.e. a perfect protection. See on *Od.* 3. 3. 65.

61. **sibi**: an indefinite subject being understood to 'conscire.' Wilkins points out a similar instance in *Cic. de Nat. D.* 1. 30. 84, where we have 'sibi (altered by some edd. to 'tibi') displicere,' although the sentence is addressed, as here, to the second person.

62. **Roscia lex**: see on *Epod.* 4. 15. It is taken as the type of an estimate of rank based upon money.

odes: *Sat.* 1. 9. 41.

63. **nenia**: see on *Od.* 3. 28. 16; 'refrain,' 'nursery rhyme.' Phaedrus depreciatingly calls his fables (3. prol. 10) 'viles neniae.'

64. **maribus**: *A. P.* 402 'mares animos.'

Curtis . . . Camillis: *Od.* 1. 12. 41, 42; for the plural cp. *Virg. G.* 2. 169 'Marios magnosque Camillos.'

decantata: see on *Od.* 1. 33. 3. Here we have only the idea of repetition, from generation to generation.

65. **rem . . . rem . . . rem**, of the one thing preached in season and out of season, 'money, money, money.' Cp. a slighter instance of such repetition, *Epod.* 14. 6.

67. **propius**, i.e. in the seats which the 'lex Roscia' appropriated to the knights.

lacrimosa, 'doleful.' Nothing is known of Pupius but what the Scholiasts tell us, viz. that he wrote tragedies and that the following epigram was composed on him, they say, by himself, 'Flebunt amici et bene noti mortem meam: Nam populus in me vivo lacrimavit satis.'

68. **responsare**: see on *Sat.* 2. 7. 85.

69. **erectum**. Orelli compares *Cic. Deiot.* 13. 36 'magno animo et erecto est, nec umquam succumbet inimicis, ne fortunae quidem.'

praesens: much as it is used of divinities, 'with ready help,' 'in hour of need'; it goes with both verbs: he not only advises but helps you to keep the advice.

71. **porticibus**: see *Sat.* 1. 4. 134 n.

fruar: not only use, but 'use with pleasure.'

73. **olim**, as in *Sat.* 2. 6. 79, the 'once upon a time' of a fable. Cp. *Epp.* 1. 3. 18. It is an Aesopean fable. Porph. tells us that Lucilius had used it, and some of the lines in which he did so have been pieced together in his fragments, 30. 80 foll. ed. Müller, cp. esp. vv. 86, 87 'Quid sibi vult, quare fit ut introversus et ad te Spectent atque ferant vestigia se omnia prorsus?'

76. **belua multorum capitum**. Horace dwells on the figure of the fable and gives another aspect to it. 'The world which bids me imitate it is well represented as a beast—a beast, like those of legend, with many heads.'

77-80. We are passing from the charge brought against the world, of a wrong standard, to that of inconstancy, but this is not done

BOOK I, EPISTLE I, 60-91

with logical accuracy, and the instances given of variety of taste in different people belong still to the old subject, being limited to various ways, including the most questionable ones, of making money.

77. **conducere publica**, 'to take public contracts.' The phrase seems to cover contracts both for the farming of the revenue (cp. 'publicis male redemptis,' Cic. Q. Frat. 1. 1. 11) and for works to be executed for the state. It is possible that Horace is thinking of various grades of dignity in such contracts (cp. Juvenal's 'Quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus, Siccandam eluvium,' &c. 3. 31), but the main irony lies in the verb 'gestit,' 'is greedy to,' and in the juxtaposition of the calling of the 'publicanus' with that of the legacy-hunter and the money-lender, as though the difference were one of taste.

78. **frustis**: perhaps a contemptuous term; 'scraps,' 'broken meat,' of such presents as the 'turdus' of Sat. 2. 5. 10. Most editors have preferred the reading 'crustis' ('cakes,' 'pastry'; cp. the dim. 'crustula' in Sat. 1. 1. 25), which Cruquius and Lambinus found in some of their MSS. and which has the authority of σ (the St. Gall MS.).

pomis: Sat. 2. 5. 12.

venentur . . . excipiant: Od. 3. 12. 12 'excipere aprum.'

79. **vivaria**, of catching wild game and turning them into 'preserves.' Cp. the similar metaphor of catching fish and putting them in fishponds, Sat. 2. 5. 44.

80. **occulto**. It is difficult to choose between the interpretations 'secret,' i.e. unlawful (and therefore not arranged in public), and 'that grows, men know not how,' after Od. 1. 12. 45 'crescit occulto velut arbor aevo.' In the latter case the epithet would suggest the idea of an 'unearned increment,' and so of an invidious mode of money-making.

84. **lacus et mare**: the Lucrine lake and the sea outside the bar. The rich proprietor disturbs both by his building. Cp. on the subject Od. 2. 18. 19-22, 3. 1. 33-40, 3. 24. 1-4.

sentit, in a bad sense, 'feels the effects of,' 'smarts for.'

85. **libido**, 'fancy,' 'caprice.'

86. **fecerit auspicium**: 'facere auspicium' is said properly of the birds or other appearances that give the omen.

Teanum, i.e. from the seaside to an inland town. Teanum called 'Sidicinum,' to distinguish it from the town of the same name in Apulia, was a town of Campania on the Via Latina between Cales and Casinum.

87. **lectus genialis**: the bed dedicated to the genius (called 'lectus adversus,' Prop. 4. 11. 85) which stood in the 'atrium' of a house where a married couple lived.

est: see above on vv. 33, 57.

89. **bene esse**: Od. 3. 16. 43.

90. **Protes**: see on Sat. 2. 3. 71.

91. **quid pauper**? A reply of the rich man to Horace's arraign-

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ment. Perhaps, as Cruquius suggests, it is meant to be the answer of Maecenas himself. Horace hastens to answer that the same charge of inconstancy holds against all, against himself. It is the commencement of the ironical conclusion. For the meaning of 'pauper' see on Od. 1. 1. 18. It covers, as we see, a man in Horace's own station.

cenacula: by usage, of the hired garrets of the poor. See Mayor on Juv. S. 10. 18.

92. **condueto navigio:** though he has to hire the boat, he goes to sea and is sick just as much as the rich man who has his own trireme.

93. **priva triremis:** see on Od. 2. 16. 21-24 and 3. 1. 37 foll.

94. **inaequali tonsore**, an abl. absol. (see on Od. 1. 6. 1). The point is not a general air of untidiness but the particular incongruities—the hair trimmed unevenly on the two sides, a new outer tunic and an old inner one, a 'toga' that sits unequally on the two shoulders. Maecenas' eye is especially quick for the want of harmony in any such external matters, yet he is blind to greater internal inconsistencies. At the same time the passage would seem to imply that Horace actually laid himself open to such criticisms, and therefore increases the probability that in Sat. 1. 3. 31 foll. he is thinking of himself.

95. **occurri.** The omission of the pronoun or any emphatic mark of a change of subject or person addressed supports Cruquius' view, that the reference to Horace himself has begun in the preceding lines.

subuocula: acc. to Varro (fragm. preserved by Nonius) this was a second tunic worn under the other.

pexae, of wool still fresh, with the nap on. Cp. Mart. 2. 58. 1 'Pexatus pulcre rides mea, Zoile, trita.'

96. **toga dissidet impar**, corresponds to 'toga defluit' in Sat. 1. 3. 31.

99. **aestuat**, sways to and fro like the tide.

disconvenit: Epp. 1. 14. 18.

ordine toto: his life is a succession of incongruities.

100. **diruit, aedificat.** Horace makes the Stoic in Sat. 2. 3. 3c7 laugh at him for spending money in building. Notice that though grammatically 'sententia' is the subject still, it has in thought been lost in the more personal subject which appears in v. 101 'insanire putas me?' Cp. the use of 'animus' in Od. 4. 9. 39 n.

mutat quadrata: probably a proverbial expression for fanciful alterations, based, as Lambinus suggested, on the story told of Agesilaus (see Plutarch, Ap. Laconica, Agesilai 27) that on seeing in Asia square beams used in the roof of a house he asked if trees in that country were square, and being told that they were round, said, 'then if trees grew square would you make your beams round?' Some modest alterations in his Sabine villa would be enough to give occasion to his own ironical laughter at his own expense.

BOOK I, EPISTLE I, 91—EPISTLE II

omnina, as the Schol. explains it, 'pro consuetudine' one more madman in a mad world; the doctrine of For the use of 'sollemnis' cp. Epp. 1. 18. 49, 2. 1. 103; n. acc. with 'insanire' see Sat. 2. 3. 63.

atoris: see note on Sat. 2. 3. 217.

um tutela, &c., 'though you take such responsibility I am so sensitive for my reputation, and though your word has such weight with me.'

summam: cp. his way of bringing a discussion to a close at 1. 3. 137 'Ne longum faciam.' He sums up in this way his whole moral lecture. 'You see what I have been saying is the old story. The true object of desire is "wisdom"; man" is all that the Stoics have called him—that I have added at them for calling him.' See note on Sat. 1. 3.

incipue, 'above all,' 'as a chief distinction.'

'sound,' i. e. primarily, opp. to 'insanus' (v. 101), but meaning suggests the playful qualification, 'except when bad cold.' Orelli shows by quotations that among the Stoics at least the question was common how far such minor infirmities deduct from the perfect happiness of the wise. It is possible that there is a playful reference to a medical doctrine that 'pituita' (see on Sat. 2. 2. 75) clouded the intellect. Cp. Plin. N. H. 20. 7. 26 '[lactucae] lenticum pituitae tunc ut aliqui tradiderunt, sensus purgant' with Pers. 'omnia pituita . . . purgatissima'; see Conington's note.

scansion of 'pituita' see on Sat. 2. 2. 76.

EPISTLE II

TO LOLLIIUS

4. I HAVE been re-reading my Homer, Lollius. He is a better teacher of morals than your Stoics and Academics. The whole story is full of the follies both of the few and of the many.

Hector and Nestor, in the Iliad, are the philosophers, going to the root of the matter, showing the way of safety, coming to a foolish quarrel. Paris, Achilles, and Agamemnon are 'madmen' of common life, refusing to be saved, driven on by desire or anger. The many suffer for the sins of the few. Life and its follies are the same in both camps.

Odysseus in the Odyssey, Ulysses is the philosopher, studying his own mind for others, proof against adversity, deaf to the siren song and to Circe, while his comrades fall victims to them. Find our part in the ciphers of the story, the suitors, the advisers of Alcinoüs, prodigals, fops, and loungers.

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- 32-39. This is the bane of life. Wake up, show in a good cause something of the energy which robbers show in a bad. Laziness will avenge itself in the case of moral health as of physical.
- 40-43. Do not procrastinate. Time waits for no man.
- 44, 45. You plead excuses. You are busy on legitimate objects of desire.
- 46-54. Be it so, but set a limit to these. Remember that wealth to be enjoyed presupposes health to enjoy, health of mind as well as body.
- 55-62. Pleasure is often bought too dear. Avarice is perpetual poverty. Envy is a torment. Anger is a temporary insanity.
- 62-67. These can all be tamed if you treat the mind as you treat your horse and your dog—break it in early.
- 67-70. Listen to me while you are young. Early lessons are long retained.
- 70, end. But, whether you listen or not, I shall go my own pace.

This Epistle is to be read with the First. It is an instance of the rudimentary philosophy, the thoughts on life and morals, which Horace represents himself then as storing. They are brought out now for the benefit of a young man. Homer's poems are only the text and excuse, a link, it may be, between Lollius' old studies and new needs. But we see elsewhere (see on Epp. 1. 16. 73) that Horace was inclined as he read the Greek poets to find for himself moral applications of their legends.

The 'Lollius' of this Epistle and (we may suppose) of the Eighteenth is a young man who in the later Epistle is spoken of as having served under Augustus in the Cantabrian campaign, B.C. 25, 24. He is possibly the son of the M. Lollius to whom Od. 4. 9 is addressed.

Various theories have been held as to the meaning of the appellation 'Maxime' given to him in v. 1. It has been taken (1) as = 'natu maxime,' as though there were several brothers. One brother is mentioned in Epp. 1. 18. 63. Cp. 'O maior iuvenum,' A. P. 366. This was Orelli's view, but it has been pointed out that there is no authority for the use of 'maxime' by itself in the sense of 'eldest.' (2) As, either literally or playfully, = 'illustrious'; the former by those who with the Scholiasts take the Epistle to be addressed to M. Lollius who was consul in B.C. 21; among these is Ritter; the latter by those who think it to be addressed to a boy. (3) As a cognomen. This is no new theory, having been held by Scaliger, but it has gained general belief since Meineke's advocacy of it. There is no trustworthy evidence of the cognomen borne by M. Lollius, the consul of B.C. 21. Under the Republic the only cognomen found in the gens Lollia is Palicanus. A granddaughter of his is called 'Lollia Paullina,' and this has been supposed to indicate that the cognomen was Paullinus. But the whole question of cognomina at this period is very obscure. A 'Lollius Maximus' is found in an inscription, but of a much later date.

BOOK I, EPISTLE II. 1-12

Keller compares Ovid's address (ex Pont. 2. 8. 2 and 3. 5. 6) 'Maxime Cotta' to the son of Messalla, the orator, who had been adopted into the Aurelia gens, and bore apparently both the cognomen which belonged to it, and that of Maximus, an old cognomen in the Valeria gens, to which by birth he belonged.

1. **Maxime Lolli.** Taking 'Maxime' as a cognomen (see introd.), notice the inversion of the two names, as in Od. 2. 2. 3 'Crispe Sallusti,' where see n.

2. **declamas,** of a young man practising the art of speaking under the guidance of a 'rhetor.' Cicero describes himself as doing so, Brut. 90. 310 'commentabar declamitans (sic enim nunc loquuntur) saepe cum M. Pisone et cum Q. Pompeio aut cum aliquo cotidie'; see Mayor on Juv. S. 7. 150.

Fraeneste, a haunt of Horace; see Od. 3. 4. 23 n. It does not follow that he possessed a house there.

3. **pulchrum . . . utile:** καλόν, χρήσιμον. The two tests of action according to Cic. de Off. 1. 3. 10.

4. For Chrysippus the Stoic see on Sat. 1. 3. 127. Crantor was an Academic, 'Legimus omnes Crantoris veteris Academici de luctu' Cic. Academ. Prior. 2. 44. 135, 'Crantor ille qui in nostra Academia vel imprimis fuit nobilis' id. Tusc. 3. 6. 12.

5. **crediderim.** For the tense cp. Od. 3. 5. 1.

7. **Barbariae:** cp. Od. 2. 4. 9 'Barbarae postquam cecidere turmae,' and Epod. 9. 6. The Roman poets introduce into their language about the Trojan war the post-Homeric distinction of Greeks and βάρβαροι, so that 'barbari' becomes the equivalent of Trojan or Phrygian; see Conington on Virg. Aen. 2. 504. But the point here is the greatness of the result as compared with the smallness of the occasion, the two great divisions of mankind meeting in arms (compare Herodotus' picture of the Trojan war [1. 125] as one incident in the secular conflict between Greece and the barbarian world) on account of the love of Paris.

duello. Horace affects this archaic form Od. 3. 5. 38, 3. 14. 18, 4. 15. 8; Epp. 2. 1. 254, 2. 2. 98. Notice, with Orelli, the effect of the sonorous verse with its heroic tone, in contrast with the preceding line, in emphasizing the inadequacy of the cause and the seriousness of the result.

8. **stultorum.** In the philosophical sense, as opposed to the 'sapient.' Antenor and Nestor are the philosophers.

9. **Antenor.** The reference is to Il. 7. 347 foll. Cp. also Liv. 1. 1 'duobus Aeneae Antenorique . . . quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae auctores semper fuerant, omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse.'

10. **quid Paris?** Il. 7. 357 foll. Ἀντήνορ, σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις, κ.τ.λ. Horace puts the result of Paris' answer into his mouth as though he had actually foreseen and chosen it.

11. **Nestor:** Il. 1. 254 foll.

12. **inter . . . inter.** For this idiom see on Sat. 1. 7. 11.

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13. **hunc**: sc. Agamemnon.
14. **plectuntur**: Sat. 2. 7. 105 'tergo plector.'
15. **atque**, not co-ordinated with **et** but adding to **scelere** its two motives, 'crime, and the lust and anger from which it springs.'
- 19-22. A free translation of the first five lines of the *Odyssey*, of part of which he gives another version in A. P. 141, 142, *ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ | πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε* | πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄσπετα καὶ νόον ἔγνω, | πολλὰ δ' ὃ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα δν κατὰ θυμὸν | ἀρνύμενος ἦν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἐταίρων.
23. **Sirenium**: *Odys.* 12. 39 foll. and 166 foll.
- Circae pocula**: *Odys.* 10. 230 foll. Horace recurs to the story of the crew of Ulysses in *Epp.* 1. 6. 64 foll.
24. **stultus cupidusque**. He perhaps means to suggest that the *μῶλυ* with which by *Hermes'* advice Ulysses had fortified himself before he drank of *Circe's* cup, represents temperance, with which the cup of pleasure becomes harmless. He did not drink 'in foolish greediness.'
25. **turpis et excors**, 'shamed and witless.' *Lambinus* suggests that the words are an echo of *Homer's* *κακὸν καὶ ἀνήνορα*, *Od.* 10. 301. For 'excors' see *Sat.* 2. 3. 67.
26. **immundus . . . amica luto** seem to suggest a moral interpretation of the story.
27. **nos numerus sumus**. Ulysses is the one in the thousand; we are the nine hundred and ninety-nine, the *ἀριθμός, πρόβα'* ἄλλως, *ἀμφορῆς νεησιμένοι* of *Arist. Nub.* 1203, where the succeeding designations explain the first: men without individuality, who can only be spoken of in the mass.
- fruges consumere nati**, 'fit for no task higher than to eat their share of earth's fruits'; an adaptation of the Homeric *βροτῶν ὃ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν*. For 'nati' with the inf. see *App.* 2 of vol. I. § 2.
28. **sponsi**. Cp. *Virgil's* 'nulli quondam flexere mariti' of *Dido's* suitors, *Aen.* 4. 35.
- nebulones**: see on *Sat.* 1. 1. 104. It is a further designation of 'sponsi,' giving the application by a familiar phrase of Roman town life, answering to the description of 'Alcinoi iuventus,' 'good-for-naught suitors of *Penelope*.'
- Alcinoi iuventus**, the young courtiers of *Alcinous*, as he describes them in *Odys.* 8. 248 *αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαΐς τε φίλη κιθάρις τε χοροὶ τε* | *εἴματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί*. Cp. *Epp.* 1. 15. 24 'Pinguis ut inde domum possim *Phaeaxque* reverti.'
29. **cute curanda**: *Epp.* 1. 4. 15 'bene curata cute,' *Sat.* 2. 5. 38 'pelliculam curare'; 'in keeping their skin sleek.'
30. **in mediis dormire dies**. This belongs to the life of a lazy young Roman (cp. *Pers.* *Sat.* 3 *passim*), not the actual Homeric picture.
31. **†cessatum ducere curam**. So editors have usually printed, even those who, as *Munro*, did not believe Horace to have written

it. If we accept it, it will probably mean 'to beguile care into stopping.' It is a fanciful phrase, not quite like Horace, and there is nothing in the text of Homer to account for it. Meanwhile although the majority of the older MSS. give this reading, all Cruquius' Blandinian MSS. and Keller's *E* and *g* had 'somnum' instead of 'curam.' The Scholium of Acr. in its later part explains 'cessatum curam,' but Bentley argues that the first annotation, 'quia adhibemus sonitum citharae ac lyrae ut facilius sopiamur,' belongs to an earlier reading of 'somnum.' 'Cessatum somnum' has been thought an impossible phrase, and various emendations have been attempted, as 'cessantem' Bentl., 'recreatum' Munro, but Schütz, Mewes, and Kiessling, who all accept it, quote Ov. Met. 10. 669 'cessataque tempora,' Fast. 4. 617 'cessatis in arvis' as showing that 'cessatus' could be used in a quasi-active sense. It may be doubted how far they are real parallels. The problem can hardly be said to be solved; but there is great force in Bentley's argument that the context both before and after is in favour of some reading which makes sense of 'somnum.' The young Phaeacians are not painted as burdened with care which needs beguiling, and we need to emphasize in every way, and to end with, the charge of excessive sleep, as it is the text of the moral lecture which follows. With 'curam' the connexion of 32 foll. is harsh.

32. *de noote*, 'while it is still night.' See on 'de die,' Epod. 13. 4.

33. *te ipsum*. We must not suppose these lessons to be pressed home directly to Lollius. As in the last Epistle, Horace addresses an imaginary person, some young 'Phaeacian' of Roman society.

34. *et* couples two statements, the one of which is the illustration and analogue of the other. 'As if you will not take exercise while you are well you will have to do so to cure an illness; so if you will not wake to study and honourable effort, you will wake to suffer the torture of bad passions.' For the use of 'et' cp. 'neque ... nec' Od. 3. 5. 27 n.

39. *est*: sc. 'edit.'

in annum: Epp. 1. 11. 23; 'till next year,' i.e. indefinitely.

40. *dimidium*, &c. A Greek proverb, ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἤμισυ πάντος.

41. *recte vivendi*: Epp. 1. 6. 29, 1. 8. 4, 1. 16. 17, 2. 2. 213.

42. *rusticus expectat*, 'is as the countryman waiting for the river to run by,' i.e. acts as though he thought time would stop for him. One of Horace's fables remembered or invented. It is not found elsewhere.

43. *volubilis*: Od. 4. 1. 40. Notice the imitative rhythm of the verse describing the unbroken course of the sliding water.

44 foll. Excuses imagined for him who postpones his self-reformation. He is busy for the moment getting money, or a wife, or bringing an estate into order. (Cp. the excuses in the Parable of the Guests.) Horace allows them, but gives cautions. Such desires must be limited to what is enough. They must not be

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allowed to degenerate into unsatisfied cravings. Moral health is necessary to any enjoyment.

44. *beata*. Not so much 'rich'—the irony would be out of place—as to be taken closely (as the position indicates) with '*pueris creandis*,' according to the Psalmist's picture 'as a fruitful vine upon the walls of thine house.' Notice that the expressions of vv. 44, 45 are argumentative: the person addressed is supposed to put his purposes, which detain him from philosophy, as those of a good citizen; he would earn his bread—he would breed up sons for the service of the state—he would bring fresh land into cultivation.

45. *pacantur*, 'are in process of being tamed.' Other things must wait till the urgent task is accomplished. The metaphor implies both the beneficence of the work and the struggle involved. It is of forest land reclaimed, a metaphor from the civilizing progress of Roman arms (cp. '*mitiget*,' Epp. 2. 2. 186). The interpretation is given by '*incultae*' on the one side and '*vomere*' on the other. Cp. the picture of the breaking up of woodland in Virg. G. 2. 207-211.

47. The three things named, '*domus*,' '*fundus*,' '*aeris acervus*,' answer, in varied order, to the three objects of desire mentioned in vv. 44, 45.

47-49. *non . . . non*. Another illustration or argument from analogy. As they do not restore bodily health, so they do not mental.

48. *deduxit*. The aoristic use. This line is an echo of Lucret. 2. 34, where the general sense is the same, '*Nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres*,' &c. Cp. Od. 3. 1. 41 foll.

49. *valeat*. Health is a condition of enjoyment. Cp. the emphatic position of '*valido*' in Od. 1. 31. 17.

51. *sic ut*, i.e. no more than.

52. *fomenta*. Explained by Seneca de Prov. 9. 4, which speaks of '*fomenta subinde mutata*' as a means practised by the luxurious of keeping the feet warm, hot flannels, hot-water bottles, or the like. The argument is 'if the organs of sense are diseased, that which ordinarily gives pleasure to them ceases to do so.' What gives pleasurable warmth to a healthy foot will give pain rather than pleasure to an inflamed one. If '*fomenta*' were explained of applications used to relieve the gout, there would be no parallel to the other cases.

54. *sincerum*, 'clean,' Sat. 1. 3. 56. For the thought of the line cp. Lucr. 6. 17 '*Intellegit ibi vitium vas efficere ipsum Omniaque illius vitio corrumpier intus*,' where the meaning is the same as here, that till the heart is clean no pleasure can be enjoyed.

55 foll. Precepts towards the moral health of which he has been speaking.

56. *voto* has been taken both as an abl. closely with *pete*, 'aim your wishes at a fixed point,' and as a dat., 'find a definite limit to your wishing'; cp. '*sit finis quaerendi*,' Sat. 1. 1. 92.

BOOK I, EPISTLE II, 44—EPISTLE III

58. *Siculi tyranni*, as Phalaris with his brazen bull.

60. *dolor*, 'soreness.'

mens: what kind of 'feeling' is explained in the following line which defines the occasions 'in his hurry to satisfy his vengeful hatred.'

61. *festinat*: cp. Horace's use of 'properare' with accus., Od. 3. 24. 62, Epp. 1. 3. 28.

63. *tu*: see on Od. 1. 9. 16; and cp. Epp. 1. 11. 22.

64 foll. 'It is possible if you begin in time.'

64. *tenera cervicē*: abl. with 'docilem,' 'while he learns the lesson easily because his neck is tender.'

65. *ire* feels the construction both of 'fingit'='docet' and of 'docilem.'

venatious: pred. 'The hound who does service in the forest has been a hunter from the day when he barked at a stuffed stag's hide in the yard.'

67. *puro pectore*: perhaps=while the heart is still a *καθαρόν πῦμαξ*.

68. *puer*, 'in boyhood.' If the word is meant to characterize Lollius cp. Epp. 1. 18. 55 'puer . . . Cantabrica bella tulisti.' That would be two or three years previously. But possibly, as so often in the Epistles, it is an imaginary auditor rather than Lollius whom Horace is addressing.

melioribus: see Epp. 1. 1. 48 'meliori credere.'

69. See note on Od. 1. 20. 2, Quintilian 1. 1. 5 (putting together in meaning this line and Od. 3. 5. 27) '*natura tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus annis percepimus, ut sapor quo nova imbuas durat, nec lanarum colores quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est elui possunt.*'

70-71. The point of this seems to be the ironical assurance that his preaching is not too earnest. 'You must take what I have said or leave it. If you try to throw me off I shall make no efforts to keep pace with you.' Cp., for the figure, Sat. 1. 9. 9, of one trying to get rid of a companion, '*Ire modo ocus, interdum consistere, &c.*; and for the use of 'praecedere' id. v. 42.

EPISTLE III

TO JULIUS FLORUS

Verses 1-6. I WANT to know all about the progress of Tiberius' journey, and quite as much about the literary occupation of his staff.

7, 8. Who is to write the panegyric of the reign?

9-14. What is Titius about, that brave imitator of Pindar—his promising lyrics; or tragedy which lends itself too easily to rant?

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15-20. What of Celsus? I hope he is remembering the warning to a void too much imitation.

20-29. And yourself, on which of your many interests are you busy? You have great gifts and have cultivated them. Distinction is assured to you if you are seeking it, in oratory, in legal knowledge, in poetry. If you would take the right course you might attain the still greater happiness of the philosopher. That is the true end of life.

30-end. One more question. How do you stand with Munatius? Do you value him as you should? or is the quarrel imperfectly made up?

Farewell. I am looking anxiously for the return of both of you.

The Epistle is addressed to Julius Florus, to whom Horace addresses also the second Epistle of Book II. See introd. to that Epistle.

Florus is probably identified with the Florus who is named by the elder Seneca (Controv. 4. 25) as a pupil in oratory of M. Porcius Latro, a famous 'rhetor' of Augustus' time, and by Quintilian 10. 3. 13 as 'in eloquentia Galliarum, quoniam ibi demum eam exercuit, princeps' (cp. v. 23 of this Epistle). The Scholiasts say 'Hic Florus fuit Satirarum scriptor, cuius sunt electae ex Ennio Lucilio Varrone cet.' This has been explained to mean that he published selections (Pliny uses the word 'electa' in this sense, Epp. 8. 21) from these older poets, perhaps modernized (see introd. to Sat. 1. 10).

He, with other young men of literary tastes, is in the suite of the Emperor's elder stepson Tiberius, who has been sent on a mission by Augustus to the East, in the year B.C. 20, to place Tigranes on the throne of Armenia.

2. **Claudius.** Tiberius Claudius Nero, the elder of Livia's sons, and the future Emperor Tiberius. Horace calls him 'Claudius' Od. 4. 14. 29, Epp. 1. 9. 1, 'Claudius Nero' Epp. 1. 12. 26, 'Nero' Epp. 1. 8. 2, 2. 1, 'maior Neronum' Od. 4. 14. 14.

privignus. He did not become Augustus' son by adoption till B.C. 3. At this time C. and L. Caesar, the grandsons of the Emperor, were still alive.

scire laboro: Sat. 2. 8. 19; 'I am anxious to know.'

3. **Thraex:** for the form cp. Virg. Aen. 12. 335 'gemit ultima pulsu Thraex pedom.'

4. **turris.** V had 'terras,' and Bentley defends it; but the Scholiasts all interpret 'turres,' sc. 'Herus et Leandri,' Porph. The tower of Hero is frequently spoken of, and Strabo, 13. 1. 22, speaks of a tower on the opposite coast from which the passage between Abydos and Sestos was made.

6. **studiosa,** used absolutely = 'litterata' Comm. Cruq. 'Operum' follows 'quid.'

cohors, 'suite': see on Sat. 1. 7. 23.

BOOK I, EPISTLE III, 2-14

hoo, the question which precedes. 'Mind you do not omit what is to me the most interesting part.'

7. **scribere sumit**. For construction cp. Od. 1. 12. 1, and see vol. 1, App. 2, § 1.

scribere, probably of poetry; see on Od. 1. 6. 1.

8. **bella et paces**. Either 'how he made war and peace,' the plur. as in Sall. lug. 31. 20 'cum regna, provinciae, leges, iura, iudicia, bella atque paces ... penes paucos erant,' where see Kritz's note; or (as in Epp. 2. 1. 102 'bonae paces') 'times of war and times of peace.' The first is perhaps most likely, as there is no doubt special reference to the mission of high politics on which Tiberius was travelling.

diffundit. A metaphor of space transf. to time; the pres. in the sense 'is to spread.'

9. **Titius**. Nothing is known of him but what may be inferred from the text. The Comm. Cruq. identifies him with the Septimius of Od. 2. 6. 1 and Epp. 1. 9. 1; but this can hardly be right, as both Titius and Septimius are gentile names, which are not cumulated. We gather from the text that he had ventured on the task, from which Horace in Od. 4. 2. 1 foll. professes to shrink, of writing Latin lyrics in imitation of Pindar, and that he wrote tragedies.

venturus in ora: soon to be on the lips of all in Rome. Prop. 3. 9. 32 'venies tu quoque in ora virum,' and Virgil 'volitare per ora' G. 3. 9, 'ferri per ora' Aen. 12. 235.

10. **Pindarioti fontis**: 'to drink of the fountain of Pindar,' must mean, in the first place, to seek the source of inspiration in Pindar ('Thebanos modos,' v. 13), and in Pindar directly, not in imitations in which his fresh stream stagnates or runs thinly ('lacus et rivos'). Mr. Prickard suggests with some probability that Horace had in mind also Pindar's own expression for what is original as against what is borrowed, which Quintilian has preserved (10. 1. 109) 'non pluvias (ut ait Pindarus) aquas colligit [Cicero] sed vivo gurgite exundat.'

12. **ut**: Sat. 2. 8. 1.

13. **Thebanos**, i.e. of Pindar, the Theban.

auspicio Musa, as Virg. has 'dis auspiciibus,' Aen. 4. 45.

14. **desaevit**, 'storms.' The prep. as in 'decertare,' Od. 1. 3. 13.

ampullatur. 'Ampullor' is a verb coined perhaps by Horace from **ampulla** in the sense in which it is used in A. P. 97 'proicit ampullas.' The two words evidently mean the using of florid or bombastic language. Porph. explains them as adaptations of the Greek *λήκυθος* and *ληκυθήσειν*, quoting *ληκυθήσιος Μούσα* from Callimachus. Acr. and the Comm. Cruq. on the other hand, without suggesting a Greek origin, explain them from the shape of the 'ampulla' (dim. of 'amphora'), 'inflata' Acr., 'ventricosa' Comm. Cruq. If these explanations are to be combined, as has been very generally assumed, it will follow that Horace either consciously or unconsciously put a turn on the phrase which did not originally belong to it: for the true explanation of *λήκυθος* seems to be given

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in the passage usually quoted from Cicero, ad Att. 1. 14 'Totum hunc locum quem ego varie meis orationibus . . . soleo pingere de flamma, de ferro (nosti illas *ληκυθους*) valde graviter pertexuit,' where it is clear that he takes it to mean 'a paint-pot'; cp. ad Att. 2. 1 'Aristotelia pigmenta.' It is however equally likely that Horace thought *only* of the Greek *ληκυθίζειν*, and that 'ampullatur' means 'uses the paint-pot,' 'lays the colour on thick.'

15. *quid agit?* As in Sat. 1. 9. 4: 'How is Celsus?'

mihi, dat. ethicus, 'tell me,' 'I wish to know.' Celsus is probably to be identified with the Celsus Albinovanus to whom Epp. 1. 8 is addressed.

16. *privatas opes*, wealth that he can call his own.

17. *Palatinus Apollo*. The temple of Apollo on the Palatine dedicated by Augustus in B.C. 28, attached to which was the famous library. See Od. 1. 31, introd.

18. *olim*, 'one day'; see Epp. 1. 1. 73.

19. *grex avium*. The form of the fable in Horace corresponds with that of the late Greek collection of Aesop's fables (Fab. 78). In the earlier version of Babrius and Phaedrus the jackdaw dresses himself in peacock's feathers only.

cornicula: a word not found elsewhere. It answers to *κολοιός*, 'graculus,' in the Greek fables and in Phaedrus; but the diminutive is playful, 'poor little crow.' We are not to think of Horace as charging Celsus with what we understand by 'plagiarism.' That he employs such a fable in writing of a friend shows that he has no idea that any moral stigma can be imagined. He is rather urging originality on a young writer. What he charges imitators with (Epp. 1. 19. 19 foll.) is servility rather than dishonesty.

21. *agilis*, 'on your nimble wing.' The point, as explained by the following lines, is his versatility.

thyma. For the metaphor rather differently applied see Od. 4. 2. 29.

22. *turpiter*: to the husbandman's disgrace.

hirtum: opp. 'nitentia culta,' 'bramble-grown.'

23. *linguam acuis*. The metaphor is in Cicero; Brut. 97. 331 'tu illuc veneras unus qui non linguam modo acuisses exercitatione dicendi.'

causis is the dat., 'for pleading.'

civica iura respondere. Cicero uses the phrase 'ius respondere' (de Leg. 1. 4. 12, de Orat. 1. 45. 198, see Wilkins' note) of the 'iurisconsultus' giving advice on questions of law. 'Civica iura' is the poetical variation of the technical 'ius civile.' For 'civicus' see on Od. 2. 1. 1.

24. *amabile*, as he calls the 'chori vatum' 'amabiles' in Od. 4. 3. 14.

25. *hederæ victricis*: the ivy properly belongs only to the poet (see on Od. 1. 1. 29). The epithet 'victricis' (scarcely appropriate to the poet's ivy crown, which was rather a sign of his dedication to Bacchus than of his vanquishing other poets) helps here to the

BOOK I, EPISTLE III, 14—EPISTLE IV

generalizing of the words to cover the prizes of other learned pursuits.

26. *frigida curarum fomenta*. This phrase has been much discussed, but it seems to be simply explained by the Ciceronian use of the metaphor, 'haec sunt solacia, haec fomenta summorum dolorum,' Tusc. 2. 24. 59, and by Horace's own 'Fomenta vulnus nil malum levantia,' Epod. 11. 17, where the last words answer to the general epithet 'frigida.' The sense will then be 'You are sure to win distinction, if that is your aim, in oratory, jurisprudence, poetry. You might attain to the more celestial heights to which philosophy conducts, if you would discard the anodynes to care which have not the first condition of comfort.' How close the application, what the special career of Florus, what the anodynes with which he sought to mitigate them, whether wealth, luxury, the objects of ambition, or the like, we have no materials for guessing. Generally we may compare for the figure Epp. 1. 2. 47 foll., Od. 3. 1. 41 foll. In the 'caelestis sapientia' and the figure of 'duceret, ires,' we have, perhaps, a distant echo of Lucret. 2. 7 foll. 'Edita doctrina sapientum, templa serena,' &c.

28. *hoc opus* : the task of attaining the true philosophical mind : 'quod Aequae pauperibus prodest locupletibus aequae, Aequae neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit,' Epp. 1. 1. 24. For 'properemus' see Epp. 1. 2. 61 n.

29. *nobis cari* : cp. 'Quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum,' Epp. 1. 18. 101, where 'quid minuat curas' answers to 'fomenta curarum' of this passage.

31 foll. 'Or does your broken friendship, like a wound ill stitched, close to no purpose and tear open again; and do you suffer still, in the fierceness of untamed necks, be it from hot blood or from ignorance of life?'

31. *sarta*. The edd. show that both 'sarciri' and 'coire' are medical terms for the artificial and natural processes of closing a wound.

32. For 'gratia coit et rescinditur' cp. Epp. 1. 18. 41 'gratia dissiluit.'

35. *indigni rumpere*. It is pointed out that this is an inaccurate expression, being = 'quos indignum est, non decet, rumpere,' after the model of the Greek idiom with ἀξίος, δίκαιος, and the like. So also A. P. 231 'effutire levis indigna Tragoedia versus.'

EPISTLE IV

TO ALBIUS TIBULLUS

ALBIUS, to whom I owe thanks for your fair judgment of my Satires, I wonder what you are doing at your country house—writing your excellent verses, or strolling in the forest, gaining health and meditating like a philosopher? You are a happy man

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with all the gifts outward and inward. Mind you keep to the true Epicurean creed, as, if you will come to see me, you will find that I do.

A comparison with Od. 1. 33, which is also addressed to the poet Tibullus, suggests that the enumeration of his advantages and the exhortation to imitate Horace's philosophy of life have a definite personal purpose.

The contemporary epitaph on Tibullus by Domitius Marsus seems to imply that he died about the same time as Virgil ('Te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle, Mors iuvenem campos misit in Elysios'), i.e. in B.C. 19 or 18, a date which will allow this Epistle to fall within the same limit with the others which can be dated, i.e. before B.C. 19.

1. **sermonum.** For Horace's use of this term see *Intro.* to the Satires. It is impossible to prove that Tibullus had not seen privately some of Horace's 'Sermones' of the new Epistolary type, but the term must mean here in the first instance the Satires: cp. the address 'candide Furni,' Sat. 1. 10. 86, where he is contrasting fair and unfair criticism on his Satires. It was there that he had been hurt and was sensitive: the tone of his Epistles was not provocative of censure.

2. **regione Pedana.** For 'regio' cp. Epp. 1. 15. 2. Pedum, a town which in Horace's time was in decay, if it had not already ceased to exist, is described by the Scholiasts as between Tibur and Praeneste, and this agrees with the notice of it in Liv. 8. 13. The site is identified with that of the modern village of Galliciano. Caesar had a villa in its neighbourhood: Cic. ad Att. 9. 18. The locality of Tibullus' property is not named elsewhere.

3. **Cassi Parmensis.** See note on Sat. 1. 10. 61 for the strong arguments against the Scholiasts' identification of this person with the 'Etruscus Cassius,' the fluent and bad writer whose funeral pile was formed of his own books. The natural interpretation of the present passage requires that the standard by which Horace tries the poems of Tibullus should be one which in the judgment of both would imply a compliment.

opuscula. There is perhaps some slight depreciatory meaning in the diminutive, as when Horace uses it of his own Odes in Epp. 1. 19. 35. It is used in Plin. Epp. 8. 21 as the usual term for the separate poems which compose a book, 'liber opusculis varius.'

4. **tacitum** carries the idea of quiet uninterrupted thought, as in Sat. 1. 3. 65, 1. 6. 123.

silvas inter. The edd. quote Tib. 4. 13. 9 (not however certainly a poem of Tibullus) 'Sic ego secretis possim bene vivere silvis, Qua nulla humano sit via trita pede.'

reptare, of leisurely strolling.

6. **eras.** The time is explained by the emphasis laid in v. 2 on 'nunc.' Horace's ground for being sure that Tibullus is *now* either

BOOK I, EPISTLE IV, 1-16

busy on good poetry or living as a philosopher, is his *previous* knowledge of him. See note on Od. 1. 37. 4. This instance comes under (2). 'I thought so when I knew you and I was right.'

pectore, used as 'cor,' 'animus.' Ovid has 'rudis et sine pectore,' Met. 13. 290.

formam. In two lives of the poet prefixed to MSS. of his poems he is described as 'insignis forma.'

7. **divitias**: the word, as Disen's remarks in his introd. to Tibullus, is explained in v. 11 by 'mundus victus non deficiente crumena,' and so reconciled to what Tibullus himself repeatedly says of his circumstances. He speaks of having a reduced estate, small but sufficient ('paupertas' 1. 1. 5, 'composito securus acervo Despiciam dites despiciamque famem' 1. 1. 77), but 'riches' is a relative term.

dedērunt: Epod. 9. 17 'vertērunt,' Sat. 1. 10. 45 'annuērunt.'

8. **voveat**, in the sense of 'pray for,' as 'votum' frequently.

nutricula. For a foster-mother's prayers cp. Pers. Sat. 2. 39 Ego nutrici non mando vota,' &c.

9. **qui**. The construction is quite straightforward. 'What more should a fond foster-mother desire for a dear child who already can,' &c.? This was missed, and some comparative construction after 'maius' looked for; and the result was the variant 'quam,' which with the interpolation 'ut' before 'possit' occupied the early editions. Some good MSS. have 'quin.'

sapere et fari. Obbar recalls Thuc. 2. 60 γνῶναι τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι τὰυτα.

11. **mundus**: illustrated by Od. 3. 29. 14, Sat. 2. 2. 65, and the opposite 'pauperies immunda domus,' Epp. 2. 2. 199.

12. **inter**, &c., 'in a world of'; where others, who are not philosophers, are tossed by divers passions, do you hold fast the secret of tranquillity.

13. **omnem crede**. Another version of such precepts as 'Quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro Appone' Od. 1. 9. 14, and 'carpe diem quam minimum credula postero' Od. 1. 11. 8.

14. **grata superveniet**: come as a welcome surprise.

15. **me**, in its emphatic position points the argument, 'I practise what I preach'; at the same time when speaking of himself Horace with his usual irony puts Epicureanism in a playful aspect.

pinguem, an actual feature in Horace's case acc. to the Suetonian life, 'habitu corporis brevis fuit atque obesus.'

nitidum: Sat. 2. 2. 128.

curata cute: Epp. 1. 2. 29.

16. **grege**: Sat. 2. 3. 44. A usual metaphor for a 'school' of philosophy, but here it is intended to suit, and as Wilkins says to lighten (by the fact that it is an habitual figure), the metaphor of 'porcum.' 'Epicurus' sty' would turn play into earnest.

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EPISTLE V

TO TORQUATUS

SEE introduction to Od. 4. 7.

An invitation to a modest entertainment on the night before Caesar's birthday. The tone and topics are very like those of the Odes.

If you do not mind a simple entertainment, Torquatus, I shall expect you at sunset. I will get you what wine I can: if that is not to your liking, you must send better. All is ready and in best trim in your honour. Leave money-making and ambition. To-morrow is a holiday, so we can sit all night if we like. The only use of fortune is to enjoy it. I am in the humour for merriment. Wine is nature's best gift. My business is to see that all is neat and clean, and that the company is well chosen. I shall have Butra and Septimius and, I hope, Sabinus. There is room for you to bring some guests, but remember the drawbacks of too large a party. Your business is to say how many you wish them to be, and then to slip away from your business and come.

1. *potes*. For 'posse' in the sense of *τλήναι* see on Od. 3. 11. 30, Epod. 9. 14.

Archiaois. 'Archias faber fuit vilium lectorum,' Acr. The adj. as 'Pausiacus,' from 'Pausias,' Sat. 2. 7. 95. As another instance of furniture of a special make being known by the maker's name is quoted Aul. Gell. 12. 2 'Soterici lectis.' Horace's couches were not as in great houses 'rubro ubi cocco Tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos' (Sat. 2. 6. 102), but they were from a known maker, and the tone implies that he is modestly proud of them. Some MSS. had 'Archaicis,' which has been taken as a Latin form of *ἀρχαϊκοῖς*, but such a use of a Greek word is not Horatian, and in all words of similar form (as 'Achaicus,' Od. 4. 3. 5) the antepenultimate 'a' is long as in the Greek. The Comm. Cruq. who read 'Archaicis,' explained it of the name of the maker.

2. *modica*: cp. Od. 1. 20. 1 'Vile potabis modicis Sabinum Cantharis.' In both places he is matching some modesty in the cups or dishes with the modesty of their contents. Is it of make and material? or of size? For the latter cp. Sat. 2. 2. 95 'grandes rhombi patinaeque Grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus' and 2. 6. 70 'modicis poculis,' 2. 8. 35 'calices poscit maiores.'

holus omne, 'a mess of vegetables.' We need not suppose that the supper consisted entirely of this.

3. *supremo sole*: cp. 'sub lumina prima,' Sat. 2. 7. 33, of the hour of Maecenas' supper.

4. *iterum Tauro*, i.e. 'consule.' T. Statilius Taurus was consul (iterum) with Augustus in B.C. 26.

diffusa. Juv. S. 5. 30 'Ipse capillato diffusum consule potat';

BOOK I, EPISTLE V, 1-14

as we should say, 'bottled,' transferred from the 'dolium' to the 'amphorae.' This was only done with the better wines which would keep. See note on Epod. 2. 47.

5. *Petrinum*. 'Petrinus mons est Sinuessae imminens vel ager Sinuessae vicinus' Comm. Cruq., 'vicus olim et locus in agro Falerno' Acr. Horace defines the locality, but more cannot be known. 'Between Minturnae (at the mouth of the Liris) and Sinuessa' (a dozen miles eastward along the coast) would be in the near neighbourhood of the Mons Massicus.

6. *arcesse*, 'send for it,' i.e. bid it be brought from your own house to mine.

imperium fer: 'patere me regem esse convivii' Comm. Cruq.; 'submit to my ordering.'

7. *splendet focus*, both of the hearth, cleaned for the occasion, and the 'residentis Lares' (Epod. 2. 65 n.) by it.

8. *levis*: they seem trifles to-day.

certamina divitiarum, 'wealth with its rivalries.' 'Noli curare de divitiis quibus certamus anteire ditiores,' Schol. Cp. Sat. 1. 1. 113 foll.

9. *Moschi causam*. Some famous cause in which Torquatus was engaged. The Scholiast says that Moschus was a 'rhetor' from Pergamum who was tried for poisoning.

nato Caesare. Suetonius (Oct. 57) says 'equites Romani natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebraverunt,' and Horace's supper-party the night before seems to have the same purpose.

10. *veniam somnumque*: licence for holiday and for longer sleep than usual, so that we need not fear a late revel to-night.

11. *aestivam*. The word is used with some latitude, for Augustus' birthday was A.D. ix Kal. Oct. (Sept. 23). This has been felt to be a serious difficulty, and various modes of escape have been sought. Some suppose it to be the birthday of Julius Caesar (July 12) or of Gaius Caesar the elder son of Julia and Agrippa, who was born in the summer of B.C. 20. 'Caesar' is used without further designation for C. Jul. Caesar in Od. 1. 2. 44 and Sat. 1. 9. 18, but in both cases the context makes the use of it clear. Everywhere else it is the name of Augustus and can hardly but be so here.

12. *fortunam*. For the construction cp. Ov. Am. 2. 19. 7 'Quo mihi fortunam quae numquam fallere possit?' Madv. § 239 compares the use of an infinitive after 'quo' as Sat. 1. 6. 24 'quo tibi, Tilli, sumere,' &c., and of 'unde' with an accus. Sat. 2. 5. 102 'unde mihi tam fortem?' 2. 7. 116 'unde mihi lapidem?'

13. *ob heredis curam*. For the feeling cp. Od. 2. 3. 19, 2. 14. 25, 4. 7. 19, with the notes on those passages.

14. *adsidet*: as we say, 'is next door to'; a metaph. use not found elsewhere; though the opposite, 'dissideo,' is common.

spargere flores: Od. 3. 19. 22 'sparge rosas.' It is not certain which is described, whether strewing the table with flowers, or pelting one another with them.

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15. *inconsultus*, 'a madcap.' So 'furere' Od. 2. 7. 28, 'insanire iuvat' 3. 19. 18, 'desipere' 4. 12. 28.

patiar haberi: for construction cp. Epp. 1. 16. 30 'Cum pateris sapiens vocari.' It is a Grecism going beyond the prose use, which would require 'me' with the accus. of the complemental adj.

16. *dissignat*. This, as against 'designat,' is the best-supported reading. So also 'dissignatorem' in Epp. 1. 7. 6. 'Dissignare' was in any case a rare word, and its meanings have been made more uncertain by the frequent confusion with 'designare.' This confusion is as old as the schol. on Horace. Acr. and Porph. apparently had 'dissignat,' the Comm. Cruq. 'designat.' Three meanings have been traced in 'dissignare': (1) 'to stamp apart,' so 'to order the distinct parts of something.' This should be the meaning in 'dissignator,' the 'undertaker, or master of the ceremonies at a funeral': (2) 'to stamp differently,' so 'to do something at once marked and strange.' This is the interpretation which Nonius and Donatus put on Ter. Adelph. 1. 2. 7 'quid dissignavit' (but the reading is very doubtful both in Terence and in Non. and in Donat.): (3) 'to unseal' (cp. the use of 'discludere,' 'to uncloset,' as in Virg. Aen. 12. 782), so 'to divulge,' 'to reveal.' Porph. took it here in this sense = 'aperit.' Acr. hesitates; 'aperit vel confundit,' the latter interpretation approximating to (2). Prof. Nettleship, in an article on the word in the Journal of Philology, vol. 10, p. 206 f., perhaps unnecessarily, would make the use in (2) a modification of (3). He interprets it here by, 'of what miracles is not intoxication capable?' Schütz still prefers, and perhaps rightly, 'designat.' The word would have a *παρά προσδοκίαν* force, attributing purpose to that which is usually thought the cause of random action. He well compares Aristophanes' adjective: *Οἶνον γὰρ εὖροισ ἄν τι πρακτικώτερον*; | *ὄρᾳς*; *ὅταν πίνωσιν ἄνθρωποι, τότε* | *πλουτοῦσι, διαπράττουσι, νικῶσιν δίκας*, | *εὐδαιμονοῦσιν, ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς φίλους*, Eq. 91 f.

operta recludit: cp. in the stanzas parallel to this passage (Od. 3. 21. 13-20), 'sapientium Curas et arcanum iocosum Consilium retegis Lyaeo.' He is not speaking of the betrayal of secrets, but of sharing and so lightening the burden of them.

17. *spes iubet esse ratas*, 'bids hope be fast' Conington, gives it substance and confidence.

inertem: see on Od. 3. 5. 36.

18. *addocet*: *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* (unless 'addocti' be read, which is very doubtful, in Cic. Clu. 36), 'teaches new arts.' Cp. the correlative 'addisco' freq. in Cic., as de Sen. 8. 26 'cotidie aliquid addiscentem senem fieri.'

19. *fecundi*, 'fertilizing,' 'life-giving.' A metaphor is suggested: wine is to the intellect what water is to the parched soil.

21. *ego*, opp. to 'tu' in v. 30. 'This in my part.'

imperor, 'I am under orders,' i.e. from himself. A rare instance of a personal passive for a verb which governs a dative. So

BOOK I, EPISTLE V, 15—EPISTLE VI

'invidior,' A. P. 56. So Virg. the passive of 'credo,' Aen. 2. 247 'non umquam credita Teucris.'

22. *toral*: see on Sat. 2. 4. 84.

mappa: Sat. 2. 4. 81, 2. 8. 63.

23. *corruget naris*. Quintilian (11. 3. 80) quotes this in illustrating the use and abuse of gestures and grimaces, adding 'naribus derisus contemptus, fastidium significari solet.'

25. *dicta eliminet*. The edd. quote the Greek proverb preserved by Martial 1. 28. 7 *μῶδ' ἀνάμωνα συμπόταν*.

coeat, of the choice of the company as *iungatur*, of its assortment at table.

par pari: in allusion perhaps to the Greek proverb *ὁμοίον ὁμοίῳ*.

27. *oena prior*: 'prior,' as in Epp. 1. 1. 88, 'better.' Any tautology in this rendering is removed by the fact that 'prior potiorque' is a common conjunction; here the two are apportioned between the two substantives. It is also taken for 'an earlier invitation' or 'a supper at an earlier hour.'

28. *adsumam*: a certain reading, though the meaningless 'ad summam' got possession of all the MSS. except Keller's *E*.

umbris: see on Sat. 2. 8. 22; here guests whom Torquatus might bring with him.

29. *premunt caprae*, 'when the party is too crowded a flock of goats is disagreeably near.'

30. *quotus*, 'one of how many.'

31. *atria servantem*, 'waiting in the hall.' Sen. de Brev. Vitae 14. 7 'quam multi per refertum clientibus atrium prodire vitabunt et per obscuros aedium aditus profugient.'

EPISTLE VI

TO NUMICIUS

'CHOOSE your "*summum bonum*" and having chosen it pursue it with thoroughness and consistency.' One who says this has his own idea of the true '*summum bonum*,' and the illustrations of his principle in the case of ideals other than this must be in some degree ironical.

Verses 1, 2. Assume the '*summum bonum*' to be the *ἀραξία* of the Epicureans.

3-16. Then, see all that follows from this and remember (17-27) how the absurdity of overestimating sublunary things is pointed by the instability of human life.

28-31. So with all ideals. You are energetic in trying to cure a pain in your side or back. Be the same in moral things.

If virtue is the one road to happiness, make any sacrifices for her.

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31-48. If on the contrary there is no standard but a material one, then pursue with energy material wealth.

49-55. If the objects of ambition give happiness, spare no pains on them.

56-64. If good eating, then take the shortest roads to that.

65, 66. If love and mirth, think of nothing else than them.

67, 68. These are my principles, Numicius; tell me frankly if you have any better ones.

Note that the phrases which give the connexion are v. 2 'facere et servare beatum,' v. 29 'recte vivere,' v. 47 'facere et servare beatum,' v. 49 'fortunatum praestat,' v. 56 'bene vivit,' v. 66 'vivas in. . . ' all expressions of the 'summum bonum' or ideal of life.

In speaking of the philosophical idea of ἀραπαξία identified with ἀθαναστία (see on v. 1), vv. 1-27, the key-words are 'admirari' v. 1, 'miratur' v. 9, 'mirare' v. 18, 'mirabilis' v. 23.

We have no clue to the identity of Numicius. The Scholiasts are silent about him.

1. **Nil admirari**: cp. Strabo's words (1. 3. 21) τὴν ἀθαναστίαν ἣν ὕμνει Δημόκριτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι πάντες παράκειται γὰρ τῷ ἀθαρμείῃ καὶ ἀταράχῃ καὶ ἀνεκπλήκτῳ, and Cicero, de Fin. 5. 29. 87 'Id enim ille [Democritus] summum bonum εὐθυμίαν et saepe ἀθαρμσίαν appellat, id est animum terrore liberum.' Μηδὲν θυνμάζειν is a precept or a boast attributed to philosophers of several schools, but Horace is likely to be thinking chiefly of the ἀραπαξία of the Epicureans.

prope, 'is perhaps the one and only thing.' See on Sat. 2. 3. 32 'suntique prope omnes,' and cp. A. P. 432 'faciunt prope plura.'

una solaque. Cicero prefers 'unus solus' without the conjunction, and uses it frequently. 'Una,' = 'praecipua.' Notice the additional force given by dividing 'una' from 'solaque,' and by the insertion between them of the vocative which asks for special attention.

3. **hunc solem**, 'yonder sun.'

4. **momentis**, 'movements,' as in Cic. de Nat. D. 2. 46 'astra . . . sua momenta sustentant.'

formidine nulla imbuti, 'with no tinge of fear.' The fear meant must be the fear from which Lucretius' poem was written to free mankind. The key seems to be given in the epithet 'certis' in v. 3. The philosopher who has learnt the law, the 'causes of things,' has got rid of fear according to Virgil, G. 2. 490.

5. **quid censes . . . quo spectanda modo . . . credis?** The construction is rightly illustrated by Cic. Rosc. Am. 17. 49 'Quid censes hunc ipsum S. Roscium, quo studio et qua intelligentia esse in rusticis rebus?' a more lively way of saying 'quo studio, &c., hunc S. Roscium esse censes?' 'Credis' only repeats 'censes.' It is an argument from the greater to the less. If philosophy teaches calm in the presence of the great celestial movements of the universe, how much more in the presence of things terrestrial.

BOOK I, EPISTLE VI, 1-17

6. *Arabas et Indos*: *Od.* 3. 24. 2.

7. *Iudiora*: either the plur. of 'ludicrum' (a frequent word in Livy for a show of games), or the neut. plur. of the adj., a more general term than 'ludos,' 'public games and all that concerns them.' We must remember the large space occupied by spectacles in the aims and dreams of a Roman. The words have been punctuated and taken in many ways. *Acr.* interprets by 'inania,' but there is nothing to show whether he took it as in apposition or agreement with 'munera,' 'mere playthings,' or with 'plausus,' the latter being a genitive, 'empty applause.' The objection to these seems valid that a contemptuous epithet spoils the rhetorical force of the question, still more when it is affixed to part only of the objects of the sentence.

plausus et dona are to be taken together as both governing 'Quiritis.'

Quiritis: properly a single Roman citizen (as in *Od.* 2. 7. 3). Here used collectively for the Romans, as 'Romanus' in *A. P.* 54; with 'dona Quiritis,' cp. *Juv. S.* 10. 78 'qui [populus] dabat olim Imperium, fascis, legiones, omnia.'

9. *fero*, best taken with *eodem*, as in *Sat.* 1. 3. 96 with 'paria,' (see note there) 'the same or nearly so.'

miratur: he breaks the rule 'nil admirari.' It is well translated by Prof. Wilkins 'overestems.'

10. *cupiens*, 'the man who desires them.'

pavor, in the sense of Virgil's 'pavor pulsans,' *G.* 3. 106, *Aen.* 5. 138, 'the flutter of excitement.' 'There is the flutter of heart which is painful in either case, so soon as a sight that was not looked for amazes the one and the other.'

11. *exterret* is used much as in *Virg. Aen.* 11. 806 'exterritus Arruns Laetitia mixtoque metu,' of the amazement of strong emotion: cp. Plato's *ἐπτοῖσθαι* [*περὶ ἐπιθυμίας*] *Phaed.* 68. There seems no need, in spite of Lachmann's authority (on *Lucr.* 4. 1022, where he adopted the same verb), to accept the conj. of Jacobs (*Lect. Venus.*) 'externat' (a verb analogous in formation and sense to 'consternare').

12. The same fourfold division of emotions as *Virg. Aen.* 6. 733.

13. *spe*, 'expectation.'

14. 'Eyes are riveted, and heart and limbs alike spell-bound.' With 'torpet' cp. *Sat.* 2. 7. 95 n.

15, 16. The sentiment is that of *Cic. Tusc.* 4. 29. 62 'Omnium philosophorum una ratio est medendi, ut nihil, quale sit illud, quod perturbet animum, sed de ipsa sit perturbatione dicendum . . . etiam si virtutis ipsius vehementior appetitus sit, eadem sit omnibus ad deterrendum adhibenda oratio.'

17. 1 *nunc*. An ironical exhortation to do that which in the face of what has been said ('nunc') is ridiculous, *Epp.* 2. 2. 76. Cp. *Virg. Aen.* 7. 425 'I nunc, ingratiss offer te, irrisse, periclis,' *Juv. S.* 12. 57 'I nunc et ventis animam committe.' For 'i' without 'nunc' *Juv. S.* 10. 166 'i demens et curre per Alpīs.' For 'nunc'

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without 'i' Virg. E. 1. 73 'Inserere nunc, Meliboeae, puros,' 'with this before you,' as Conington renders it.

argentum : see on Sat. 1. 4. 28.

artis : Od. 4. 8, 5, Epp. 2. 1. 203 ; 'works of art.'

18. **suspicio** : the opp. of 'despice.'

mirare : again the key-word, vv. 1, 9, 23.

cum gemmis colores : Virg. G. 2. 506 'Vt gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro.'

20. **vespertinus**, adj., for adv. of time : Sat. 2. 4. 17 'Si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes.' 'Vespertinus' implies industry, as business stopped generally soon after noon.

21. **ne plus** : 'that you may gain by your own exertions as large an estate as Mutus, who excites your envy, gained by a fortunate marriage.' He might have said only 'that you may gain a large estate,' but the additional purpose of thereby cutting out Mutus shows still further the standard by which the wealth-seeker judges things, the ideal (note the word 'mirabilis') which he sets before himself.

22. **Mutus** : an unknown person. Bentley showed that the name is found in inscriptions.

indignum : a parenthetical characterizing of the action, like 'nefas' in Epod. 16. 14, Virg. Aen. 8. 688. It is less usual to append, as here, a justifying clause 'quod,' &c.

24. **in apricum**, 'into the sunshine,' as 'nitentia,' 'those that are in the light.'

25. **defodiet oondetque**, 'will hide underground.' The generations of men pass as other things that grow of earth. This is the thought which condemns such idealizing of wealth. The edd. compare for the expression Soph. Aj. 646 ἀπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος | φέει τ' ἀδῆλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται.

bene notum, 'a familiar sight.'

26. **porticus Agrippae** : see on Sat. 1. 4. 134. The colonnade here mentioned is taken to be the Porticus Neptuni erected by Agrippa in B.C. 27, and adorned with paintings representing the story of the Argonauts—a memorial of his own naval victories.

via Appi : in Epod. 4. 14, the upstart displaying his wealth. 'Appiam mannis terit.'

27. **Numa quo devenit et Ancus**, 'the best and greatest of kings.' See on Od. 4. 7. 15, Lucr. 3. 1025.

28. **si latus**, &c. This verse, substituting 'quod' for 'si,' and the subj. for the indic., occurs in Sat. 2. 3. 163 ; see note there. The original text 'nil admirari' is now exhausted, and he turns to other conceptions of the 'summum bonum,' putting between the two parts of the Epistle the principle which gives it its true thread. This is expressed in a figurative form : 'If you are ill, you would take some pains to be well.' The relation between the two members of the analogical comparison is expressed, in the absence of conjunctions, by assimilating the form of sentences, two imperatives, as though he said 'when I bid you choose your ideal and pursue it

BOOK I, EPISTLE VI, 17-39

with spirit, it is only as though I bade you do what you would do without my bidding, namely, try to get well if you were ill.'

29. *recte vivere*, 'to guide your life aright,' 'to follow the true end whatever it is.' See on Epp. 1. 2. 41.

quis non? 'All men have their ideal.'

30. *omissis delictis*: for they belong to another ideal, pleasure.

31. *hoc age*, 'to business!' 'give your whole attention,' Sat. 2. 3. 152, Epp. 1. 18. 88.

virtutem verba putas. This answers not to 'vis recte vivere,' but to 'si virtus hoc una potest dare.' We may mark it as a question, or take it as a supposition. The reference is probably to Brutus' last words, ὦ τλήμων ἀρετῇ, λόγος ἂρ' ἦσθ', ἐγὼ δέ σε | ὡς ἔργον ἥσκουν. See note on Od. 2. 7. 11, and cp. Epp. 1. 17. 41 'Aut virtus nomen inane est Aut,' &c.

'Are you a man who takes a purely material account of everything, who thinks virtue a thing to talk of, but of no substantial existence, who thinks a sacred grove so many yards of timber; seek then with vigour the ideal which suits your view, namely, material wealth.'

33. *Cibyraticea*. Cibyra was a town in the south of Phrygia, on the borders of Caria and Lycia. It gave its name to one of the largest 'conventus' in Roman Asia Minor, that one, namely, of which Laodicea was the chief town. Strabo, 13. 4. 17, speaks of an iron trade at Cibyra. Bp. Lightfoot (Intro. to Ep. to Colossians, 'Churches of the Lycus') thinks that the phrase 'Cibyraticea negotia' refers rather to the trade of Laodicea.

Bithyna: Od. 3. 7. 3 'Thyna merce beatum.'

perdas, i.e. if any one forestalls you.

34. *rotundentur*, 'rotundo' and 'corrotundo' are used for 'to make up a round sum.'

35. *quae pars quadrat*, the fourth thousand which makes the heap four times the original.

36. *scilicet*: ironical, and marking that the sentiment is not Horace's but that of the votary of wealth; 'of course, you know.'

fidem: cp. Juv. S. 3. 143 'Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca, Tantum habet et fidei.'

37. *et genus et formam*. Schütz seems right in saying that there is a parody of the Stoic paradoxes of the perfection of the wise man, 'liber honoratus pulcher rex denique regum.'

38. *bene nummatum*. A phrase found in Cicero, de leg. Agr. 2. 22. 54 'adolescens non minus bene nummatus quam bene capillatus.' Cf. our expression 'a moneyed man.'

Suadela, Πειθώ. The man of money is the man who is listened to, the man who is loved.

39. The king of the Cappadocians and Lucullus are instances, the former of failure, the latter of success, in complying with the precept to do what you do thoroughly. Cicero, speaking of Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia (predecessor of Archelaus, who was king at this time), writes 'nullum acrarium, nullum vectigal

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habet . . . nihil illo regno spoliatus, nihil rege egentius' ad Att. 6. 1, 'erat rex perpauper' id. 6. 3. The Roman slavemarket was flooded with Cappadocian slaves. 'The king sends us many slaves but cannot pay his tribute; Lucullus was truly royal in his magnificence.' The story of Lucullus is repeated by Plutarch in his life of him.

40. *ne fueris hic*, 'do not answer to this picture.' Cp. Epp. 1. 15.
42. 'hic ego sum.' For the long syllable 'fueris' see on Sat. 2. 2. 74. *chlamydes*, the Greek soldier's cloak, here wanted for a pageant on the stage. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 189f.

44. *tolleret*: the subject is the praetor or the person giving the show.

46. *fallunt*, 'are forgotten by,' as by Lucullus in this instance.

47. *facere et servare beatum*. The repetition from v. 1 is meant to show the connexion. The phrase is varied in v. 49 'fortunatum praestat.' We are passing in review various ideals.

49. *species*, 'display,' 'splendour.' Epp. 2. 2. 203. Cp. Cic. Pis. 11. 24 'magnum nomen est, magna species . . . consulis.'

50. *qui dictet nomina*: what was called a 'nomenclator.'

laevum, as the slave would walk on the left side; see on Sat. 2. 5. 17. A little doubt hangs over the reading, the mass of MSS. having 'saevum,' which makes no sense.

51. *trans pondera*. A phrase which has not been certainly explained. (1) The Comma. Cruq. and Acron explain 'pondera' as the high stepping-stones (such as are to be seen in Pompeii) by which people crossed from the raised path on one side of the street to that on the other; 'to stretch half across the street.' There is no other ground for thinking that 'pondera' was a technical name for these stepping-stones, and it may be a guess as baseless as others. It has been taken in several other ways, as (2) 'across the counter,' of shaking hands with tradesmen in a 'taberna' opening on the street, 'pondera' being the weights used in scales. This view is taken by Orelli, Keller, Schütz, and Kiessling. (3) 'Beyond your balance,' 'at risk of tumbling down,' Conington. This was suggested by Gesner and is supported by Lachmann on Lucret. 6. 574. (4) It has lately been explained of weighted tassels attached to the dress in order to make it sit properly, such as are represented in monuments, and such as have been found in Etruscan tombs (Dennis, Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, vol. 2. p. 515). It is difficult however to see how, if this is the sense, it adds anything to the picture.

52. *Fabia . . . Velina*, sc. 'tribu.' Horace apparently takes two names of tribes at random. Pers. 5. 73, probably in imitation of him, has 'Velina.'

53. *hic*, not the 'hic' of v. 52, but a third citizen.

54. *importunus*, with *eripiet*, 'roughly,' 'ruthlessly'; see on Od. 4. 13. 9.

frater: so Juv. S. 5. 135, Virro to Trebius, when his fortune has come to him, 'Vis, frater, ab ipsis Ilibus?' See Mayor's note.

BOOK I, EPISTLE VI, 39—EPISTLE VII

55. *facetus*, 'blande et comiter,' Orell.

56. *luet*: 'let us start at daybreak and prepare for our feast.'

57. *piscemur*, *venemur*. 'Let us go fishing and hunting, not in the way that involves manly exercise, but after Gargilius' easy fashion.' The story is suggested by the metaphorical use of '*venemur*,' and adds nothing to it.

60. *populo*. The repetition means the same people that saw him go out.

61. *crudi*: used both of undigested food and persons in a state of indigestion. See Sat. i. 5. 49. For the practice spoken of cp. Pers. Sat. 3. 98 '*Turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre lavatur*,' &c., Juv. S. i. 142 '*Poenā tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus Turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas*.' See Mayor's note there. The purpose apparently was to get a fresh appetite.

62. *quid deceat*. There must be no back-glances at ideals you have forsworn.

Caerite cera digni, 'worthy of the register of Caere.' This phrase, which does not occur elsewhere, is explained by the Scholiasts and by A. Gellius 16. 13 to be the equivalent of '*digni qui in aerarios referantur*,' that is, to be reduced to the condition of '*civitas sine suffragio*,' 'disfranchised.' The origin of the phrase is traced by Gellius to the story told in Liv. 5. 40 f., of the services rendered by Caere to Rome during the Gallic invasion and its consequent reward of an honorary citizenship, by the Scholiasts to the occasion of the later rebellion of Caere (Liv. 7. 20) when the citizenship originally given was limited in this way as a punishment. The matter is discussed by Madv. Opusc. vol. i. p. 240.

63. *remigium Vlixæ*: cp. the interpretation of this story in Epp. i. 2. 23 f.

64. *interdicta voluptas*. With particular reference perhaps to the slaughter of the cattle of the Sun, Hom. Od. 12. 271 f.

65. *Mimnermus*, of Colophon, an elegiac poet of the time of Solon. See Epp. 2. 2. 101; cp. frag. 1 (Bergk) *τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τεργάνον ἄτερ χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης; | τεθναῖν δτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι κ.τ.λ.*

67. *vive, vale*: see on Sat. 2. 5. 110.

istis, 'what I have given you': having been identified thus in relation to Numicius they become in v. 68 'his' in relation to himself and Numicius together. '*Istis*' is to be referred, not to the advice of Mimnermus (as Pope perhaps took it in his imitation of the Epistle), but to the whole tenor of the Epistle.

EPISTLE VII

TO MAECENAS

Verses 1-9. I TALKED of a few days in the country, Maecenas, and it has proved to mean all August. But as you would excuse

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- me if I were ill, so you must excuse me for shunning what makes me ill.
- 10-13. Rome in autumn is deadly; and if the winter is cold, I must go to the sea-coast; so you must not look for me till the spring.
- 14-19. Your generosity to me has not been that of the Calabrian host who presses on his guest pears that are so plentiful that what he refuses goes to the pigs.
- 20-24. True generosity chooses worthy objects, but gives what it values. I hope I am not unworthy of your bounty.
- 25-28. What fails me is youthful health and vigour, and that you cannot restore to me.
- 29-34. If any one says 'you have surrendered your liberty, and can only regain it in the same way as the vixen who got into the corn-bin when she had an empty stomach,' I take him at his word.
- 35, 36. I quite mean what I say, and really prefer liberty to wealth.
- 37-43. It is not that I am discontented or ungrateful; but you would see that! I could cheerfully return all you gave me, and answer as Telemachus answered when horses which he could never use were offered to him.
- 44, 45. What I want now is not the grandeur of Rome but the leisure and peace of the country.
- 46-end. The story of Philippus and Vulteius is a warning to the givers and receivers of patronage. The latter should be wise in time and draw back as soon as they find that the offered improvement of their position is no improvement. The measure which suits one man will not suit another.

The Epistle is a picture of *patronage as it should be and as it should not be*. It is implied in the idea of such a poem as well as asserted in words in it, that Maecenas' patronage has been of the former kind,—such as was honourable both to patron and to poet. The Epistle, therefore, ranges itself with Sat. 1. 5, 6, and 9, which describe and defend Horace's relation to Maecenas.

The story of Philippus and Vulteius gives a picture to be contrasted with that of Maecenas and Horace. It is patronage based on no intellectual sympathy or real benevolence, but on caprice and a selfish desire for amusement. It has the effect for the time of breaking down the sturdy independence and destroying the contented simplicity of Vulteius. It puts him into two false positions—first as guest at a table where he does not understand the proprieties, then in a country life for which he has no taste or aptitude.

The story is cleverly imitated, in its outward aspect, by Swift in his 'Address to the Earl of Oxford,' though a different turn is given to it; his own banishment to the deanery of St. Patrick's being the analogue to Vulteius' settlement in a Sabine farm.

1. *Quinque dies*: proverbial for a short time; see on Sat. 1. 3. 16 and cf. also 2. 3. 291 n.

BOOK I, EPISTLE VII, 1-20

2. **Sextilem**: Epp. I. 11. 19, the month that was subsequently named after Augustus.

mendax: of breaking a promise; Od. 3. 1. 30.

3. **sanum recteque valentem**: Epp. I. 16. 21. It is an habitual combination, 'sani sunt ac valentes,' Cic. Acad. 2. 7. 19.

4. **das . . . dabis**, 'now' . . . 'all through the unhealthy month of September (Epp. I. 16. 16) which is just coming.'

6. **dissignatorem**: see on Epp. I. 5. 16. Seneca, Benef. 6. 38, joins 'dissignatores et libitinarios,' the latter being the attendants here called 'lictores atri.'

7. **matercula**: a fond mother.

8. **officiosa sedulitas**: constant occupation in paying attention to the great or to friends. Cp. Sat. 2. 5. 48, 2. 6. 23 f., Epp. 2. 2. 67 f. These passages illustrate also the 'petty business of the Forum,' the duties, that is, of 'sponsores,' 'advocati,' 'testes.'

9. **resignat**, 'breaks their seals,' by causing the death of the testator.

10. **quodsi**. For the quasi-temporal use of 'si' see Virg. Aen. 5. 64 'si nona diem mortalibus alnum Aurora extulerit,' and Catull. 14. 17 'si luxerit.' It seems to have been idiomatic, having arisen (see Conington and Ellis ad locc.) from a 'modest or religious way of speaking of a future event.'

Albanis agris: the slopes of the Alban hills.

illinet: perhaps a painter's word; the first 'touches' of snow.

11. **vates tuus**. Horace throws on Maecenas the responsibility of the title 'vates.' Cp. Od. 1. 1. 35 'si me lyricis vatibus inseres.'

12. **contractus**. The phrases that seem to explain the word best are Virgil's 'contracto frigore pigrae' of the bees, G. 4. 259, and Phaedr. 4. 23. 19 of a fly, 'mori contractam cum te cogunt frigora.' Horace likens himself to creatures that feel and shrink from the cold. Orelli takes it as painting his actual attitude; 'zusammengekauert,' as Lucian's ἐπικεκυφώς ἀμφὶ τὴν κίμνον, 'crouching' or 'huddled at the stove.' But the word is bald in such a sense, and the touch too comic.

leget carries with it the sense of 'stay indoors,' 'stay on my couch,' Sat. 1. 6. 122.

13. The zephyrs and the swallows go together as the representatives of returning spring in Virg. G. 4. 305 'Hoc geritur Zephyris primum impellentibus undas . . . ante Garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo.'

15. **sodes**: Sat. 1. 9. 41; Epp. I. 1. 62, I. 16. 31; A. P. 438.

16. **benigne**, inf. v. 62: sc. 'facis' or 'dicis,' a phrase of common life. Cicero has 'benigne ac liberaliter,' 'you are kind and generous,' in Verr. 2. 3. 85. In these two passages of Horace it has the idiomatic force of refusal, 'no, thank you.'

18. **tam teneor**, 'I am as much obliged.'

20. **prodigus et stultus**: one person, not two. 'Prodigus' is opposed to 'bonus,' the really generous man who counts the cost of

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what he gives and yet gives it. Seneca paraphrases (Epist. 120), 'mentitur prodigus liberalem, cum multum intersit utrum quis dare sciat an servare nesciat. Multi sunt qui non donant sed proiciunt.'

21. *haec sēges*, 'land sown in this way.'

tulit et fēret: Od. 2. 13. 20 'rapuit rapietque,' 4. 2. 38 'donavere nec dabunt.'

22. *dignis ait esse paratus*. For the construction cp. Od. 3. 27. 73 (the first interpretation given) 'uxor invicti Iovis esse nescis.' The same Grecism is found in Catull. 4. 1 'Phaselus ille . . . ait fuisse navium celerrimus.' The Virgilian uses of the idiom usually cited (Aen. 2. 377, 5. 372) are less certain. 'Dignis' is masc. and dat., 'those who deserve it,' 'paratus' being taken, like *εὐχόμενος*, with dat. in the sense of 'ready to help.' It has also been explained as the neut. abl. 'ready with worthy gifts'; but this sacrifices the evident correspondence with 'dignum' in v. 24.

23. *aera lupinis*, 'the difference between real and sham money,' i.e. between valuable and valueless gifts. Lupine seeds were used for money on the stage, and for counters in playing games. Cp. Plaut. Poen. 3. 2. 20 'Ag. agite, inspicite, aurum est. Co. profecto, spectatores, comicum: macerato hoc pingues fiunt auro in barbaria boves.'

24. *dignum pro laude merentis*: 'qualem tua de me merentis postulat laus atque virtus,' Obbar. 'Dignus' is absol. as 'dignis' in v. 22. 'Pro laude' adds the determining standard. Cp. Lucret. 5. 1 'Quis potis est dignum pollenti pectore carmen Condere pro rerum maiestate hisque repertis? Quisve valet verbis tantum, qui fingere laudes Pro meritis eius possit?' 'Worthy I will show myself too, to match the renown of my benefactor.' For 'merentis' absol. cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 664 'Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.' The thought, though not the exact expression, is parallel to Epp. 2. 1. 245 'At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque Munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt Dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae.'

25. *usquam discedere*: see on Sat. 1. 1. 37, 2. 7. 30.

26. *latus*: chest, lungs: 'Si ventri bene, si lateri est, pedibusque tuis,' Epp. 1. 12. 5.

nigros angusta fronte capillos: see on Od. 1. 33. 5 'tenui fronte,' and cp. Plin. Epp. 3. 6. 2 'rari et cedentes capilli, lata frons.' Horace was now 'praecanus,' Epp. 1. 20. 24, and, it is here implied, becoming bald.

27. *dulce loqui, ridere*: cp. 'dulce ridentem, dulce loquentem' Od. 1. 22. 23 f., 'canet indoctum sed dulce' Epp. 2. 2. 9; 'dulce' means, so as to charm others.

28. Some lover's play is described. Orelli takes *inter vina* as qualifying both *fugam* and *maerere*. In any case 'protervae' implies that the flight is playful, and the position of 'maerere' implies that the mourning is not serious. For 'Cinara' cp. Od. 4. 1. 4, 4. 13. 21; Epp. 1. 14. 33; and see in App. I. of vol. 1, 'on the unknown names in the Odes.' Here, as in all the other places

BOOK I, EPISTLE VII, 20-37

where the name occurs, it is to recall an epoch in the poet's life.

29. *forte*, like '*olim*,' a wonted particle in beginning a fable.

vulpecula. This is the reading of all MSS. and Schol. Bentley would read '*nitedula*,' 'a shrew-mouse,' *ex con*., arguing that a fox does not and cannot eat corn, and that all the circumstances suit an animal much smaller and more accustomed to human dwelling-places. He shows from St. Jerome (*ad Salvinum*) that a similar fable existed in which a mouse plays the part: '*docet et Aesopi fabula plenum muris ventrem per angustum foramen egredi non valere*.' On the other hand the fable, both in Babrius (*Fab.* 86) and in the later Aesopean collections, makes it a fox, but changes the bin of corn to a hole or a larder with meat and bread, and the weasel to a second fox. Attempts have been made to save Horace's credit in the second way by accepting the reading of some inferior MSS. '*cameram*,' and interpreting (Dacier) '*cameram frumenti*' as 'a granary,' where the attraction might be not the grain but pullets and pigeons who frequented it. Bentley shows that though Columella says '*sedem frumentis optimam quibusdam videri horreum camera contentum*,' '*camera frumenti*' could not have the meaning necessary for this purpose. Lachmann (on *Lucr.* 3. 10. 14) strongly supports Bentley's conjecture, and it is received into the text by Haupt and Kiessling and translated by such a conservative critic as Conington. Keller and Munro both condemn it. The latter says 'Bentley's famous "*nitedula*" for "*vulpecula*" deserves all praise—it is brilliant; is what Horace ought to have written, but I sadly fear did not write; not from ignorance probably, but because he had in his thoughts some old world fable, whose foxes were not as our foxes.'

30. *cumeram*: see on *Sat.* 1. 1. 53.

32. *procul*, 'hard by': see on *Sat.* 2. 6. 105.

34. *haec si compellor imagine*: 'if this figure is used to challenge me'; *Sat.* 1. 7. 31, 2. 3. 297.

resigno: see on *Od.* 3. 29. 54.

35, 36. An enforcement of '*cuncta resigno*.' 'I do so sincerely (not merely as an epicure will praise simple living) and with no backward glances, no mind to barter freedom for wealth.'

35. *somnum plebis*: '*somnus agrestium Lenis virorum non humilis domos Fastidit*,' *Od.* 3. 1. 21.

satur altitium, 'with [fat] capon lined'; for '*altis*,' 'a fattened fowl,' see *Juv. S.* 5. 115 with Mayor's note.

36. *otia liberrima*: such as he describes in *Sat.* 2. 6. 60 f. Cp. the phrases '*mihi me reddentis agelli*' *Epp.* 1. 14. 1, '*mihi vivam*' *Epp.* 1. 18. 107.

divitilis Arabum: *Od.* 1. 29. 1, 2. 12. 24, 3. 24. 2.

37. 'I have your own testimony that all this is not a cover of discontent. My gratitude has been expressed behind your back as much as to your face.' Cp. the picture of himself in *Od.* 2. 18. 12 '*nec potentem amicum Largiora flagito, Satis beatus unicus Sabinis*.'

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37. **rexque paterque.** For 'rex' of a patron cp. Epp. 1. 17. 43 'Coram rege suo de paupertate tacentes,' Juv. S. 1. 136, 5. 14 and 161, &c.

38. **audisti,** 'you have been called.' See on Sat. 2. 7. 101; Epp. 1. 16. 17.

39. **si possum:** Madv. § 451, d. The indicative in this use is not found in prose. Cp. 'visam si domi est,' Ter. Heaut. 1. 1. 118.

40. This reference is to Odys. 4. 601, where Telemachus refuses the proffered present of Menelaus: ἵππους δ' ἐς Ἴθάκην οὐκ ἄξομαι, ἀλλὰ σοὶ αὐτῷ | ἐνθάδε λείψω ἄγαλμα· σὺ γὰρ πεδίοιο ἀνάσσεις . . . ἐν δ' Ἴθάκῃ οὐτ' ἄρ' δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών.

proles, 'the true son'; his father's spirit showed itself in the answer.

patientis a translation of Homer's τλήμων and the like. Cf. Epod. 17. 16 'Laboriosi remiges Vlixei.'

41. **aptus equis:** Od. 1. 7. 9; ἱππόβοτος.

42. **spatiis,** a trans. of δρόμοι: Epp. 1. 14. 9, Virg. G. 1. 513, 3. 202 'maxima campi . . . spatia'; 'spaces for racing.'

44. **regia Roma,** Rome with its regal magnificence. Cp. 'regiae moles' Od. 2. 15. 1, but there is also perhaps a feeling of the 'Roma princeps urbium' of Od. 4. 3. 13, 'domina Roma' of Od. 4. 14. 44.

45. **vacuum:** so 'vacuas Athenas,' Epp. 2. 2. 81.

imbelle. Cp. 'molle Tarentum,' Sat. 2. 4. 34. They are both epithets which to the lover of life in Rome would be epithets of disparagement; but Horace is attracted by the 'emptiness' which means quiet, and the 'softness' of a southern climate. For Horace's love of Tibur and Tarentum see Od. 2. 6. 5 foll.

46. **strenuus et fortis:** see on Sat. 2. 1. 16; this particular conjunction was habitual. This appears not only from their frequent use together, but also from such a passage as Cic. Phil. 2. 32. 78 'si minus fortem, at tamen strenuum,' where it is implied that the two qualities naturally go together. As that passage also shows, 'strenuus' is of energy, 'fortis' of courage or resolution. The description seems to touch the story at several points. In the first place it marks the contrast of the two men, the great man who lifts the little man out of his sphere, the busy man who is struck with the leisureliness of the more homely life. It serves also to explain the forcefulness which Mena was unable to resist, and perhaps to apologize (cp. v. 79) for Philippus' amusing himself in such a way,— 'he had done a good day's work'—it was a freak in an energetic and honourable life. The person meant is L. Marcus Philippus, consul in B.C. 91, the opponent of the tribune M. Livius Drusus. Cicero characterizes him (de Orat. 3. 1. 4) as 'vehemens et disertus et in primis fortis ad resistendum.'

47. **octavam horam.** For the meaning of 'hora' see on Sat. 1. 5. 23.

48. **Carinae:** Virg. Aen. 8. 361 'lautis . . . Carinis'; a fashionable quarter where Philippus may be supposed to have had a house.

BOOK I, EPISTLE VII, 37-58

It was on the Mons Oppius, the southern spur of the Esquiline, which runs out towards the Arch of Titus.

50. **adrasum**. The main point is the leisurely and contented life of the man. It is in contrast with the busy and strenuous life of Philippus. He is already shaved, the barber has gone away, and he is sitting on at his ease in the shade of the booth, cleaning his nails, as though he had nothing else to do ('leniter'). This contrast with himself is represented as the first thing that attracts Philippus to Vulteius; then the picture of the contented, ordered, life of an 'abnormis sapiens,' as described in his messenger's words (vv. 55-59), then the character of the man as shown by his blunt refusal of the invitation (62-64). It is possible that 'adrasum,' like the whole picture, implies also that he is not a man of fashion; cp. 'tonsa cute,' as a sign of rusticity, Epp. I. 18. 7.

51. **proprius**: a grander or less leisurely person would have left this to the 'tonsor.' Plaut. Aul. 2. 4. 33 'Quin ipsi pridem tonsor unguis dempererat.'

52. **Demetri**, a Greek slave; see on Sat. 2. 5. 18.

non laeve, 'very cleverly.'

53. **unde domo**: Virg. Aen. 8. 114 'Qui genus? unde domo?'

54. **quo patre quove patrono**: father, if he were free born; patron, if he were a freedman; 'nullo patre natus.' Cp. A. P. 248 'quibus est pater.'

55. **Vultetium Menam**. It is pointed out that the two names together implied that he was a freedman; Vulteius being a Roman gentile name, the name of his 'patronus,' Menas, a Greek name, contracted from Menodorus. Bishop Lightfoot, in notes on Coloss. 4. 12, 14, 15, has collected a large number of such contracted names.

56. **praeconem**, an auctioneer, as we see from v. 65. Cp. A. P. 419 'praeco ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas.'

notum has been taken separately (Orell., Dillenburger as 'bene notum,' Epp. I. 6. 25) or with 'sine crimine' = 'notae probitatis' (Obbar). In either of these cases it will be best to take the infinitives as in *orat.* obl. after 'narrat,' not with 'gaudentem,' which has its own construction with the ablatives. It is perhaps better however with the more recent editors to construct 'notum' with the infinitives, 'known to.'

57. **loco**, as 'in loco' Od. 4. 12. 28, 'at fitting times.'

et . . . et, et . . . et, 'to be busy as well as leisurely; to get, as well as to spend.' His present condition is not his constant one, nor the proof of laziness, rather of the good sense which knows how to temper work with enjoyment. For 'cessare' cp. Epp. I. 10. 46, 2. 2. 183. 'Quaerere' and 'uti' are contrasted as in Sat. I. 1. 37f., and both are used absolutely as 'quaerere' in Sat. I. 1. 92, 'uti' in Epp. 2. 2. 190.

58. **parvis**. For 'parvum parva decent,' sup. v. 44.

oerto. Bentley was inclined to 'curto,' which Cruq. found in two of his MSS.; but it is no improvement. The phrases are

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balanced between his advantages and drawbacks. The modesty of his home may be gathered from that of his companions. He is not like the 'scurra' in Epp. I. 15. 28 'vagus, qui non certum prae-saepe teneret.'

61. *sane*: it seems an echo of what he said himself, 'non sane credo'; see on Epp. I. 15. 5.

62. *benigne*, as above in v. 16.

63. *neget*? 'is he to refuse me?' The subj. expresses the tone of pique, from which the slave takes his cue.

improbis: cp. Sat. I. 9. 73 'fugit improbus,' Sat. 2. 5. 84 'anus improba,' *ἀναίδης*. The amount of real or mock indignation implied will vary with each case.

64. *neglegit aut horret*: the antithesis settles the meaning of 'horret'; Vulteius shows either defect or excess of the proper respect. Cp. Epp. I. 18. 11.

65. *tunicato*. See Mayor's note on Juv. S. 3. 171 'Pars magna Italiae est . . . in qua Nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus.' The 'toga' was only worn even in Rome by the well-to-do or on public occasions. Tac. de Orat. 7 'vulgus imperitum et tunicatus hic populus.'

popello: the dimin. of depreciation; Pers. S. 4. 15, 6. 50, so 'plebecula' Epp. 2. 1. 186.

66. *occupat*, 'surprises.'

67. *excusare*, with accus. of what is alleged as the excuse, as often in prose, 'valetudinem' Liv. 6. 22.

mercenaria vinola, the bonds of 'a mercenary,' i. e. of a person paid for his work. He was not selling his own goods. Cp. Sat. I. 6. 86 'si praeco parvas . . . mercedes sequer.'

68. *mane domum*, of the 'salutatio' or early morning visit; a recognized compliment to a patron or great man; see inf. v. 75 and on Sat. I. 6. 101.

69. *providisset*, 'seen him first.' Ter. Andr. 1. 2. 12 'Heres est, neque provideram,' Plaut. Asin. 2. 4. 44 'non hercle te provideram: quaesio, ne vitio vortas.'

sic . . . si, 'on the sole condition that'; Liv. I. 17 'ut cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum esset si patres auctores fierent.'

70. *ut libet*, 'as you please,' a formula of careless assent; so in v. 19. It is frequent in Terence as Ad. 2. 2. 38.

72. *dicenda tacenda*, 'on every topic wise and foolish'; the expression is probably from the Greek proverbial *ὅντα καὶ ἀόρητα* (as in Dem. de Cor. § 157, Soph. O. C. 1001). Persius 4. 5 imitates the phrase, but describes the opposite character, 'dicenda tacendaque calles,' 'you know well what should be said and what not.'

74. *visus*, sc. 'est.'

piscis, 'as a fish'; for the figure cp. Sat. 2. 5. 25.

75. *mane cliens*: see on v. 68.

coertus, 'a daily guest.'

76. *rura* has the construction of 'rus' without the preposition, as 'domos' has of 'domum' in Liv. 22. 22; see Madv. § 233.

BOOK I, EPISTLE VII, 58-94

indiotis Latinis. The 'feriae Latinae' were 'conceptivae,' that is, the time of their observance was fixed for the year by the consuls. This is the meaning of 'indicere.' They were marked by a 'iustitium,' so that the courts being closed, Philippus would be able to take a short holiday. Cicero makes the 'feriae Latinae' the time of the discussion 'De Republica,' at the garden of Scipio (De Rep. I. 9).

comes. For the practice of the great cp. Sat. I. 6. 102 'ducendus et unus Et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregre Exirem.' So Sat. 2. 6. 42, Epp. I. 17. 52.

77. impositus mannis, 'mounted in the pony-carriage'; Virg. Aen. 12. 736 'conscendebat equos.' G. 3. 358 'invectus equis.' For 'mannis' cp. Od. 3. 27. 7, Epod. 4. 14.

arvum caelumque Sabinum . . . laudare, the delight of the townsman at country sights and sensations.

79. sibi requiem. Orelli interprets 'oblectationem et recreationem a forensibus negotiis,' and this is the usual rendering; but it is doubtful whether 'requiem' could by itself have this force. It is helped however by the contrast implied in the 'sibi,' emphasized as that is by its position both in its own clause and 'per chiasmum' with 'undique.' The person whose ease he thought of was not his client but himself, even as what he cared for was a laugh, not for the quarter in which he sought it.

dum . . . dum . . . dum. There is a conversational roughness in the substitution of 'dum' in the first two cases for causal clauses, in the third for a gerundial one.

81. persuadet, 'tries to persuade.'

83. ex nitido, 'from a spruce townsman.'

84. crepat, 'has always on his tongue'; see on Od. I. 18. 5.

mera: Cic. ad Att. 9. 13 'mera scelera loquuntur.'

praeparat ulmos, i.e. for the vines to climb on; see on Epod. 2. 10, and cp. Od. 2. 15. 4.

85. immoritur . . . senescit, 'kills himself,' 'grows old before his time,' hyperbolic descriptions of his eager industry. For 'senescit' cp. Epp. 2. 2. 82.

87. spem mentita. Cp. Od. 3. 1. 30 'fundus mendax,' and the opposite 'segetis certa fides' 3. 16. 30.

88. media de nocte: see note on Sat. 2. 8. 3 'de medio die.'

90. scabrum intonsumque. Contrast 'ex nitido' v. 83 and the picture in vv. 50, 51.

91. durus: see Epp. I. 16. 70, and cp. the epithets in Sat. 2. 6. 82 'asper et attentus quaesitis.' For **attentus** also cp. Epp. 2. 1. 172.

94. quod: cp. Virg. Aen. 2. 141 'Quod te per superos . . . oro,' id. 6. 363, Lucr. 1. 221. It is the same use as in 'quod si,' 'whereas if.'

per Genium, sc. 'tuum.' For 'Genius' see on Od. 3. 17. 14, Epp. 2. 2. 187. It was a common adjuration, though the word has been at times confused with 'ingenium,' as in Ter. Andr. 1. 5. 54

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'Quod te ego per dextram hanc oro et Genium tuum,' where see Bentley's note.

96-98. Horace's comment on the story.

96. *semel*. Recent edd. are unanimous in accepting this reading against 'simul' which is found in all good MSS., and was found by Cruq. in his Bland. The mistake arose from the copyist's eye or memory carrying him back to v. 90 'quem simul aspexit.' 'Semel' and 'simul' are confused in other places, as Sat. 2. 8. 24 n.

dimissa, 'what he has let go.'

98. *suo modulo ac pede*. The figure is explained by Sat. 2. 3. 308, where Horace accuses himself of the folly of aping his betters, 'Aedificas, hoc est, longos imitaris, ab imo Ad summum totus moduli bipedalis.' Cp. also for the metaph. use of 'modulus' Sat. 1. 3. 77 'cur non Ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur?' The expressions owe something perhaps to a remembrance of Eur. Phoen. 541 μέτρα . . . καὶ μέρη σταθμῶν.

pede, the foot measure. A pigmy's 'foot' is a different 'foot' from that of a giant.

verum est: Sat. 2. 3. 312 'An quodcumque facit Maecenas te quoque verum est?'; cp. Epp. 1. 1. 11, 1. 12. 23.

EPISTLE VIII

TO CELSUS ALBINOVANUS

'GREET Celsus for me, my Muse, the friend and secretary of Tiberius. If he asks after me, say that I am in my old way—with more intentions than performances, well enough in estate and body, not so well in soul; unwilling to learn, or take advice, unable to profit by experience or keep a purpose. Ask him how he is, how he stands in favour with prince and staff. If he says "well," first wish him joy, and then in his private ear whisper that he must not let his head be turned by his fortune.'

We can hardly be wrong in thinking the last verse the gist of the Epistle. Horace's half ironical confessions lead up to it. 'You may say worse of me than I wish to suggest of you. I do not listen to my friends; so I cannot complain if you do not listen to me.' We may compare the art with which a more tender reproof is conveyed to Virgil in Odes 1. 24 (see introd.).

Weichert (poetae Latini, p. 382) would distinguish the 'Celsus Albinovanus' of this Epistle from the 'Celsus' of 1. 3. 15 f.; but he is driven to do so by his view that those lines are meant harshly and contemptuously. In default of proof they have too many points in common to be separated.

1. *Albinovano*. It is the cognomen also of C. Pedo Albinovanus, the friend of Ovid.

2. *rogata*, 'as I pray you.'

refer: deliver as your message. It is followed by 'gaudere et

BOOK I, EPISTLE VII, 94—EPISTLE IX

bene rem gerere,' 'greeting and good wishes.' Compare the use of *χαίρειν* in beginning letters. 'Refer' is a proper equivalent to 'nuntia'; the Muse is to carry to Celsus the wishes of Horace. It is not therefore necessary to take it with some editors as = 'carry back,' as though the letter were an answer to a letter from Celsus. It may be so, but there is nothing to indicate it.

Neronis: see on Epp. I. 3. 2 and cp. Epp. 2. 2. 1.

3. **minantem**: cp., both for the verb and for the description of himself, Sat. 2. 3. 9 'vultus erat multa et praeclara minantis.'

4. **neo recte nec suaviter**. As Schütz says, 'neither to the Stoic's standard nor to the Epicurean's.' For 'recte vivere' see on Epp. I. 2. 41.

haud quia, &c. 'My troubles are not those of the rich proprietor of vineyards and oliveyards (cp. Od. 3. 1. 29-32) or of herds which are driven as the season changes from pasturage to pasturage' (cp. Epod. I. 27, 28).

5. **momorderit**, 'have nipped' or blighted. 'Mordere' is used of the effect of cold in Sat. 2. 6. 45; of rough wind, by Martial 8. 14. 2 'mordeat et tenerum fortior aura nemus.'

7. Cp. the prayer in Od. I. 31. 18.

8. **audire . . . discere**: Epp. I. 1. 48.

10. **our properent**. The question which in his anger he asks. See note on Od. I. 33. 3, and cp. the construction of Sat. 2. 2. 124 'venerata . . . ita surgeret.'

12. **ventosus**. Some good MSS. had 'venturus,' a possible reading and one of some antiquity. It is given by Porph. in a note on Sat. 2. 7. 28. 'Ventosus' was interpreted by the Comm. Cruq. 'inconstans, instabilis.' Cp. Epp. I. 19. 37 'ventosae plebis.' Note that when Horace is writing with another purpose he says just the opposite of himself, Epp. I. 14. 16.

14. **iuvani**, a complimentary, not a familiar, term: Od. I. 2. 41, Virg. E. I. 43.

cohorti: Sat. I. 7. 23, Epp. I. 3. 6.

15. **gaudere**, sc. 'eum iubere.' The ellipsis is like that in v. 1, but it is here helped by the following 'instillare memento.' Some more colourless infinitive may be substituted for 'instillare.'

subinde, 'presently.' It is used in another sense in Sat. 2. 5. 103.

EPISTLE IX TO TIBERIUS

'SEPTIMIUS presses me to introduce him to you. He knows, you see, better, and rates higher, than I do, my influence with you. I would fain have excused myself; but having to choose between the appearance to him of a selfish mock-modesty or to you of a brazen impudence, I chose the less fault. If you can approve of boldness assumed in a friend's behalf, admit Septimius to your circle and believe all good things of him.'

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This Epistle is addressed to the young Tiberius himself. The tact and grace of it have commanded universal admiration.

Septimius is doubtless the friend of Od. 2. 6 'Septimi Gadis adi-ture mecum.' See introd. to that Ode and cp. note on Epp. 1. 3. 9 for the apparently erroneous identification of him by the Comm. Cruq. with the Titius of that Epistle.

1. **Claudi**: see on Epp. 1. 3. 2 'Claudius Augusti privignus'; and cp. Od. 4. 14. 29.

nimirum: see note on Sat. 2. 3. 120.

unus, 'as no one else'; Sat. 2. 3. 24.

3. **sollicet**. Calling attention in irony to what is going to be said, as though it were something specially absurd: 'Mark you!' 'Think of it!' Sat. 2. 2. 36, 2. 3. 185, 240; Epp. 1. 15. 36.

tradere, 'to introduce'; Sat. 1. 9. 47, Epp. 1. 18. 78.

4. **dignum**, 'as one worthy.'

mente: of the intellectual standard, as the following words are of the moral standard.

honesta, 'all that is honourable.' The neuter makes the characteristic more general than the masc. Cp. Sat. 1. 6. 63 'turpi secernis honestum.'

Neronis: 'a Nero'; see on Od. 4. 4. 29. It is the name which recalls the character of his ancestry.

5. The subj. of **fungi** is [me].

7. **multa** our, 'many reasons why.'

9. **dissimulatio**. 'Dissimulatio' is Cicero's equivalent for Aristotle's *εἰρωνεία*, the habit of one who *δοκεῖ ἀρνείσθαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* ἢ ἐλάττω ποιεῖν, Eth. Nic. 4. 3.

opis, 'power'; Virg. Aen. 1. 601 'non opis est nostrae.'

11. **frontis urbanae**, 'town-bred assurance,' opp. Cicero's 'pudor subrusticus,' ad Fam. 5. 12. 1.

descendi ad praemia, perhaps rather 'have lowered myself to [claim] the privileges' than 'have entered for the prize.' The parallel to 'descendi ad' is to be found in such phrases as Cic. Rep. 1. 43 'senes ad ludum adulescentium descendant,' not in such as 'descendant in campum,' Od. 3. 1. 11.

13. **tui gregis**. As Cicero uses 'grex amicorum' ad Att. 1. 18. 1, 'gregales' = 'comrades,' ad Fam. 7. 33. 1. For the gen. cp. Od. 3. 13. 13 'fies nobilium tu quoque fontium.'

fortem bonumque. It is a common conjunction in Cicero, as Mil. 2. 4; cp. 'iustum et fortem,' Sat. 2. 1. 16. The words imply high praise, for they are used in Od. 4. 4. 29 of Tiberius himself.

EPISTLE X

TO ARISTIUS FUSCUS

Verses 1-7. HAIL to Fuscus, brother of my soul! parted from me by no single difference, but that he loves the town while I love the country.

BOOK I, EPISTLE IX, 1—EPISTLE X, 1

- 8-11. I will tell you why this is—I have lost my taste for town delights; I care now for the bread, not for the honey-cakes.
- 12-21. If nature is to be our standard of life, and that means first of choosing a site for living, what town site can beat the country—sheltered winters, cool summers, fragrant groves and flowers, fresh water?
- 22-25. When you build a town house you try to reproduce these things; you plant trees in the peristyle, and choose a site with a country view. Nature re-asserts herself in spite of your efforts to get rid of her.
- 26-33. There are spurious imitations in life as well as in upholstery, and a mistake about them is more mischievous. Such is setting our admiration on wealth. We prepare for ourselves disappointments. A humble life may be happier than a grand one.
- 34-41. The man who increases his desires is like the horse who called in the man to help him against the stag—he has surrendered his freedom.
- 42, 43. Circumstances are like shoes—if they don't fit, they hurt us.
- 44-48. You, Aristius, will find true philosophy in contentment, and will expect your friend to do the same. Wealth should be our servant, not our master.
- 49, 50. I am writing in my happy holiday-home, with nothing to wish for except your company.

Aristius Fuscus, like Septimius in the last Epistle, is one of Horace's older friends. See Sat. 1. 9. 61, 1. 10. 83; Od. 1. 22 'Integer vitae' is addressed to him. See the introd. to that Ode for the continuity of tone between it and this Epistle.

1. *salvere iubemus*: Epp. 1. 7. 66. It is a formula of greeting in letters as well as by word of mouth, Cic. ad Att. 4. 14. 2. The plural, which in such cases often alternates with the sing., is what Dräger (Hist. Syntax 1. § 9) calls the '*pluralis modestiae*.' Cp. Od. 1. 32. 1.

2-6. 'Lovers of the country; for in this one point you must know we differ much, but in all else nearly twin brethren with brotherly hearts (when one says "no," the other says "no" too), we nod in time like two old familiar doves.' The punctuation of these lines has been the subject of great difference. Bentley has induced many modern editors to put a strong stop at '*amatores*' and another at '*pa iter*,' leaving '*vetuli notique columbi*' to begin a new sentence. But the figure of the two old doves on a perch has grown out of the description of the two old friends, '*gemelli*, '*fraternis animis*,' with the phrase, which itself seems to suggest a picture, '*annuimus pariter*.' The metaphor is carried on by a fresh departure in '*tu nidum servas*,' &c.; but there would be little point in the epithets '*vetuli notique*,' if the doves belonged wholly to vv. 6, 7. In any punctuation and rendering, there is something harsh in the change in the meaning of the plural first person from 'I' in v. 1 to 'you and I' in v. 5.

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2. **scilicet** is used particularly by Horace (see esp. Od. 1. 37. 30, 2. 14. 9, 4. 8. 5), as in our view it is used here, with adjectives (or participles) to call special attention, whether in irony or not, to the relation between the adj. and the main statement.

6. One is a stay-at-home, the other ranges far afield for things to admire.

7. **circumlita**: perhaps a word of the painter's art, of rocks 'touched,' 'coloured,' with patches of moss or lichen. Cp. 'oblitus' Epp. 2. 1. 204, 'illinet' Epp. 1. 7. 10.

8. **quid quaeris?** a colloquial phrase implying 'ask no more,' used either after an explanation, usually a laconic one, has been given, or to bespeak attention to one which is to be given and which must be sufficient. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 1. 14. 7, 1. 16. 4, and 2. 16. 1, with Watson's notes.

vivo: 'it is real life'; βίος βιωτός.

regno, 'rex sum'; 'my mind to me a kingdom is.' Cp. infr. v. 33.

9. **vos**: 'you, and those who think with you'; 'you townfolk.'

rumore secundo, 'amid favouring voices,' 'with general assent.' See Conington on Virg. Aen. 8. 90 'iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo.'

10, 11. The 'pleasures' of town are to me what sweet cakes are to the slave who has run away from a priest's household, viz. the very things which I am tired of and want to change for more simple and wholesome fare.

10. **liba**. Defined by Servius on Virg. Aen. 7. 109 as 'placentae de farre, melle, et oleo, sacris aptae.'

12. **naturae convenienter**. 'Quod summum bonum a Stoicis dicitur convenienter, naturae vivere' Cic. de Off. 3. 3. 13, ὁμολογούμενος τῇ φύσει.

'If the Stoic principle for living is to be applied to the first preliminary for living, namely, choosing a place to live in.' There is perhaps a reference to some proverbial order in the needs of life. Cp. Hesiod's οἶκον μὲν πρότιστα, κ.τ.λ. Opp. et Di. 405.

13. The only other instance quoted of 'domo' as a dative is Cato, R. R. 134.

14. **beato**, 'the charms of the country are allowed. Do you know any town house where they can be bettered?'

15. **tepeant hiemes**. Horace has primarily in mind his own Sabine retreat, for which, in Sat. 2. 3. 10, he claims this merit 'Si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.' Elsewhere he tells us that in the cold of winter he went to the sea, Epp. 1. 7. 10. The contrast here is only between town and country. 'You can't find more means of keeping yourself warm in town than in the country.'

16. **momenta**. Probably, as in Epp. 1. 6. 4, 'movements'; a little more colour is given to the word here by the picture of the Lion stung to frenzy.

17. **furiundus**: Od. 3. 29. 19 'stella vesani Leonis.' The adj. is predicative, going closely with **accepit**. It is the sun's heat that causes the madness.

BOOK I, EPISTLE X, 2-30

19. **Libyois lapillis**, tessellated pavement of Numidian marble.
olet: perhaps with reference to the practice of sprinkling the floors with perfumes.

20. **tendit rumpere**: our momentary sympathy is bespoken for the imprisoned water as though it were a violation of nature. The water brought to Rome by the aqueducts was distributed over the city by pipes of lead or earthenware.

22. **nempe**: for the use of 'nempe' where the speaker, after asking a question, answers it himself with some irony see on Sat. 2. 7. 80. 'I will answer the questions—you are so far from thinking the gifts of the country worse than those of the town, that your aim in building a town house is to make it as much like a country house as you can.'

inter columnas, 'within the peristyle'; but with the suggestion that, for all the varied tints of the marble columns, the eye desired some of nature's columns, some green trees.

nutritur, i. e. 'is grown with care and effort.' For the practice see note on Od. 3. 10. 5, and cp. Tibull. 3. 3. 15 'nemora in domibus sacros imitantia lucos'; see Mayor on Juv. S. 4. 6.

23. **domus**, 'a town house with a wide country view.' Cp. the view from Maecenas' house on the Esquiline as described in Od. 3. 29. 6-8.

24. **expelles**: this is the reading of all the best MSS., and it is given accordingly by most recent edd. 'Expellas' had general possession of the text before Bentley. With the subjunctive the construction would be as in Od. 4. 4. 65 'Luctere: multa proruet integrum Cum laude victorem.' 'Turn out (or "try to turn out"), if you will,' &c. With the future it seems an instance of the omission of the conditional particle: see on Sat. 1. 1. 45. This use is more common with the fut. perfect (as there) than with the future simple. 'Furca expellere' is a proverbial expression. Cic. ad Att. 16. 2. 4 'quoniam furcilla extrudimur,' Catull. 105. 2 'Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt.' So in Greek *δικράνους ὠθεῖν* Lucian, Tim. 12. Cp. Arist. Pax 637 *δικοῖς ὠθεῖν* [*κεκράγμασιν*].

25. **fastidia**. Cp. the use of 'fastidiosus' in Od. 3. 1. 37, 3. 29. 9; Epod. 17. 73 of disgusts and cravings that are against nature.

26 foll. The preference of town to country has been brought round to seem a hollow and illogical fancy, belied even by those who gratify it. 'Yet,' Horace goes on, 'in matters of life we need the power of distinguishing shams from realities more than we do in buying purple stuffs.'

26. **contendere callidus**, 'to compare skilfully,' i. e. so as to distinguish them. Cp. the use of 'callidus' Sat. 2. 3. 23 'as a connoisseur.' We do not know from other sources anything of this manufacture of purple at Aquinum.

28. **propius medullis**: as Eur. Hipp. 255 *πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν φρενῶν*: of that which touches us deeply.

30, 31. Two instances to show that false judgments in matters of life are followed with immediate and inevitable penalties.

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30. **plus nimio** : see note on Od. 1. 18. 15.
31. **quantit**. In the same sense as Od. 3. 3. 4 'mente quatit solida.'
32. **si quid mirabere**. The doctrine of Epp. 1. 6. 1, &c.
pones = 'depones' Sat. 2. 3. 16.
33. **fuge magna**. The over-estimation of 'grandeur' (cp. the thought in Od. 3. 29. 9-16) is clearly connected by Horace with the preference of town life to country life.
34. **reges**, as types, conventionally, of grand and happy living. 'Persarum vigui rege beator' Od. 3. 9. 4, 'Regum aequabat opes animis' Virg. G. 4. 132.
35. **cervus equum**. This is the fable told at length by Aristotle (Rhet. 2. 20) as an illustration of the term λόγος or 'fable.' It is attributed by him to the poet Stesichorus, who is said to have addressed it to the people of Himera in order to dissuade them from putting Phalaris into supreme power. It is given with some variations by Phaedrus 4. 4, a boar being substituted for the stag.
36. **victor violens**. This is the reading of all the MSS. except that E reverses the order, 'violens victor.' Bentley suspected a corruption, and Haupt's ingenious suggestion, 'victo ridens,' has seemed to several recent editors sufficiently probable to be admitted into the text. If we keep 'violens' it is not an epithet of 'victor,' but a separate predicative qualification. It answers to 'improbis' in the application of the fable. The horse was 'violens,' 'forceful,' 'for carrying things by force.' He was successful in doing so, but found he had sacrificed what was more valuable.
37. **metallis** : prob. like 'lamna' in Od. 2. 2. 2, the word is meant to emphasize the purely material conception of wealth.
38. **improbis** : see the note on 'violens' in v. 37; = ἀναιδής, 'for his unconscionable greed.'
39. **nesciet** : the future corresponds to **serviet**. The two pictures are two sides of the same thing. He will always be a slave because he will never be contented.
40. 41. 'Circumstances are like shoes—they must be fitted to the person, not the person to them—otherwise they are sure to give trouble.'
42. **olim** : Sat. 1. 1. 25, Epod. 3. 1 'adverbium usitatum in fabellis et exemplis' Orell. It may refer to some actual fable of an ill-fitting shoe.
43. **uret**, 'gall.'
44. 'You, Aristius, I know, will be content, and so will live like a philosopher.'
45. **cessare**, 'to take holidays'; Epp. 1. 7. 57, 2. 2. 183. For 'ac non' see on Sat. 2. 3. 135.
46. The purport of the metaphor is clear, but the source of it is uncertain. It has been taken of an animal dragged by a rope, of a barge, of a school-boys' 'tug of war.' In all of these 'tortum' is (as in Virg. Aen. 4. 575 'Festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis') an epithet without special force. Its emphatic position

BOOK I, EPISTLE X, 30—EPISTLE XI

is perhaps against this and in favour of the view that the reference is to a windlass or pulley (cp. *Od.* 3. 10. 10, which seems to refer to a similar machine); 'tortum' will then refer to the turning of the rope in the process of hauling, and go with 'sequi,' not with 'ducere,' 'to be at the command of the machine and follow the rope when it turns on the pulley, not command it and draw the rope from it as it will.'

49. *dictabam* : the Epistolary imperfect, *Madv.* § 341.

post fanum putre Vacunae. From all the evidence we judge (1) that *Vacuna* was the name of a Sabine goddess; (2) that the Romans were very doubtful with which of their deities to identify her; (3) that one identification was with *Victoria*, and that this was adopted by *Vespasian*, the emperor of Sabine origin, who, as an inscription shows, rebuilt a ruined temple to *Victoria* at the village now called *Rocca Giovane*, close to *Horace's* farm; (4) that the name was often connected by the Romans with 'vacare,' 'vacuus,' and played upon as meaning the goddess of 'holiday' or 'laziness.' *Fea* quotes *Auson. Epist.* 4. 99 'Totam trado tibi simul *Vacunam*,' and an inscr. 'Qui legis hæc divae bona verba precare *Vacunae* Nunc saltem vacuo donet ut esse mihi.' The words have been used as a chief argument for placing the site of *Horace's* villa where there is some old terracing immediately above the village of *Rocca Giovane*, instead of in the place previously pointed out somewhat further up the valley. It is doubtful, however, whether they prove anything. See note on p. 289. 'Post' may be used loosely and mean only that in going to the villa you passed the temple, and the main object probably is not to give a topographical definition but (as in the quotations just given and as indicated above in the analysis of this Epistle) a play on the name of *Vacuna*, as though the words meant 'in holiday-land.'

EPISTLE XI

TO BULLATIUS

Verses 1-10. YOU have been visiting all the famous and beautiful places on the coast of Asia. Well, what do you think of them? Do you think Rome beats them all? or have you a hankering for one of the towns of *Attalus' old kingdom*? or have you an enthusiasm for even *Lebedus* as an alternative to further travelling on the sea?

11-19. But travelling is not the business of life. It is good for those who are sick, in mind or body. Those who are not do not need it, and should be content to praise the sights of foreign lands, but spend their lives at home.

21-end. Enjoy what you have. Our modern restlessness does not diminish care. What we need is a well-balanced mind.

The occasion is a visit of *Bullatius* to places of interest on the

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coast of Asia Minor and in the adjacent islands, places of which Horace speaks with the air of one who has himself seen them (see on Sat. 1. 7). Bullatius is apparently to be thought of as still in the East (see on v. 21), perhaps as having written a letter, a mixture, like travellers' letters, of raptures and grumbling, to which this is an answer. The substance of the Epistle is an indictment of foreign travel as a form of the restlessness of the age. The feeling which finds definite expression here is to be traced in many passages of the Odes. It is part of the motive of Od. 1. 3—Horace wishes Virgil a happy voyage, but 'non invidet, miratur magis': of Od. 1. 7—he agrees with Plancus that Rhodes and Mytilene do not make up for banishment from Tibur, even though he preaches for the occasion patience under it: of Od. 2. 6—'Septimius' friendship would stand the strain of any travel, but may it not be put to such a strain! "Sit modus lasso maris et viarum." It is more plainly put in Od. 2. 16. 18 foll., which should be specially compared with this Epistle.

Nothing is known of Bullatius. It is possible that he visited the East in the train of Tiberius: see introd. to Epp. 1. 3.

1. **Quid tibi visa Chios.** 'What thought you of Chios?' so Cicero, 'quid tibi videor?' ad Fam. 9. 21. 2; so in Greek *τί σοι φαίναται ὁ νηαιῖκος*; Plat. Charm. 4, &c. Cp. also 'Lebedus quid sit,' infra v. 7.

2. **condonna**, 'trim,' 'pretty.' It must be meant of the city rather than the island.

Sardis represents the Greek *Σάρδεῖς* (the form is noted as a plural by Priscian, 7. 17. 85): **regia** is therefore in apposition—'Croesus' royal home.'

3. **maiora minorave fama.** For the difficulties of text and interpretation which encompass these words see additional note on p. 233. With our reading and punctuation they are perhaps best taken as the qualification, in the first place, of 'Smyrna et Colophon,' 'places greater, or it may be less, than the world thinks them,' but as intended to be carried back in sense to the places characterized before, and to convey a hint of depreciation—the tone of a traveller who has himself outgrown some illusions. They lead the way, therefore, in feeling to the question of v. 4.

4. **sordent prae** seems to mean 'pale before,' 'are mean in comparison with'; cp. Epp. 1. 18. 18.

5. **venit in votum**: see note on 'esse in votis,' Sat. 2. 6. 1.

Attalicia urbibus. The splendid legacy of the last of the Attali (see on Od. 1. 1. 12, 2. 18. 5) had so struck the imagination of Horace, if not of his countrymen generally, that 'Attalicia' carries with it here, besides having its proper sense of 'belonging to the old kingdom of the Attali' (in other words, to the Roman province of Asia), the additional idea of princely wealth and luxury.

6. **Lebedum.** Lebedus, fifteen miles N.W. of Colophon on the

BOOK I, EPISTLE XI, 1-17

Caystrius Sinus, had been one of the twelve cities of Ionia, but about B. C. 300 was nearly desolated by Lysimachus, who transferred the population to Ephesus. It seems to stand here for some place in which only a tired traveller's caprice could find attraction.

odio maris atque viarum: as Od. 2. 6. 7 'lasso maris et viarum.'

7-10. These lines seem to be rightly treated by the Scholiasts as an imagined apology of Bullatius for his strange preference: 'I do not deny that it is a very dull place, but I could live there for ever rather than go to sea again.' It has been said that such a fragment of unexpected dialogue belongs rather to the style of the Satires than that of the Epistles, but any harshness is much lessened by noticing that the lines are a dramatic illustration of the words that precede, 'odio maris atque viarum.' Perhaps we may compare Epp. 1. 15. 11 where 'Quo tendis?' &c., is an illustrative expansion of 'praeteragendus equus.' Cp. also Epp. 1. 16. 31 and 41, A. P. 9.

7. **Gabiis . . . atque Fidenis.** The two names stand together in Virg. Aen. 6. 773 among the list of Latin towns. In Juv. S. 10. 100 they stand, after Horace, as representatives of places which have come down in the world. Cp. the epithet 'simplicibus Gabiis,' Juv. S. 3. 192. In Epp. 1. 15. 9 Gabii is spoken of as an unfashionable watering-place. Cp. Juv. S. 7. 4.

9. Imitated by Pope 'Eloisa to Abelard,' 206 'The world forgetting, by the world forgot.'

10. Bullatius is meant to recall the famous Epicurean pleasure described by Lucr. 2. 1 'Suave mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.' If Lebedus can give no other pleasure, it can give that.

11. **sed neque.** This is Horace's reply, 'What you describe is very well as a passing feeling—the result of circumstances of the moment—it is not a principle to build your life on.'

imbre lutoque aspersus, 'drenched with rain and bespattered with mud.'

12. **caupona:** the inn is relatively comfortable; but it is not home.

vivere, 'to spend his life.'

13. **frigus colligit:** so 'sitim colligere,' Ov. Met. 5. 446; cp. Virg. G. 3. 327. Possibly a poetical variation of the prose use of 'contrahere'; 'has got chilled through.'

furnos et balnea: he would like to warm himself, but he does not therefore place the sum of happiness in having access to ovens (as a baker), or hot water (as a bathman). For 'furnos' see on Sat. 1. 4. 37.

15. **nec:** 'so neither,' &c. For this use of 'nec . . . nec' see on Od. 3. 5. 27 f. 'neque amissos colores Lana refert medicata fuco; Nec vera virtus,' &c.

16. **vendas,** i.e. with the idea of staying there for your life.

17. **incolumi.** Editors question whether this means sound in

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health or in sense: '*mentis sanae*,' Schol. Surely no exact interpretation is to be given. It answers to and applies in the widest sense to the drenching of v. 11, the chill of v. 13, the tossing of v. 15. Remedies are for the sick. If you want to travel, there is unsoundness *somewhere*. No doubt in the end the disease is to be traced to the mind.

Rhodos et Mytilene: an echo of Od. 1. 7. 1. They stand here for foreign travel generally.

facit quod: does the same service as, no more service than.

18. **paenula**: a woollen cloak worn in rainy weather, see Mayor on Juv. S. 5. 79 '*multo stillaret paenula nimbo*.'

solstitio, 'midsummer,' as in Virg. E. 7. 47, G. 1. 100.

campestre. For the adj. cp. A. P. 379 '*campestribus armis*.' The neut. sing. was used of a light apron or drawers worn in exercises of the Campus Martius.

19. **Tiberis**, i. e. for bathing.

Sextili: see on Epp. 1. 7. 2.

caminus: Sat. 1. 5. 81.

20. **dum licet**: with a glance at the chances of Roman life. 'The time may come when you will have no choice.' The banished Ovid imitates the line, Trist. 1. 5. 27 '*Dum iuvat et vultu ridet Fortuna sereno*.'

21. **Romae laudetur**. The emphasis on '*laudetur*' is the same as in Virgil's (G. 2. 412) '*Laudato ingentia rura: exiguum colito*.' Cp. also the force put upon '*contempleris*' in Od. 3. 29. 7, 'look [wistfully] at, without going to them.' '*Romae*' might mean 'stay at Rome and praise,' &c., or 'come back to Rome and praise,' &c. The latter is probably the sense: see introduction to the Epistle. Notice that the three places have all been named in the Epistle, so that this is the summing up.

absens: as an epithet of the place from which one is absent; see Sat. 2. 7. 28.

22. **tu**, as always, the note of entreaty: Od. 1. 9. 16, 1. 11. 1; Sat. 1. 4. 85; Epp. 1. 2. 63.

quamoumque . . . horam. The tone of Od. 3. 8. 27 '*Dona praesentis cape laetus horae*' and 3. 29. 29 f. As in Od. 2. 16. 18 f. he identifies the restlessness which makes men travel for pleasure with the vice which he is always assailing, of not making the most of pleasures which they have.

23. **dulcia**: your pleasant things, i. e. the enjoyment of them.

in **annum**: see Epp. 1. 2. 39.

24. **libenter**: 'as though life were worth living,' as '*cenare libenter*,' 'to dine with appetite'; cp. Cic. ad Fam. 9. 19. 1, and with the thought cp. Sat. 1. 1. 117 '*qui se vixisse beatum dicat*.' It is possible however that '*libenter*' is to be taken with '*dicas*' and '*vixisse*' absolutely, 'that you have really lived,' as in Od. 3. 29. 43.

26. **effusi late maris**: 'a broad surface of sea.'

arbiter. Cp. Epod. 5. 50; Od. 3. 20. 11, 1. 3. 15, 2. 7. 25. These

BOOK I, EPISTLE XI, 17-30

passages give the stages in the use of 'arbiter.' (1) 'The witness,' as frequently in Cicero; (2) the impartial bystander acting as umpire; (3) the judge with power to pronounce effective sentence, 'ponere seu tollere.' The present use is perhaps nearest to (2), the image being of sitting on high and overlooking the sea with its tumults. There is a reference, no doubt, back to v. 10, Bullatius' defence of Lebedus, so that a stormy sea is specially in view.

27. See on Od. 2. 16. 19 (cp. also Epp. 1. 14. 12, 13). Horace had perhaps in mind Aesch. in Ctes. 78 οὐ τὸν τρόπον ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξεν, or Cic. pro Quinctio 3. 12 'fit magna mutatio loci non ingenii.'

28. *strenua nos exercet inertia*: travelling is 'working hard at doing nothing.'

navibus atque quadrigis: to be taken literally; 'by means of locomotion.'

29. *bene vivere*: a happy life, the ideal of life; Epp. 1. 6. 56.

30. *Vlubris*: a town near the Pomptine marshes. Juvenal (S. 10. 102) calls it 'vacuae,' classing it with Gabii and Fidenae, in reminiscence therefore of this Satire. Cicero jests about it in a letter to Trebatius (ad Fam. 7. 18), calling its citizens 'little frogs.'

animus aequus: Epp. 1. 18. 112.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON VERSE 3.

maiora minorave fama. Doubt hangs over both the reading and the meaning. The earliest editors, followed by Bentley without comment, gave 'minorane.' This is not found in any tenth cent. MSS. Holder gives 'ne' as the reading of Regin., but this has 'ue' as has been verified. E has 'minoraque.' Holder in the edition of the text (1869) gave 'ne,' but his colleague Keller in the Epilegomena (1880) has returned to 've' as the original and right reading. It is given by Orell., Dillenburger, Ritter, Munro, Schütz, Wilkins, Mewes. Kiessling keeps 'ne.' If 'ne' were read we must point the verse as containing two questions: 'What of Smyrna and Colophon? Are they greater or less than their repute?' It is doubtful however (apart from external evidence for the reading) whether the intrusion of a fresh question does not injure the sense. The meaning of the four times repeated 'quid [tibi visa]?' is given in the three alternative questions of vv. 4, 5, 6. Horace's interest is not in the new light which a traveller has to throw on places he has visited, but in the traveller's own frame of mind: 'Has he had the good sense to feel that home was the best place after all? or has he, for one or another of a traveller's reasons, been fascinated by any of them?' If we read 've,' some uncertainty is left as to the punctuation and sense. (1) It would be possible (if the consideration just alleged does not bar it) still to put the two notes of interrogation and translate, not 'are they

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greater or less,' &c., as though 've' could be used in alternative interrogation, but 'are they either greater or less?' i. e. 'are they just what the world says, or either greater or ("ve") less?' (2) Keller with the same punctuation understands a repeated 'Quid': 'what of Smyrna and Colophon? [what] of towns greater or less in repute?' 'fama' being in this rendering an abl. not of comparison but of the 'part concerned.' (3) Orelli and Dillenburger remove the stop at 'fama,' connecting the words 'maiora,' &c. with the following line: 'Be they greater or less than their repute, do all alike pale before the Campus and Tiber stream?' In this interpretation also 'fama' may be taken for 'in repute,' instead of 'than their repute.' (4) Schütz removes the question at 'Colophon,' retains it at 'fama?' The words 'maiora . . . fama' then become the qualification grammatically of 'Smyrna et Colophon,' answering to the more special epithets which have been given to Chios and Lesbos, Samos and Sardis. 'What of Smyrna and Colophon, greater places or (it may be) smaller than the world thinks them?' This is the view, substantially, taken in the note.

EPISTLE XII

TO ICCIUS

THIS Epistle brings together the Iccius of Od. 1. 29 and the Pompeius Grosphus of Od. 2. 16. The purpose is in the first instance personal—to introduce Grosphus to Iccius, who is acting as 'procurator' in charge of Agrippa's Sicilian estates. It is to be noticed that Grosphus seems when the Ode (see vv. 33–37) was written to have been a wealthy proprietor in Sicily. He is now returning to the island, and is in a position, we know not how, in which Iccius may be able to help him.

The Epistle also implies that Iccius has complained (either in a letter to Horace or otherwise) that he is managing the estate of another rather than an independent property of his own. The poet rallies him gently for this (vv. 1–6), turning his remonstrance into compliments on the simple life which no increase of wealth would affect (vv. 7–11), and the maintenance of high philosophical interests in a post where there was so much to foster a greed of gain (vv. 12–20). From this he passes lightly (v. 21) to the introduction and commendation of Grosphus (vv. 22–24). The Epistle ends with some lines (vv. 25–end), of which the professed purpose is to give the news from Rome, but which, if we suppose such an Epistle to be written for a larger circle of readers, associate with it the names, in a climax, of Agrippa, Tiberius, Augustus, and flood the picture as with the light of a returning Golden Age.

The last lines should also incidentally fix the date of the Epistle. With respect to the difficulty caused by the reference to Agrippa's conquest of the Cantabri see general Introd. to the Epistles.

BOOK I, EPISTLES XI, 3 : XII, 1-8

1. **Fructibus quos colligis.** 'Fructus' is used for 'produce' of all sorts. Iccius is a 'procurator' (see Cic. de Orat. I. 58. 249 with Wilkins' note) or manager of the estate of a non-resident proprietor, with a 'vilicus' or 'vilici' under him. Agrippa (see on Od. I. 6 introd.) has estates in Sicily, acquired possibly (as Ritter suggests) either after the battle of Naulochus on the Sicilian coast, when he defeated Sextus Pompeius, or in B. C. 21, when Augustus summoned him to Sicily and gave him the hand of Julia, Dion C. 54. 6.

2. **si recte frueris.** It is assumed that one who collected the produce lived on the produce. There is probably a play on 'fructibus . . . frueris,' 'if you enjoy what is meant to be enjoyed'; 'recte,' 'as you should,' possibly in the literal sense 'as the law allows you,' certainly in the moral sense, 'as philosophy bids you.'

non est ut: Od. 3. I. 9 'est ut.'

3. **tolle:** 'away with,' 'a truce to.' Epod. 16. 39 'muliebrem tollite luctum.'

4. **cui rerum suppetit usus:** 'who has the full use of property.' Horace is thinking all through of the juridical term 'ususfructus' (see vv. 1, 2), 'If you enjoy as you should what by its very name tells you it was meant to be enjoyed, it is a true "ususfructus," and that, as any lawyer will tell you, is as good as possession.' Cp. Epp. 2. 2. 160 'Qui te pascit ager, tuus est,' &c., a philosophical view which there he reinforces by the legal principle that 'usus' for a certain time actually conveyed possession. Cp. also Sat. 2. 2. 134.

5. **si ventri,** &c. Horace is perhaps thinking of Solon's apophthegm, fr. 24 ἰσὸν τοι πλουτοῦσιν ὅτ' πολλὸς ἀργυρὸς ἐστὶ | καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ γῆς πυροφόρον πεδία, | ἵπποι θ' ἡμίονοί τε, καὶ ᾗ μόνᾳ ταῦτα πάρεστι | γαστρί τε καὶ πλευρῇ καὶ ποσὶν ἄβρ' ἀπαθεῖν.

For lateri cp. Sat. I. 9. 32, 2. 3. 163; Epp. I. 6. 28.

pedibus, i.e. if you are free from the gout.

7-9. The compliments to Iccius begin with a certain archness (conveyed by the hypothetical form 'si forte,' 'if to put a case,' and by the hyperbolic 'herbis et urtica')—as though they were half jest; then the tone becomes graver and unmistakeably sincere. They are lightened again in vv. 19-21 by the half-bantering spirit always roused in Horace by the differences and paradoxes of philosophers.

7. **in medio positorum abstemius.** Lambinus seems to have been the first to suggest the interpretation which has thenceforth been usually given to these words, viz. 'temperate in respect of the simplest luxuries,' 'abstemius' being constructed with the gen. as 'abstinens' in Od. 4. 9. 37. 'In medio posita' is an habitual phrase (Sat. I. 2. 108 'Transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat') for 'things accessible to all': cp. 'ex medio' Epp. 2. I. 168 n.

8. **urtica:** the common nettle. So Persius, perhaps remembering

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this passage, 'mihi festa luce coquatur Vrtica,' 6. 69. Pliny (N. H. 21. 55) speaks of the young shoots in spring as pleasant eating.

sic vives protinus, 'you will continue so to live.' For 'protinus' see Virg. Aen. 9. 337 'felix si protinus illum Aequasset. nocti ludum.'

ut, 'even supposing that'; see on Epod. 1. 21.

9. confestim: 'in a moment.'

Fortunae rivus. Fortune is looked on as a Pactolus ('Tibique Pactolus fluat,' Epod. 15. 20) which 'cultā . . . irrigat auro,' Virg. Aen. 10. 142. 'Inauro' is used figuratively of a person in Cic. ad Fam. 7. 13. 1 'te malle a Caesare consuli quam inaurari.'

10. vel . . . vel. Iccius may take his choice between the reasons. Both apply to him. His simplicity of taste belongs both to his nature and to his ideal of life.

naturam: a man's nature. Cp. Epod. 4. 6 'Fortuna non mutat genus.'

11. una: Epp. 1. 6. 30; contrasted with 'cuncta.' Everything else in one scale, virtue in the other.

12-14 foll. miramur . . . cum tu, 'we marvel . . . and that though you,' &c. Iccius is a greater marvel than Democritus. The latter was lost to his own concerns in his philosophical dreaming. The former has kept all his philosophical interest, though immersed in business and its temptations. Democritus, the Eleatic philosopher, of Abdera: Epp. 2. 1. 194, A. P. 297. He is in Cicero a stock instance of absorption in philosophy, de Fin. 5. 29. 87 'ut quam minime animus a cogitationibus abduceretur patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos.' Cp. Tusc. 5. 39. 114, 115.

13. peregre est, 'is on its travels.' Cp. Od. 1. 28. 5 'animoque rotundum Percurrisse polum,' and Plato's picture (Theaetetus, p. 173 E) of the philosopher whose body only *ἐν τῇ πόλει κείται καὶ ἐπιδημεῖ, ἡ δὲ διάνοια . . . πανταχῇ φέρεται*.

velox: of the swiftness of thought; cp. Od. 3. 25. 3.

14. scabiem et contagia, as the Comm. Cruq. says='scabiem contagiosam'; **lucrum** goes with the two subst. together. Cicero uses 'scabies' of the easily excited desire of pleasure, Legg. 1. 17. 47. 'Among so many itching palms.'

15. nil parvum sapias. It is difficult to find an exact parallel for this use. Is it 'act the "sapiens," philosophize, on lofty themes,' a coloured synonym for 'cogites' with reference to the uses of *φρονεῖν, ἐπισκοπεῖν*, &c.? Or can it mean 'have no lower tastes?' There are uses that come near this. Cp. A. P. 212 'Indoctus quid enim saperet!' and Cicero's play on the word 'cui cor sapiat, ei non sapiat palatum,' de Fin. 2. 8. 24. For 'nil parvum' cp. Od. 3. 25. 17.

adhuc: 'still, as you did in old days.' Cp. Od. 1. 29, introd. and vv. 13, 14.

sublimia cures: not without reference to the phrase used seriously as well as in jest of Greek physical philosophers, *τὰ μετέωρα φροντίζειν*. See Riddell on Plat. Apol. 18 B. With the

physical problems which follow cp. Virg. G. 2. 475 foll., Prop. 3. 5. 25 foll.

16. *quae mare compescant causas.* Virg. l. c. v. 479 'qua vir maria alta tumescant Obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant.' temperet: Od. 1. 12. 16.

17. *sponte sua iussaene.* A poetical statement (resembling that in Od. 1. 34) of the question at issue between the Stoics and Epicureans, as to the presence or absence of Divine Will as a factor in the universe.

vagentur et errent: this combination is common in Cicero in the sense of 'wandering at large'; cp. de Orat. 1. 48. 209 'ne vagari et errare cogatur oratio,' Acad. Prior. 2. 20. 66 'eo fit ut errem et vager latius,' and in the same connexion as this (of the planets) de Rep. 1. 14. 22 'stellarum quae errantes et quasi vagae nominarentur.'

18. *obscurum,* predicatively with *premat*, 'hides in darkness.' It is probably of the monthly changes of the moon (Prop. l. c. v. 27 'unde coactis Cornibus in plenum menstrua luna redit') rather than of eclipses.

19. *quid velit et possit,* 'the purpose and effects.'
concordia discors, 'harmony in discord.' The reference is to the two *κινήσεις ἀρχαί, νεῖκος καὶ φιλία*, to which Empedocles (Arist. Metaphys. 1. 4) traced the origin of things. Cp. Cic. de Am. 7. 24 'quae in rerum natura totoque mundo constarent quaeque moverentur, ea contrahere amicitiam, dissipare discordiam' with Dr. Reid's notes. For the oxymoron cp. 'strenua inertia' in the last Epistle. The phrase recurs in later writers, as Ov. Met. 1. 433 'discors concordia fetibus apta est.'

20. *Empedocles*, of Agrigentum, A. P. 465. He wrote a long poem in hexameters on Nature, fragments of which remain. Lucretius speaks of it with enthusiasm (1. 717 foll.) and looked on it as his model.

Stertinius acumen. For the adjectival use of the gentile name, 'Stertinius' = 'Stertinianum,' cp. 'Sulpicii horreis,' Od. 4. 12. 18. It is an extension of the practice in prose, which is limited (acc. to Madv. § 189), when the name is used of an individual, to public and official relations and undertakings, 'leges Iuliae,' 'via Appia' and the like. Cp. the similar liberty taken with tribal names, 'Marsus aper' and individual names 'Romula gens,' see on Od. 1. 15. 10. For Stertinius see introd. to Sat. 2. 3. Like the 'sapientum octavus' of that Satire (v. 296) this treatment of him as the representative of Stoicism is in jest.

deliret: Epp. 1. 2. 14. This strong word is used prob. in reference to the charges of madness flung about so freely by Stoic teachers on which that Satire turns, 'or whether it is the philosopher who calls us all crazed who is crazed himself.'

21. The tone of banter begun in the last line is continued in this. *verum, αὐτὸ δ' οὖν,* 'to turn to the practical matter.' 'Whatever be your position in philosophy or the principles which you draw

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from it for your table (referring back to vv. 7, 8), whether it allows you as a Stoic to eat fish, or, as a true Pythagorean, makes you feel it almost murder to eat a vegetable . . .

pisces. It is doubtful whether fish are named as a luxury (this was perhaps the Scholiast's understanding of it; 'sen laute sive parce vivis') or as specially forbidden to Pythagoreans; Alexis ap. Athenaeus, 161 B οἱ πυθαγορίζοντες γὰρ, ὡς αὐτοῖς μεν, | αὐτ' ὅφρα ἰσθίουσιν οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν | ἐμφυχον.

porrum et caepe trucidas, imitated by Juv. S. 15. 9 'Porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu.' For Horace's jests on the vegetarianism of Pythagoreans see on Sat. 2. 6. 63.

22. **utere**, as in Epp. 1. 17. 2 and 14, sc. 'familiariter'; 'make a friend of.'

Pompelo Grospho: see introd. to Od. 2. 16.

ultrō, 'readily,' as though you had thought of it first.

23. **verum**: Epp. 1. 7. 98, perhaps here as Schütz suggests, as a touch of philosophical jargon, the word that Iccius himself might be supposed to use.

24. 'Friends are cheap in the market when good men are wanting something,' i.e. to do a service (as you may now do) to a good man is an easy way of gaining a friend. It is a rendering of Socrates' saying (Xen. Mem. 2. 10. 4) οἱ μέντοι ἀγαθοὶ οἰκονόμοι, ὅταν τὸ πολλοῦ ἀξίον μικροῦ ἐξῇ πρίασθαι, τότε φασὶ δεῖν ἀνείσθαι· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ πράγματα εὐνοσιώτατος ἔστι φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κήσασθαι.

25. **tamen**, as though he had meant to finish the letter with v. 24. It is a 'postscript.'

26. For the final defeat of the Cantabri by Agrippa see Dion C. 54. 11, Introd. to Odes B. I-III. 1. § 6; cp. Od. 4. 14. 41. For the question of the date here implied, as between B.C. 20 and 19, see Introd. to the Epistles.

Claudi Neronis, sc. Tiberius: Epp. 1. 3. 2n. For the event referred to see introd. to that Epistle.

27. **ius imperiumque accepit**, 'has submitted to Caesar's imperial rule.' With the phrase cp. 'dat. iura' Virg. G. 4. 562, 'in ius ac dicionem recipere' Liv. 21. 61, 'in dicionem imperiumque concedere' id. 29. 29, 'imperia accipere' id. 25. 9.

28. **genibus minor**: lit. 'humbled in respect of his knees,' humbled to the point of kneeling, 'genibus supplex positus,' Ov. Met. 3. 240. Some editors, Orelli and Mewes among them, prefer to take 'genibus' with 'Caesaris,' making the phrase='submissus ad genua Caesaris.' The event thus described is the restoration by the Parthians of the standards of Charrae, which was another incident of Tiberius' progress into Armenia, Suet. Tib. 9. 'The line of Horace Epp. 1. 12. 28 alludes to coins struck at this period in which we see the figure of a trousered Parthian presenting the Emperor with a standard or in some cases a bow.' Merivale, vol. iv. p. 173. Cp. Epp. 1. 18. 56, Od. 4. 15. 6, and Tacitus' words, Ann. 2. 1 'Phraates cuncta venerantium officia ad Augustum verterat,' with Furneaux's note.

BOOK I, EPISTLE XII, 21—EPISTLE XIII, 3

aurea. Cp. Od. 4. 2. 40. A good harvest is the occasion of the poetical suggestion of a return of the golden age of peace and plenty. Cp. Od. 4. 15. 5.

29. *Copia cornu*: Od. 1. 17. 16, C. S. 60.

EPISTLE XIII

TO VINIUS ASINA

THIS professes to be a letter addressed to one Vinius Asina, who is conveying some poems of Horace to the Emperor: the letter is supposed to be sent after the messenger to reiterate instructions already given as to the care and tact to be observed in discharging his commission.

It seems obvious that it is an 'Epistle' in form only: being analogous in this respect to Epp. 1. 20, for it is intended primarily for Augustus, to whom it offers a jesting apology for any untimeliness in the poet's presentation of his poems. It is a dramatic rendering of the caution in approaching Caesar which he recognizes as necessary in Sat. 2. 1. 18-20, and of the apologetic tone with which he addresses the Emperor directly in Epp. 2. 1. 1-4. Much of the point and of the imagery of the Epistle lies in the play on the family name of the messenger, a play in which the Romans delighted, and which seems not to have been necessarily offensive to those who bore the name.

For further questions as to the personality of Vinius, the nature of the 'carmina' of v. 17, and of the circumstances imagined, see the additional note on p. 241.

The Epistle should be compared with the epigram (5. 6) in which Martial begs Parthenius to introduce his book unobtrusively to Domitian's notice.

1-5. Let me repeat the orders I gave you on starting. You are to give Augustus my poems at the right moment, not bore him with them.

6-9. Refuse the commission at once rather than discharge it so as to recall your family name of Asina.

10-15. An ass's strength by all means in overcoming the difficulties of the errand; but once arrived you have still to watch your opportunity for presenting the book, and for that you want grace and tact.

16-end. Don't tell any one your errand. Now away with you, and have a care of stumbling.

2. *reddes*: a usual word of delivering a letter, a message, &c. Cp. Od. 1. 3. 7. The fut. for the imperative, Madv. § 384, obs.

signata, i.e. without breaking the seal; they are for Augustus' eye alone.

3. *si validus, si laetus*. Cp. the dangers described in Epp. 2.

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1. 220 'cum tibi librum Sollicito damus aut fesso.' Augustus had the habits and fancies of a valetudinarian : Suet. Oct. 80-83, Merivale, 4. p. 358 note.

si **poscet**: cp. Mart. l. c. v. 16 foll. 'Nec porrexeris ista, sed teneto Sic tamquam nihil offeras agasque. Si novi dominum novem sororum, Vltro purpureum petet libellum.'

4. **ne pecces**: the negative purpose of the restrictive conditions; 'then and then only, lest,' &c.

5. **sedulus**: so 'sedulitas,' Epp. 2. 1. 260. 'Opera vehemente' and 'sedulus minister' = 'sedulo ministerio,' are to be taken in close conjunction. They add, under different grammatical forms, two descriptions of the manner in which the verb **importes** operates: 'excessive zeal' and 'officious service.'

6. **uret**: Epp. 1. 10. 43. With the figurative language employed about the documents sent, their weight, &c. cp. the jest in Cic. ad Att. 1. 13 'quotus quisque est qui epistulam paulo graviores ferre possit nisi eam perfectione relevaverit?'

7. **abicio**, 'fling it away on the road rather than dash it down in ill-temper at your journey's end,' i.e. throw up your commission at once rather than discharge it unwillingly and awkwardly.

8. **Asinae**: see introd. and additional note. The ass with Horace is always the type of clownishness and ill-temper, Sat. 1. 1. 90, 1. 9. 20; Epp. 1. 20. 15, 2. 1. 199.

9. **fabula fias**: 'fabula quanta fui,' Epod. 11. 8.

10. **viribus uteris**. 'There is a place for energy; namely, on the way; when you come into the presence what is needed is grace and tact.' The figure is still that of the ass.

lamas, 'pools,' 'sloughs.' 'Lacunas maiores continentis aquam caelestem : Ennius : Silvarum saltus latebras lamasque lutas,' Acr. The word is noticed by Festus s.v. 'lacuna,' but is otherwise unknown in Latin.

11. **victor propositi**, 'when you have won your purpose.' Cp. 'voti compos,' A. P. 76, and the Greek use of *ἐγκρατής* with gen.

illuc, 'to your journey's end.' It is vaguely designated, as in v. 7 'quo perferre iuberis.'

12. **sic ne**: A. P. 151, 152.

positum, usually taken, as by Orelli, closely with **servabis**, as though it were 'sic pones et servabis,' as beginning the description of the way in which the books are to be held in the Emperor's presence. If this were so it is hard to see why the word 'onus' should be used, and changed immediately to 'fasciculum librorum.' Is it not better to look on 'sic positum servabis onus' as the words in which, addressing Vinius in his proper person, he resumes, and passes from, the preceding image, which then wholly vanishes? We must not have any suspicion of an ass carrying a parcel 'sub ala.' 'Sic' goes with 'servabis': 'positum' is 'laid aside.' 'When you have landed your burden your task is not done, you will then keep charge of it, not in the awkward way in which a man holds a parcel when he doesn't quite know what to do with it.'

BOOK I, EPISTLE XIII, 3-19

13-15. *ut . . . ut . . . ut*. These three illustrations are from familiar sights that have moved to laughter in real life or on the stage, but they seem to touch different grounds of awkwardness—as though what you carried was hard to hold; as though you were ashamed of it, trying uselessly to hide it; as though you were yourself a clown, going into company above you.

14. *glomus*, 'a ball of wool'; see Lachmann and Munro on *Lucr.* on 1. 360. The word occurs there with a long penultima. Bentley restored it to the text here as against '*glomos*.'

Pyrria. According to the Scholiast she was a character in a play of Titinius. The form of the name is very possibly corrupt, as Lachmann (on *Lucr.* 6. 971) points out that it is not a proper female name either in Greek or Latin. The MSS. of Porph. have '*Purria*,' and Keller and Holder quote from an inscription '*Purreius*' as a Roman name. As Titinius is said to have written '*togatae*,' a Roman name would be more suitable than a Greek one.

15. *conviva tribulis*, i.e. one going to be entertained as a tribesman, not as an equal, but as a humbler member of the tribe whom the rich man patronizes. He is to be seen going to the great house, not in a litter, nor even with a slave, but carrying himself his felt cap for his return at night, and the slippers (see on *Sat.* 2. 8. 77) which he will put on when he enters the house and takes off his sandals.

16. *ne narres*. There is some question as to the construction. It is perhaps best to make '*ne*' dependent on '*oratus*,' 'Push steadily on your journey, remembering my earnest request (cp. '*rogata*' in *Epp.* 1. 8. 2) that you will not tell all the world,' &c. Others make '*ne narres*' a separate imperative (see on *Sat.* 2. 5. 17) and explain '*oratus*' as 'though pressed by people to tell them.'

17. *morari*: *A. P.* 321.

19. *cave*: see on *Sat.* 2. 3. 38.

titubēs . . . frangas. There seems to be a return to something of the figure of v. 6 foll., and there is a jest on the brittle goods which were entrusted to Vinius. 'Push on, nor stop for questions. Now good-bye. But pray don't trip and smash the poetry.' Conington.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

WE may suppose that Horace has given us as much light on the circumstances of the poem as was sufficient in his judgment for its proper appreciation. If we would push further, several points are uncertain:

(1) The person of the messenger. Horace calls him Vinius (or 'Vinnius'; the MSS. of Horace are in favour of the latter; the MSS. of Tacitus and inscriptions in favour of the former as the Roman gentile name) and speaks of '*Asina*' as his father's 'cognomen.' The Pseudo-Acron and Comm. Cruq. call him 'C. ("Caninius" some MSS. give) Vinnius Fronto'; Porph. 'Vinnius Asella.'

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The heading of the Epistle in the MSS. is more often 'ad Vinnium Asellam' (or 'Asellum') than 'Asinam.'

Both 'Asina' and 'Asellus' were well-known 'cognomina'; the former in the family of the Scipiones (see the story in Macrob. Sat. 1. 6. 28), the latter in the gens Annia and Claudia. The jest on the name was a time-honoured one, for Cicero (de Orat. 2. 64. 258) quotes it as having been made by Scipio Africanus Min. against Ti. Claudius Asellus. There is nothing else to connect the cognomen either of Asina or Asellus with the gens Vinia, of which the first member who became famous is the T. Vinius of Tac. Hist. 1 passim.

What relation are we to imagine Vinius as holding to Horace or to the Emperor? The notion that he was a 'tabellarius' or slave courier is excluded by v. 8, which implies that he had a 'pater' and was therefore 'ingenuus.' Others have thought of him as one of Horace's neighbours, employed by him to carry his parcel from his country house to Rome. Is the Emperor however to be supposed to be in Rome? If so, it has been suggested that the Sosii (Epp. 1. 20. 2), who would have prepared the copy, would be the more natural agents in its delivery; also that the imagery of a journey 'per clivos, flumina, lamas,' even if it be in part at least metaphorical, seems less appropriate to such a short and well-beaten road as that from Tibur to Rome. If the Emperor was abroad, as we know him to have been from B.C. 22 to 19, Vinius may have been any one in Rome who was going to Sicily, Samos, or some other place where the Court at the moment was.

(2) The nature of the 'carmina' of v. 17. What was Horace sending or professing to send? The usual answer has been, *the first three books of the Odes*; and there is much probability to be alleged for it, in respect of the importance of the occasion supposed, of Horace's usual employment of the term 'carmina' when applied to his own writings¹, of the plural 'libellis' v. 4 (contrast 'libello' of the first book of Satires, Sat. 1. 10. 92), 'fasciculum librorum' v. 13, and *generally* of the date to which the Epistle is then referred. If, however, any more particular date is sought, difficulties arise. The Odes, we have every reason to believe, were given to the world in B.C. 23. Augustus did not leave Rome for Sicily and the East before the middle of B.C. 22. Are we to imagine, then, that Horace's Odes were unknown to him for some months after their publication? or are we to look upon this as a formal presentation of a book which the poet already knew to be approved of? Must we fall back on the theory of a mission from the Sabine villa to Rome? or should we remember how fragmentary is our knowledge of the Emperor's movements, whether in Italy or outside of it?

¹ 'Carmina' is Horace's word for his Odes when contrasted with the 'Iambi' and 'Sermones,' Epp. 2. 2. 59; cp. Epp. 2. 1. 250, 258. At the same time 'carmen' is used (Sat. 1. 10. 66 and 75, 2. 1. 63) of Lucilius' Satires, and therefore presumably be used of Horace's own. Its use in Sat. 2. 6. 22 is part of the mock-heroic language adopted for the moment.

BOOK I, EPISTLE XIII-XIV, 1

EPISTLE XIV

TO HIS 'VILICUS'

THE Epistle professes to be addressed to his 'vilicus' or slave-bailiff, whom he had promoted from his town household to the charge of his country house and farm with its eight slaves (Sat. 2. 7. 118), but who hankers still after city life.

Under cover of a comparison between his own tastes and the bailiff's, he justifies his love of country life (cp. Sat. 2. 6, Epp. 1. 16, &c.), and preaches his habitual sermon against restlessness and the desire of change.

Verses 1-5. Bailiff of the farm which I love and you despise, let us see whether my moralizing is as good as your farming.

6-10. I am longing to get into the country, as much as you to get away from it to town.

11-13. That on the face of it is folly on both sides.

14-17. There is however this difference, that you change continually, always disliking what you have. My preference is constant.

18-30. The fact is, our tastes are different. What you think unredeemed barrenness, I think beauty. You complain that you miss all the pleasures of the city, and yet have constant work.

31. What is the dividing-line between us?

32-39. It is true that I also loved and became town life; but times have changed, and I have recognized this. The true inconsistency would have been not to do so. In the country I am free from envy and ill-will, so busy at my fieldwork that my neighbours are amused.

40-42. You are seeking to go back to a lot which a city drudge is sharp enough to see to be much worse than your present one.

43, end. Ox would wear horse's trappings, horse do ox's work. My advice is, let each keep to that which he understands.

1. *Vilice*. The duties of a 'vilicus' are described in Cato, de R. R. 5. 1; a slave whose heart was in town pleasures would not have satisfied them: 'Ne sit ambulator, sobrius siet semper, ad cenam ne quo eat, familiam exerceat, consideret quae dominus imperaverit fiant. Ne plus censeat sapere se quam dominum,' &c. Columella 1. 8. 1 warns a landowner against selecting one whose accomplishments and tastes are of the city.

silvarum: Od. 3. 16. 29, Sat. 2. 6. 3.

mihi me reddentis, 'which makes me feel myself again,' Conington. Cp. 'vivo et regno,' &c., Epp. 1. 10. 8, 'Me quotiens reficit . . . Digentia' Epp. 1. 18. 104.

agelli: a favourite word with Horace, sometimes in a depreciatory sense (as Sat. 1. 6. 71). Here it carries the double feeling—at once the 'snug domain' (cp. Sat. 2. 6. 9) as it is to the poet, and the 'poor little farm' as the bailiff contemptuously calls it.

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2. **habitatam quinque fociis**, 'though it is the dwelling-place of five households,' lit. 'inhabited with five hearths.' M. Fustel de Coulanges (*L'alleu et le domaine rural*, p. 65) has made it quite clear that Horace's estate was in part cultivated by slaves (see Sat. 2. 7. 118) under a 'vilicus,' in part let to free tenants ('fortes mercede coloni,' such as Ofellus in Sat. 2. 2. 115) paying rent or sharing the produce. These are the 'patres' of v. 3, so called probably not as fathers of families visiting *Varia* as their market-town, but as a playful term (= 'senatores') for the 'decuriones' or members of a communal council.

3. **Variam**: now Vico Varo, in the valley of the Anio, where the Licenza joins it.

4. **cœtemus**. Notice that the challenge gives a playful air to the Epistle; also that it implies a compliment to the bailiff's energy in farming.

spinas: for the metaphor cp. Epp. 2. 2. 212, also Sat. 1. 3. 35. For the position of **ne** cp. Epp. 2. 2. 65.

5. **melior**, 'in better condition.'

res, 'his property.' There are to be two comparisons, between the energy of their respective work and its success.

6. For *Lamia* see introd. to Odes 1. 26 and 3. 17.

moratur, 'keeps me awhile in town.' The feeling of this reference to *Lamia*'s sorrow and Horace's sympathy, though it would be rather incongruous in a letter actually intended for the 'vilicus,' is natural and appropriate if we look on the Epistle as intended rather for the eyes of the poet's friends.

8. **istuc**, 'to where you are,' sc. to the country; so 'istic' in v. 37.

mens animusque: the accumulation seems to mean 'every impulse of my soul.' Cp. the frequent phrase 'animus fert'; and so 'mens tulit' Stat. Theb. 4. 754; cp. 'mens' = inclination, Epp. 1.

I. 4.

9. **amat**: see on Od. 2. 3. 10.

spatiis obstantia claustra, 'the doors that bar its course'; 'claustra' = 'carceres'; see Sat. 1. 1. 114.

11. **nimirum**, 'of course.' The philosophical account of the matter is perfectly clear. We are both "stulti"; the fault does not lie in the place.' Horace puts himself on a level with the bailiff, but proceeds immediately to point out the difference between them.

13. Cp. Od. 2. 16. 19.

animus: cp. v. 4. This is one of the 'spinae.'

14. **mediastinus**, 'a common drudge.' The Scholiasts made it a hybrid word, as though from 'medius' and *ἀστυ* ('astu' is found in Terence, &c.), in order to find in it the idea of 'in the city' which the place seemed to require—but the word does not convey this in itself. In Lucilius 15. 30 it is used of a 'vilicus.' Here the contrast with 'vilicus' and the nature of the two wishes give the necessary sense.

tacita, 'which you did not dare utter.'

BOOK I, EPISTLE XIV, 2-29

16. See note on Epp. 1. 8, 12.

17. *invisa negotia*: cp. the picture in Sat. 2. 6. 20-59.

18. *non eadem miramur*, 'we have different ideals.' See the use of 'mirari' in Epp. 1. 6.

disconvenit: Epp. 1. 1. 99. It is here impersonal.

19. *inhospita tesqua*. A quotation from Lucilius (2. 31); 'tesqua' is interpreted by Porph. 'loca aspera et silvestria,' by Acr. 'loca deserta ac difficilia,' and said by the latter to have been a Sabine word.

20. *amoena vocat*: 'Hae latebrae dulces, etiam, si credis, amoenae,' of his farm, Epp. 1. 16. 15.

21. *uncta*. It is doubtful whether this means 'greasy,' as in Sat. 2. 4. 78 ('manus') and 2. 2. 68 ('aqua')—or 'savoury,' as in Epp. 1. 15. 44, A. P. 422.

22. *incutiant*, 'cause you a thrill' of desire. It is used generally of terror and other painful emotions; see on Sat. 2. 1. 39.

video: parenthetically, 'I understand,' 'I read your motives'; so Sat. 1. 9. 15, 2. 2. 35.

et quod, 'and the fact that'; adding further subjects to 'incutiant.'

23. *angulus iste*. The words seem to be an imagined quotation of what the 'vilicus' himself has said: and either 'angulus' is used here in a depreciatory sense (contrast Od. 2. 6. 14), 'this out-of-the-way place,' or else it is an answer supposed to have been given to Horace, 'the corner you speak of—some sunny corner which had been pointed out as fit to try vines in—will grow pepper and spices as soon as the grape.'

24. *taberna*: the farm lay too far off a high road.

26. *terrae*: the dative after *gravis*.

et tamen. These words are best taken as a continuation of the supposed complaints of the bailiff. He has none of the pleasures often found even in the country, 'and yet' he has plenty of work. This view gives more meaning to 'iampridem non tacta'; we need not look too carefully for justificatory reasons—it is part of his grumbling—'the ground seems as if it had not been dug for years.' Note also, possibly, that a slight verbal play is carried on from 'terrae gravis' to 'urges arva': you can't make the ground feel in one way (cp. the feeling of the rustic taking out his revenge in Od. 3. 18. 15 'Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor Ter pede terram'), but you have to make it feel, at your own cost, in another.

28. *disiunctum*. The bailiff's labours do not even cease when the ox is unyoked; cp. the feeling of Od. 3. 6. 38-44.

strictis frondibus: Virg. E. 9. 61 'agricolae stringunt frondes'; cp. Epp. 1. 16. 9, 10.

29. *pigro*, 'if you feel lazy.' The rain which brings a holiday from other farming work (Virg. G. 1. 259, cp. Sat. 2. 2. 119) brings you fresh toils. The verse shows that Horace had some meadow land reaching down to the 'Digentia.' For the metaphor of *do-cendus* cp. A. P. 68.

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31. **nunc age**: a Lucretian formula of transition; see on Epp. 2. 1. 214. This fresh start suits very well with the view that we have been listening since v. 19 to the bailiff's views.

concentum dividat, 'prevents our singing the same tune.'

32. **tenuēs**: contrast 'toga quamvis crassa,' Sat. 1. 3. 15.

nitidi capilli: Od. 2. 7. 7.

33. **immunem**, 'though empty-handed'; Od. 4. 12. 23, and see on Od. 3. 23. 17.

Cinarae: Epp. 1. 7. 28 n. The contrast between the epithets in these two passages and Od. 4. 1. 4 possibly imply that she died in the interval; see App. 1. to vol. 1 'On the unknown names in the Odes.'

34. **liquidi**, 'well cleared'; Od. 1. 11. 6, Sat. 2. 4. 51 foll.

media de luce: see on Sat. 2. 8. 3.

35. **cena brevis**: cp. 'mensae brevis,' A. P. 198.

36. **luisse**: for the sense of 'ludere' cp. Epp. 2. 2. 56, 142, 214. The statement is general; the shame is not in having played, but in not putting a limit to the play. For 'incidere' cp. Virg. E. 9. 14 'novas incidere litis.'

37. **istio**: as 'istuc' in v. 8.

38. **limat**, lit. 'files down.' Cp. the somewhat similar metaphor of 'deterere,' Od. 1. 6. 12. Lachmann (on Lucret. 3. 11) suggested that, as Plautus plays on words (e.g. 'dolum dolamus,' Mil. 3. 3. 64), there is in 'limat,' without altering its proper meaning, a reference also to 'limi oculi' (see Sat. 2. 5. 53), 'sidelong glances.'

morsu: Od. 4. 3. 16 'dente minus mordeor invido.'

venenat: the 'tooth' of envy 'poisons' what it nibbles; so 'atro dente' Epod. 6. 15.

39. **rident**, 'smile at.' This is contrasted with the preceding line = no jealousy, a little amusement perhaps at the zeal and energy of his work; and that expresses his contentment with his change of life.

40. As Porph. says 'Tu vero' must be supplied. Its absence is compensated for by the 'tu' of the next line. Cp. the omission of 'ego' in Epp. 1. 17. 21.

urbana diaria: the measured rations of city slaves (cp. Sat. 1. 5. 68) are compared with the free use of field and garden produce which the bailiff enjoys.

rodere: of tough morsels.

41. **horum**: emphatic, as was 'cum servis.' 'This is the company into whose number your prayers bear you again.'

voto: cp. 'prece' in v. 14.

42. **calo argutus**. For 'calo' see on Sat. 1. 6. 103. For 'argutus' on Sat. 1. 10. 40.

43. One of Horace's fables compressed into a sentence.

piger is best taken (as Bentr.) with **caballus**. There is no point in making the motive the same in both cases. Human restlessness has many. If laziness were at the bottom of the ox's desire of

BOOK I, EPISTLE XIV, 31—EPISTLE XV

change the 'trappings' would hardly be the point named in the horse's condition as that which attracts him.

44. Horace is thinking of the Greek proverb *ἔρδοι τις ἢν ἔκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην* (Arist. Vesp. 1431) or of Cicero's rendering of it, Tusc. 1. 18. 41 'bene illo Graecorum proverbio praecipitur: quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat.'

libens: predicative; 'ply his own trade and be happy withal.'

consensebo, 'if ox and horse refer the matter to my arbitration, I shall answer them with the proverb.'

EPISTLE XV

TO VALA

THIS is one of the Epistles which carry on their face more of the occasion and purpose of a true letter. Horace writes to Vala as one well acquainted with the coast in that part of Italy to ask about Velia and Salernum as winter resorts; explaining, by the way, why he is not going as usual to Baiae: 'It is not my fault, but that of Antonius Musa, who has put me on the cold-water treatment: yet, no doubt, I am looked upon at Baiae as a traitor and renegade.' The questions which he asks (with this interpolated explanation in vv. 2-13) last until v. 25. The remainder of the Epistle is occupied with an ironical apology for the inconsistency between these particular inquiries as to the luxuries to be had at the southern watering-places and the tone of contented Stoicism with which his friends at this time were familiar. 'You see after all I am like Maenius, a philosopher when I must be so, a *bon vivant* when I can' (vv. 26-end). This turn of the Epistle has been prepared for by the parenthesis (vv. 16-21), in which he explains that he asks about the water rather than the wine of the country, not that he means to drink water, but because, although at home at his farm he can drink anything, at the seaside he wants something better than *vin du pays*.

Missing the connexion of thought, some of the best MSS. divide the Epistle, beginning a new one at v. 26 (see introd. to Ode 1. 7).

Of the Vala of this Epistle, called Numonius Vala in the heading given in several MSS., we know nothing certainly. The name of Q. Numonius Vala has been found in an inscription¹ at Paestum—half-way, that is, between Salernum and Velia. We gather from the Epistle that he was well acquainted with both places, and from v. 46, probably, that he had a handsome country house in the neighbourhood. One Numonius Vala met an inglorious death in the German campaign of A.D. 9 under Varus, but there is nothing to identify the two.

We may note in the Epistle the recurrence to the topic of his

¹ Corpus Inscr., vol. x. no. 481.

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own inconsistency, especially in respect of his love of simplicity and pretensions to philosophy. He is conscious that such charges are made against him, and he meets them sometimes with denial, sometimes with playful and half-ironical confessions. We must not be misled by these, or suppose that he really attributes to himself the same motives as to Maenius. His true answer is little more than that 'there is a time for everything.' In the last Epistle he preached that inconsistency was sometimes the truest consistency.

1. *hiems*: for Horace's practice of spending the autumn at his farm and going to the sea for the winter see Epp. 1. 7. 10. Probably Epp. 1. 10. 15 implies that this was not invariable.

Vellae, the Greek *Ἐλλά*, on the coast some twenty-five miles south of Paestum, as Salernum (now Salerno) is some twenty-five miles north of it. The latter was within the borders of Campania, the former was in Lucania (see v. 21).

2. *qualis via*, 'what the road is like'; a question always of interest in Horace.

nam introduces a long parenthesis, the indirect questions being resumed at v. 14. There is a similar parenthesis introduced by 'nam' in vv. 16-21.

3. *Musa Antonius*. The freedman-physician who cured Augustus in B.C. 23 of an illness by the cold-water treatment, Suet. Oct. 59 and 81, Dion. C. 53. 30. This proves nothing as to the date of Horace's adopting a like treatment, but it suits well with the date which is otherwise assigned to the Epistles of this book. For the order of the two names see on Od. 2. 2. 3.

supervacuus. Baiae was resorted to for its sulphur vapour baths. Horace, being put on cold water, would find no use in it beyond other watering-places.

et tamen, 'and yet,' i.e. though it is the doctor's fiat, not my fancy, and though I am told that their specialty is of no use for my case. The passage well hits off the way in which the whole population of a health-resort, officials and visitors alike, espouse its cause as a point of personal honour, and look on any one who undervalues its treatment or goes elsewhere as guilty of a grave delinquency. Cp. the *habitués* of St. Ronan's Well.

5. *sane*, 'really': the word which the champions of Baiae would use in beginning their indignant outburst; cp. its use in Epp. 1. 7. 61, A. P. 418.

myrteta. Celsus 2. 17 describes the treatment; the myrtle woods are the locality: 'naturalium sudationum ubi a terra profusus vapor aedificio includitur, sicut super Baias in myrtetis.'

6. *nervis elidere*. 'Elidere' seems to have been a technical medical word, for the 'dislodgement' of a malady, Cels. 2. 15. The malady seems to be rheumatism.

9. *Clusinis*: of, or near, Clusium in Etruria. There is no other allusion to them nor any trace of medicinal springs there. It has

BOOK I, EPISTLE XV, 1-22

been thought that the reference is to some baths twelve miles south of Clusium, at a place now called S. Casciano di Bagni.

Gabiosque: see on Epp. I. 11. 7, with the quotation from Juv. S. 7. 4 'Balneolum Gabiis.' We learn from this place that it was a place of cold bathing. It is to be noted that Horace does not say nor even imply that he went himself to Clusium or Gabii. They are named as specimens of the rival establishments whose names stunk in the nostrils of the votaries of Baiae. He had 'frigida rura' in his Sabine hills, and cold water which he pronounces medicinal for head and stomach; see Epp. I. 16. 14.

10. **mutandus loous est** pursues the explanation, which was broken off in v. 5 to picture the annoyance of the people of Baiae. The result of Musa's advice is that I must change my destination, not take as usual the turning to Baiae, but continue the road toward Salernum.

deversoria nota, 'the inns he (i.e. the horse) knows,' acc. after 'praeteragendus.' They are the inns on the road between Baiae and the place where the Appian Way was left; the horse associates the turning with the baiting-places to which it led.

11. **quo tendis?** part of the impatient rider's address to the horse who from old habit is turning off to the right.

13. **sed equi**, 'but it is the tug of the rein, not the words, that the horse understands.'

14. Horace begins his catechism with necessities, bread and water, and passes on to luxuries. Note that bread and water were the two things about which he was most particular in his picture of the journey to Brundisium, Sat. I. 5. 7 and 88-91.

frumentū oopia will imply cheapness and choice.

15. **perennis**: wells fed by springs, opposed to the intermittent supply of tanks of rainwater.

16. **nihil moror**, 'I do not stop to ask about'; with obj. acc. as here Epp. 2. 1. 264, with obj. clause Sat. I. 4. 13. He does not trouble to ask the relative value of the native wines of the district; none had any name. His practice at the sea is to bring or buy better wines.

17. **quidvis**: more general and so more forcible than 'quodvis,' sc. 'vinum.'

perferre patique: perhaps the strength of the expression implies that it requires some philosophy even in Sabine air.

18. Perhaps this seaside régime is implied in the 'sibi parcat' of Epp. I. 7. 11. Note the contrast between his mode of life, described there ('contractus leget'), and in Epp. I. 14. 39 ('glebas et saxa moventem').

With the description of what he looks for from the more generous wine cp. Epp. I. 5. 16 foll.

20. **venas**: see note on Od. 2. 2. 14.

21. **Lucanae**: so he is thinking chiefly of Velia; see on v. 1.

iuvemem: predicative; 'make me young and give me grace in the eyes,' &c.

22. **apros**: cp. 'Lucanus aper,' Sat. 2. 8. 6.

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23. *echinos*: Sat. 2. 4. 33.

24. *Phaeax*. One of the 'Alcinoi iuventus' of Epp. 1. 2. 28. It is this apparent recantation of so much of his philosophy which leads directly to the ironical apology of the remainder of the Epistle. As the Scholiast puts it, 'quia de se ut luxurioso locutus erat subicit de Maenio fabulam.'

25. *accredere*, 'to give full credence to.'

27. *fortiter*, 'gallantly,' 'with spirit'; said ironically.

urbanus: Catull. 22. 2 'dicax et urbanus,' 'a wit.'

28. 'A parasite at large, not one to keep to one crib, not one when he wanted a dinner to distinguish between countryman and stranger.' For the order of *non qui* cp. Sat. 1. 5. 33.

præsepe: the metaphor is an old one of a parasite, Plaut. Curc. 2. 1. 13, as though he were an animal looking only for a bellyful.

29. *impransus*: Sat. 2. 2. 7, 2. 3. 257.

civem hoste: not to be taken in too literal a sense; all distinctions were obliterated, even that which to a Roman would last longest.

dinosceret, with abl., as Epp. 2. 2. 44.

30. *ingere saevus*: see App. 2. to vol. I.

31. He swept the market clean like a hurricane, swallowed its contents like a bottomless pit. The accumulated figures are abundantly illustrated from the comic poets, as Plaut. Capt. 4. 3. 3 'Quanta pernis pestis veniet, quanta labes larido,' Alexis ap. Athen. 338 Ε ἐκνεφίας καταγίσις . . . | εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦψον πρῶμενος οἶχεται | φέρων ἅπαν τὸ ληφθέν. Plaut. Curc. 1. 2. 28 'Age ecfunde hoc cito in barathrum.'

33. 'Those who encouraged his wicked wit, or feared it.' It is not necessary to this sense that *timidis* should be taken as partly governing the gen. as Dillenburger, quoting A. P. 28 'timidus procellae.'

34. *paulum abstulerat*, 'had got little spoil.'

patinas, 'plate after plate.'

omasi: Sat. 2. 5. 40.

35. *agninae*. Lamb is seldom spoken of as an article of food, never, it seems, as a delicacy. In the passage quoted by the edd. from Plaut. Capt. 4. 2. 38 Ergasilus is speaking of the frauds of the market, of selling stale fish for fresh, &c., and he charges the butchers with selling the meat of an old ram as though it were young wether mutton, and of passing off lamb at twice its proper price as mutton, 'dupla agninam danunt.'

villis seems to go with both substantives.

36. *scilicet* ut. For the force of 'scilicet' before the consecutive 'ut,' calling attention to the length to which his change of tone was carried, see on Epp. 1. 9. 3.

lamna candente. For 'lamna' see on Od. 2. 2. 2. Red-hot plates of metal are mentioned frequently as instruments of torture, as Lucr. 3. 1017, Cic. in Verr. 5. 16. 163 'ardentes laminae, ceterique cruciatus.'

BOOK I, EPISTLE XV, 23-42

nepotum, i.e. of those who wasted money on gluttony.

37. **correctus Bestius**. The explanation of the words, whether we keep to the text of the MSS. which only give the choice of 'correctus' or 'correptus,' or accept the emendation of Lambinus, 'corrector,' must equally be a matter of conjecture: for the clue to the reference to Bestius is lost. Very possibly he was a character in Lucilius. If we keep 'correctus' it may mean either 'like a reformed Bestius,' Bestius being supposed to be a glutton or spendthrift who changed his tone, or 'a very Bestius now that he is reformed,' Bestius being as Acr. suggested a man of stern frugality. If we accept 'corrector' it will mean 'a very Bestius in his zeal for reform'; but we have still to supply from our imagination, what there is no evidence of, that Bestius was a preacher of good morals in actual life or in some satire or play. Bentley shows that 'corrector' was a common term, and was used both with a gen. as in Epp. 2. 1. 129, and absol. as in Ter. Adelph. 4. 7. 24, but we cannot say that 'correctus' or 'correptus' (cp. Sat. 2. 3. 257 of just such a reformed character, 'correptus voce magistrī') is impossible. Persius' use of the name (6. 37 'Bestius urget Doctores Graios') apparently for a general censor would suit the reading 'corrector' very well, but the language which is likened to that of Bestius is censorious enough to explain the reference without his being actually called 'corrector.'

38. **quidquid**: here equivalent to 'si quid.'

39. **in fumum**: the words must be metaphorical; 'any plunder he got was treated as the plunder of a captured city.' Nothing was kept, everything devastated; cp. the metaphor of v. 31. Such metaphors are not very clearly realized, and there may be a half conscious suggestion of the kitchen altar on which his gains were consumed.

40. **comedunt**, 'put down their throats.' Cic. has the word with the same mixture of literal and metaphorical meaning, 'utrum ego tibi patrimonium eripui, Gelli, an tu comedisti?' pro Sest. 52. 111.

obeso turdo. A fieldfare is the titbit to be sent to the rich man by the legacy-hunter, Sat. 2. 5. 10. Cp. the 'macro turdos' of Sat. 1. 5. 72.

41. **vulva**, sc. 'suilla.' Juv. S. 11. 81 'calidae sapiat quid vulva popinae.'

melius . . . pulchrius: words which in his short-lived reformation he learnt to use of moral excellencies: for 'pulcher' in that sense see Epp. 1. 2. 3 and 30.

42. **nimirum**: the particle emphasizes the explanation of this long parable, but, as often, it has in it a suggestion of irony.

hio, the man so pictured; see Epp. 1. 6. 40.

tuta et parvula: cp. Od. 2. 10. 6 and the context, and the spirit of Od. 2. 18; 3. 16; Sat. 2. 2. The question is widened beyond the matter of eating and drinking. Horace is giving a playful account of his alternation of Epicureanism and Stoicism.

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43. *fortis*: in the sense of Sat. 2. 2. 115 and 135, 136.
44. *mellius et unotius*. The table recurs, but here rather as a figure. Cp. 'impransi mecum disquirite' with the context Sat. 2. 2. 7. For 'unctius' see on Ep. 1. 14. 21, and cp. Epp. 1. 17. 12.
45. 'That you are the only philosophers, and alone have the secret of life.'
bene vivere: cp. Epp. 1. 6. 56, 1. 11. 29.
46. *fundata*. A metaphorical use, but with a half literal sense given to it by its conjunction with 'villis,' 'with a solid foundation in trim country houses.' It seems clear that there is an implied contrast between the smartness of Vala's country house in south Italy and the roughness of the poet's own humble quarters in the Sabine valley.

EPISTLE XVI

TO QUINCTIUS

Verses 1-16. YOU ask about the produce of my farm, but seem hardly to understand its nature. It is in the heart of the hills, but for such a situation it has all possible advantages—a sunny aspect, good climate, surprising richness of woodland fruit and foliage, fresh water.

It is to me a paradise of beauty and safety even in September.

17-24. And now of yourself. I hope you too have found the secret of life. We are all congratulating you on your good fortune—and rightly; provided you are taking your measure of your happiness not from our words, but from your own feelings and from philosophy.

True happiness belongs only to the wise and good. Are you that?

25-31. If the world tells you so, do not believe it at once, any more than you would if it told you that you were a second Augustus.

31-40. No doubt all feel pleasure in being called good and wise.

But we must remember that those who give titles can take them away. Are we to feel pain when they destroy our character? Such pleasure and such pain are alike proofs that we are not yet good and wise.

40. For what, to go back, do you mean by a 'good man'?

41-43. The stock answer is 'the man of respectability, who breaks no law, whose word is a bond, whose testimony is trusted.'

44, 45. Nay, that is outside only. He may be a villain underneath.

46-49. Negatives do not constitute goodness, even in a slave.

The truly good man is good from love of virtue.

50-56. True goodness implies motive as well as act. The pretender to goodness is often kept straight by fear of punishment.

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- 57-62. But his true desire is not to be good but to seem good, in order that he may the better gratify his love of gain.
 63-68. There is his true motive, and that makes the man who feels it a slave.
 69-72. You may make a useful shepherd of him, or ploughman, or trader, but not a philosopher.
 73-end. The truly wise and good man is like Dionysus in the play. He fears no one, wants nothing, can never lose his liberty, for he has in his own hands the key of liberty.

It is characteristic of Horace's irony that an Epistle in which, more than in most, he assumes the tone of a Stoic and mounts the professor's pulpit, follows one in which he has described himself as a second Maenius.

Who Quinctius was, and to what extent he was meant to take home the lecture, we cannot tell. He may be the 'Quinctius Hirpinus,' to whom Horace addresses counsels in a very different vein in *Od.* 2. 11. It is to be said however that the total ignorance which is presumed in him of the poet's country house does not point to a friend of long standing, and that the tone of v. 17 foll., if it does not require, certainly suits well with, a friend young in years towards whom congratulations on some early success may not unbecomingly be followed up, by an elder, with some good advice. We need not imitate some editors in drawing out in detail defects of Quinctius' character to suit the turns of the poet's lecture. Its personal bearing is probably satisfied with 'we are all calling you happy, only remember what the Stoics tell us happiness really means.' We have seen in *Epp.* 1. 1 that Horace passes from a personal address to professorial argument with an imagined interlocutor without indicating the point of transition (see note on vv. 41-43 of this Epistle). It is to be noticed that in the present Epistle he touches in succession on many current Stoic doctrines, and with sympathy, not putting in front, as is usual with him, their paradoxical form. See notes on vv. 33, 55, 65, 79.

The connexion between the description of the Sabine farm and the discussion on standards of happiness and goodness which follows is not strongly marked. We are meant probably to feel something of the easy inconsequence of a letter, the early part finding its immediate explanation in some questions that Quinctius may be supposed to have asked. The point of actual connexion is made in v. 17 by 'Tu recte vivis,' which implies that the sum of the picture given in the preceding lines has been 'ego recte vivo.' The retirement and simple pleasures in which he paints himself as finding health and contentment are a fitting introduction to the remainder of the letter in which he is to argue that happiness cannot be separated from goodness, and that they both are to be sought within us, not without us.

1. *Ne perconteris*, 'to forestall your asking.' See on *Epp.* 1. 1.

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13. *Od. 1. 33. 1.* 'Perconteris' means 'ask particularly,' 'repeatedly'; the tone is as though Quinticius has asked.

2. *opulentet*: a word not found elsewhere. The whole expression is equivalent to 'bacarum copia donet' rather than 'baxis divitem reddat.' 'Opulentet,' or some verb more colourless still, understood for it, has to do duty with the ablatives of the following line. It is to be noticed that the alternatives are not mutually exclusive. Where vines were grown, as now in Italy, on trees, corn would be sown between them.

3. *amicta vitibus ulmo*: the process described by the more poetical metaphor of the marriage of vine and elm in *Od. 2. 15. 4, 4. 5. 30; Epod. 2. 9.* Cp. *Epp. 1. 7. 84.*

4. *forma* seems to have been a technical word (Varro, *R. R. 1. 6*) for the character of an estate, the general lie of the ground, whether arable, pasture-land, woodland, &c.

loquaciter, i.e. with all an owner's fond garrulity. Obbar compares Pliny's words of his Tusculan estate (*Epp. 5. 6*) 'accipe temperiem caeli, regionis situm, villae amoenitatem, quae et tibi auditu et mihi relatu iucunda erunt.'

5. *continui montes, ni dissociantur*. With 'continui montes' we understand 'sunt' rather than 'sint.' It is one of the cases that come under *Madv. § 348 b.* Cp. *Epp. 2. 2. 108* 'ultra si taceas laudant.' 'Imagine a mass of hills unbroken, were it not parted by a valley.'

opaca, 'shaded,' probably by trees, as in *Od. 3. 4. 51*, for the following line excludes the idea that the sides of the valley shut the sun out.

6. *sed ut*, &c.: a qualification not of 'opaca,' which is not an epithet which would seem to convey blame and need explaining away, but of the whole somewhat unpromising description. It is a valley buried among the hills, *but* one so favourably placed as to catch the earliest and the latest sunshine. As the valley runs from north to south, it is clear that if it was in the sunshine in the morning and evening *a fortiori* would it be so during the day. This consideration has been lost sight of by many commentators.

dextrum . . . laevum: the right and left as you look down the valley. Keller accepts, on the authority of few MSS., the reading in v. 5 'si' instead of 'ni.' This would alter the framework of the sentence. 'Continui montes si dissociantur opaca valle' then becomes the protasis, 'temperiem laudes' the apodosis. The result is an awkwardly balanced and un-Horatian sentence. And, though Keller dissents, the Scholiasts' notes show them all to have read 'ni.'

7. *curru fugiente*: cp. *Od. 3. 6. 44.*

vaporet either merely 'warms,' a sense it has in *Columella 2. 15. 6* 'glebae solibus aestivis vaporatae,' or of the flickering haze caused by heat. In either case cp. the use of 'vapor' in *Epod. 3. 15.*

8. *temperiem*: the tempering of the air, high and yet warm. Cp. 'Vtrumque rege temperante caelium,' *Epod. 16. 56.*

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVI, 1-17

si ferant, 'supposing they were to bear,' i.e. supposing you were to find that they do bear.

11. **dicās**: not the direct apodosis to 'si ferant,' for that is contained in 'quid.' 'Why, you would say that the rich vegetation of Southern Italy had been brought to our doors.'

12. **fons**: Od. 3. 16. 29, Sat. 2. 6. 2. On the question whether this is the 'Fons Bandusiae' see introd. to Od. 3. 13.

dare nomen idoneus: for the inf. see App. 2. vol. 1. 'Idoneus dare' does not necessarily imply that it did give its name to a river. If that were the case the spring must have been named 'Digentia.' In any case it was a confluent. Cp. Epp. 1. 18. 104 'gelidus Digentia rivus.'

ut: in such a way that (i.e. with the additional qualification) it is as cool and as pure as the Hebrus. For the use cp. A. P. 2.

13. **ambiat**: not quite properly used of a river which does not flow round but through. It is meant to describe a winding course. The Hebrus ('hiemis sodalis' Od. 1. 25. 19, 'nivali compede vinctus' Epp. 1. 3. 3), the river of the Bacchants (Od. 3. 25. 10), of Orpheus (Virg. G. 4. 524), is idealized here, and the comparison gives to the Sabine farm the associations of a poetic dreamland.

14. **capiti . . . alvo**: cp. Epp. 1. 15. 8 'Qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent.' He is speaking of cold 'douches.'

15. **dulces . . . amoenae**, 'attractive' to me, 'lovely' in themselves. 'Amoenus' is used by Horace of 'Baiae' Epp. 1. 1. 83, of 'Surrentum' Epp. 1. 17. 52, in the mouths of admirers of those places, of the airs and streams of Elysium Od. 3. 4. 7, of places idealized by poetic fancy A. P. 17, or by affection as Epp. 1. 14. 20 and here.

16. **tibi**. Notice how the touch of feeling in this 'ethical dative' softens the transition to the question of Quinctius' own life. It is not 'This is how I live; how do you?' as though Horace held up his own example broadly to Quinctius, but rather 'So I live, and so, what I know you care for very much, my health and happiness are secured. What of your own?'

Septembribus horis: the unhealthy season; Sat. 2. 6. 19, Epp. 1. 7. 5.

17. **recte vivis**: a phrase of Stoic import which gives the keynote of what follows. It includes the having found the true ideal and the following it, and it implies happiness, Epp. 1. 2. 41, 1. 6. 29, 1. 8. 4, 2. 2. 213.

esse quod audis, 'to be what you are said to be.' For the sense of 'audis' cp. Sat. 2. 7. 101; Epp. 1. 7. 38. Horace is of course referring to the contrast of *dokein* and *eivai*, 'esse' and 'videri' or 'haberi', which was a commonplace with philosophers (as Cic. Off. 2. 12. 43, Xen. Mem. 2. 6. 39), and in what follows he will make that his text, but at present his standing-point is what the world is actually saying of Quinctius, 'we are calling you a happy man. This is indeed to fulfil the ideal of life, if you are taking care to be what we call you. But see that you do not only take our word

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for it, and remember that happiness presupposes wisdom and goodness.'

18. *lactamus*, 'have on our lips.'

iampridem: happiness is one step on the road to 'recte vivere,' and that step has been already taken.

20. *aliū sapiente*: the abl. with 'aliū,' as Epp. 2. 1. 240 'alius Lysippo,' and, if 'veris' be read there, Sat. 2. 3. 208.

21. *neu si populus*, &c., the third fear is put figuratively; 'or be taking the popular voice for your happiness against your own consciousness, which would be as absurd as to take it on the question whether you have a fever or not, and so go to a feast only to find the ague-shaking come on you in the middle of it.'

sanum recteque valentem: Epp. 1. 7. 3.

si diotitēt, 'if they say it often enough.'

22. *occultam*: pred. with 'dissimules'; 'hide and pretend not to feel it.'

23. *unotis*, 'already in the dish.' This reminds us that the Romans ate with their fingers. Ov. A. A. 3. 755 'Carpe cibos digitis; est quidam gestus edendi: Ora nec immunda tota perunge manu.'

24. *stultorum*, the emphatic word, the opposite of 'sapiente' in v. 20. 'And that is not at all like a philosopher, to hide your sores instead of getting them cured.'

pudor malus: see Sat. 2. 3. 39 and cp. 'pudens prave,' A. P. 88; 'false shame,' i.e. shame which mistakes its object.

25-31. 'You would detect the falseness at once if people used language of you in military and political matters which would be applicable only to an Augustus; why not when in moral ones they use language which is applicable only to the ideal sage?'

25. *tibi*: it is doubted whether the dat. is to be taken with *pugnata* or with *dicat*. Either is possible and makes good sense, the former is perhaps best.

26. *vacuas*: at leisure to attend to him. Lucr. 1. 45 'vacuas auris . . . adhibe.'

27. The Scholiasts tell us that this is a quotation from the 'Panegyricus in Caesarem Augustum' of the poet Varius; see on Od. 1. 6. 1. It will be noticed how skilfully Horace introduces by the way, in a letter which is to be published, a compliment to Augustus.

30. *pateris sapiens vocari*: for construction see on Epp. 1. 5. 15.

sapiens emendatusque: 'the flawless wise man'; the 'que' is due only to the Latin usage, which does not generally allow adjectives to be accumulated without a copulative conjunction. Madv. § 300, obs. 5.

31. *respondesne tuo nomine*. 'When you allow yourself to be called so, do you virtually claim the title?' This must be the sense. The phrase is possibly suggested from the 'respondere ad nomina' of a Roman levy (Liv. 3. 41, &c.). If so, the technical phrase is slightly varied according to Horace's wont (see on Od. 2.

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVI, 17-38

4. 24, &c.). But 'respondere vocatus' is a recognized phrase, with no such special references (see Cic. de Or. 3. 49. 191) and 'tuo nomine,' 'on your account,' 'as though the name belonged to you,' may be an addition modelled on such phrases as 'mihi tuo nomine gratulabantur,' Cic. Phil. 1. 12. 30. This is one of the instances sometimes alleged of 'ne' for 'nonne'; i.e. where the answer expected is 'yes'; but see on Epp. 1. 17. 38. There is here, as there, an ironical effect in the more indefinite form of interrogation. For 'sodes' see Sat. 1. 9. 41, Epp. 1. 1. 62.

nampe: a supposed reply, assenting, but putting the statement in a way that explains and justifies it, and with a touch of irony.

32. **vir bonus et prudens** seems a synonym for the 'vir bonus et sapiens' of v. 73; cp. Epp. 1. 7. 22 with A. P. 445.

dici delector: to be added to the instances of the extended use of the complementary infinitive in Append. 2 to vol. 1.

ego ac tu, 'I as well as you.' We are all alike in this respect.

33. **qui**, sc. 'populus.' This is Horace's rejoinder. 'Those who give can take away.' He has perhaps in view the paradox in which the Stoic clothed his assertion of the inalienable dignity of virtue, 'the wise man is always king,' and the Roman version which he so often gives to it, 'the wise man holds an office not bestowed or taken away "arbitrio popularis aerae"'; see on Od. 3. 2. 17, 4. 9. 39. Orelli is also doubtless right in suggesting that Horace has in mind Lucr. 3. 995 'Sisyphus in vita quoque nobis ante oculos est, Qui petere a populo fascis saevasque securis Imbibit et semper victus tristisque recedit.'

34. **detrahet**: a comparison of Od. 3. 2. 17 shows that we need not ask with some editors whether Horace is referring to that rarely exercised power of 'abrogatio imperii.' He is speaking popularly, and 'detrahet' is sufficiently explained of his being rejected for the next office sought or even of not being elected at all. Cp. Epp. 1. 6. 53 'fascis dabit eripietque curule Cui volet importunus ebur.'

idem: 'by the same authority.'

35. **pone, meum est**: 'pone' = 'depone.' Bentley pointed out that the object is not 'fascis,' which would raise difficulties as to 'meum,' but the same as 'hoc' of v. 33, viz. the name of 'good and wise,' 'meum' must not be pressed, 'it is not yours,' 'I have not given it you.'

36. 'If it was to go further, and not only refuse a good name but give a bad one.' 'Idem' is best taken of the same subject as before, viz. 'populus.' Bentley put a slightly different turn on the sentence by changing the question at the end of v. 38 to a full stop and making 'idem' = 'ego.'

clamet, 'should raise the hue and cry.' 'Me esse' has to be understood with **furem**.

37. 'To strangle your father' is with Horace a proverb for crime of the deepest dye, Od. 2. 13. 5, Epod. 3. 1.

38. **colores**. Bntl. explains of going red and then white, and

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compares Prop. 1. 15. 39 'multos pallere colores,' 'to turn white of different shades.'

40. **mendosum**: with definite reference back to 'emendatus' in v. 30.

medicandum, 'in need of treatment.' For the metaphor cp. vv. 21-24, which are perhaps actually in view. Cp. also Epp. 1. 8. 7-10.

vir bonus est quis? The argument takes a fresh start. Dependence on the world's praise has been deprecated on the ground that if you accept its praise you must accept its blame—the one may be as false as the other. He now attacks it on another ground. 'It is based on appearance only. What do they mean by a "vir bonus"?' The answer only covers outward respectability. The man whom the world calls "bonus" may be known in his home and even in his neighbourhood as a rogue.'

41-43. This, like vv. 31, 32, is the answer of the person whom Horace is addressing. On the face of the Epistle this is Quinticius, but the personal reference to himself has passed away, and though the second person is still used it indicates only an imaginary interlocutor. For Horace's practice in the matter see the note on Epp. 1. 1. 28.

'Bonus' was used in many conventional senses, as e.g. by Cicero for 'men of our side,' 'sound politicians,' and lent itself easily to ironical applications. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 9. 12. 3 'Praetores ius dicunt, aediles ludos parant, viri boni usuras perscribunt.' Horace is not throwing any doubt on the reality of goodness, but pointing out the limited senses in which the term is popularly used.

We may compare on the whole Cic. de Off. 3. 19. 77 for the story of Fimbria's refusal to arbitrate on the question whether M. Lutatius Spinter was a 'vir bonus' on the ground that this turned on matters beyond observation.

41. The whole line means one who keeps within the four corners of law in all its forms and aspects. 'Patrum consulta' is variation of the technical 'senatus consulta.' For **leges iuraque** see on Sat. 1. 1. 9.

42. **quo iudice secantur**, i.e. such a person as, whether by the agreement of the two parties or by appointment of the 'praetor,' will be set to decide grave civil suits. 'Secantur' is a popular or a poetical, not a technical term, Sat. 1. 10. 15.

43. Money is safe when he is the security, a cause when he is the witness. There is some zeugma in the use of **tenentur**, which is an habitual phrase for winning a cause, as Cic. pro Caec. 24. 67 'Scaevolam dixisti causam apud centumviros non tenuisse.'

The reading **quo res sponsore** is certain, but it rests solely on V as quoted by Cruquius, all extant MSS. having 'responsore.'

44. **vicinia**: Sat. 2. 5. 106, Epp. 1. 17. 62.

45. **speciosum pelle decora**: see on Sat. 2. 1. 64, where many of the words recur.

46-49. 'Freedom from some gross faults is not moral perfection.'

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVI, 38-64

46. *dicat*. For the irregular hypothetical correspondence cp. Od. 3. 3. 7 'illabatur . . . ferient,' Epp. 2. 1. 108 'si taceas, laudant.' 'Aio,' 'my answer is,' is substituted for 'my answer would be.' See Madv. § 348 b.

47. *ureris*: cp. 'peruste funibus,' Epod. 4. 3.

49. *frugi*: the proper virtue of a slave; Sat. 2. 7. 3.

negitatque. The frequentative has its proper force, 'shakes his head and says no! no! no!'

Sabellus: see on Sat. 2. 1. 36; a farmer of the plain, hard-headed sort.

50, 51. 'Such a man is only like beasts and birds of prey and greedy fishes, checked not by conscience but by fear of unseen snares.' Notice that, in Horace's manner (see on Od. 4. 9. 29 f.), the words necessary to the full idea, 'cautus,' 'suspectos,' 'opertum,' are distributed between the clauses.

53. *tu*: see above on vv. 41-43.

admitte in te: 'Ea in te admisisti quae,' &c. Cic. Phil. 2. 19. 47.

54. *misceris sacra profanis*, i.e. 'you will know no distinction of right and wrong.' Cp. A. P. 397, where it is said to have been the work of wisdom 'secernere sacra profanis.'

55. *nam* justifies not what has been said but the implied thought, 'and what good is such limitation of your wrong-doing? Wickedness is a matter of quality not quantity.' Horace is falling into the language with which a Stoic would support the paradox ('that all offences are equal') in which he expressed this truth. Whether he has the paradox actually in view is doubtful. The figure used is suggested by the dialogue with a slave in vv. 46-49.

fabae: the sing. as a collective noun: so in Ennius, Ann. 545 'perque fabam repunt.'

57. *vir bonus*, &c. This 'good man' of vv. 41-43, the ideal of respectability to all who see him offering surety at the bankers or giving evidence before the praetor's chair.

58. *placat*: see on Od. 1. 36. 2.

vel porco vel bove, 'whether with a smaller or a larger offering.'

59. Compare with this passage the imitation in Persius S. 2. 8. For *Iane pater* cp. Sat. 2. 6. 20.

60. *Laverna*: the goddess of thieves and impostors.

61. *iusto sanctoque videri*: cp. Sat. 1. 1. 19, Madv. § 393.

63 foll. The connexion is through the motive suggested for the secret wrong-doing in vv. 60-62, 'Laverna,' 'fraudibus.' 'This man a "vir bonus"! why he is a slave to the vulgarest of desires and fears.'

64. Imitated by Persius 5. 111 'Inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum.' The Scholiast there explains that it was a trick of Roman boys to fasten a coin to the pavement in order to see who would stoop to pick it up. If this is doubted, we must take *fixum* in the sense of 'sticking,' i.e. in the mud, which is more possible with 'in luto' than with 'in triviis.'

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65. *qui cupiet metuet quoque*: cp. Epp. i. 6. 9 foll.; also Epp. i. 2. 51, 2. 2. 156. We are handling here commonplaces of Stoic teaching.

66. *mihi*, 'in my judgment.'

67. *perdidit arma*. He is a *δίψασπις*.

locum virtutis deseruit. The gen. gives the matter of the allegory. He was a soldier in virtue's army; but not (as the true 'vir bonus') a good soldier, but one who deserted his post. 'Locum' as Virgil's 'loca iussa tenere,' Aen. 10. 238. Orelli quotes Dem. Olynth. 3. § 36 *παρὰχωρεῖν . . . τῆς τάξεως . . . τῆς ἀρετῆς*.

68. *obruitur*: a Ciceronian figure 'obruimur ambitione et foro' de Or. i. 21. 94, 'obruī tamquam fluctu in magnitudine negotii' ad Qu. Fr. i. 1. 3. For *in re augenda* cp. Epp. i. 7. 71.

69-73. Horace, following up the figure of the runaway soldier, apostrophizes his imagined captor. 'He is a born slave—keep him—set him to shepherd or to plough, or do your bidding on the sea.' In plain language, 'of such stuff are made not "viri boni" or philosophers, but those who pursue the menial and money-making professions.' The 'mercator,' as usual, is the type of eager pursuit of wealth; see especially Od. 3. 24. 40 n. and Epp. i. 1. 45 foll. Note the philosophical contempt for industrial life.

70. *durus*: cp. Epp. i. 7. 91. It answers in its own clause to 'mediis hiemet in undis' in the next—'the man will shrink from no toil.'

72. *annonae prosit*, 'help to cheapen corn' by taking part in its importation. It is a contemptuous allowance that the trader is of some benefit to the community.

penus: defined by Cic. de N. D. 2. 27. 68 'est enim omne quo vescuntur homines penus.' Horace's use of the word as a neuter is noticed by Priscian. Virgil makes it masc. or fem. in Aen. i. 703.

73. *vir bonus et sapiens*. We have at last the serious answer to the question of v. 40; but it grows out of a direct comparison with the picture last given of the pretender to goodness with his real heart in riches as a *slave*. 'The true "vir bonus" is the man independent of favour or disfavour—of wealth or poverty—able to command freedom even in a prison.' With the spirit of the description cp. Od. 3. 3. 1-8.

This is thrown into the form of a paraphrase of the dialogue between Dionysus and Pentheus in Euripides, Bacch. 492 foll.

ΔΙ. εἴφ' ὅτι παθεῖν δεῖ τί με τὸ δεινὸν ἐργάσει;

ΠΕ. πρῶτον μὲν ἄβρὸν βόστρυχον τεμῶ σέβη.

ΔΙ. ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος· τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

ΠΕ. ἔπειτα θύρσον τόνδε παράδος ἐκ χερσίν.

ΔΙ. αὐτὸς μ' ἀφαιροῦ· τόνδε Διονύσον φορῶ.

ΠΕ. εἰρκταίσι τ' ἔνδον σῶμα σὸν φυλάξομεν.

ΔΙ. λύσει μ' ὁ δαίμων αὐτὸς ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω, κ.τ.λ.

The feeling of the god's replies is well kept in Horace's lines, but there is much freedom in the reproduction, especially in the substitution for the 'lock of hair' and the 'thyrsus' of the luxuries

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVI, 65—EPISTLE XVII

which the Roman man of wealth values, the closing of the dialogue at the point where Dionysus has answered that he can have his release at will, and the turn which Horace gives to this answer (see note on v. 78). We notice here, as in Epp. 1. 2, how Horace read the Greek poets with the inclination to give allegorical and moral applications to their legends.

74. **rector Thebarum**: an addition to the Greek. The feeling is 'for all your greatness.' Cp. in Od. 3. 3. 3 (the passage cited as parallel in general sense to this) 'vultus instantis tyranni.'

For **perferre patique** cp. Epp. 1. 15. 17.

75. **nempe**, 'to wit,' 'I understand,' introducing an ironical completion of the interlocutor's sentence. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 207 'placavi sanguine divos.' 'Nempe tuo.'

76. **lectos**: couches of costly material and make. In Juvenal's time they were made of tortoise-shell (Juv. S. 11. 94) and precious metals.

argentum: Epp. 1. 6. 17, Sat. 1. 4. 28 n.

78. **opinor**: cp. 'credo,' in an interpretation offered Sat. 2. 2. 90. Horace has stopped the dialogue at the place that suits him, and the interpretation which he puts on the words is also arbitrary, and one which could hardly suit the actual speeches. Dionysus recovers his freedom in the play by his exercise of divine power.

79. **mors ultima linea rerum est**: Horace's comment (not that of Dionysus).

linea, probably from the figure of a racecourse, to which life is constantly compared. Cp. Cic. Tusc. 1. 18. 15 'nunc video calcem ad quam cum sit decursum nihil sit praeterea pertimescendum,' also the use of *γραμμή κακῶν* Eur. Fr. 174, *βίον* id. Electr. 945. Notice how the Stoic teaching as to suicide is here sanctioned.

EPISTLE XVII

TO SCAEVA

Verses 1-5. YOU do not need the advice of such a humble and inexperienced person as I am as to the way to live with the great, but take it for what it is worth.

6-12. If it be true that quiet and freedom are what you care for, the question will not arise—you will give up 'society' once and for all. There is something to be said for that course; but if you have hungry relations and like a good dinner yourself, it is natural to make up to the great. Nor is that wrong.

13-17. The Cynic gibes at the Cyrenaic; but the Cyrenaic has his answer.

17-32. Neither is wholly independent, but the view of Diogenes is the narrower and least practical of the two.

33-36. The great glories of life are for the chosen few. To win

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the favour of these chiefs of mankind is another grade of distinction, and it is not for every one any more than the first.

37-42. Some are deterred from trying by fear of failure. But here, as elsewhere, it is not true virtue (i. e. manliness) to give up for want of trying. Only remember, when you have found your patron, two golden rules.

43-51. 1. Never ask; you will get more and rouse less envy.

52-end. 2. Never grumble; your real troubles will gain more credence if you have not bored people with trifling ones.

Porph. treats Epp. 17 and 18 as one continuous Epistle, and all the Scholiasts make Scaeva and Lollius the same person. Both are evidently mistakes, but they mean that the early critics perceived that the two Epistles were meant to be read in close connexion with each other. They deal with one subject, the reverse of that treated in Epp. 1. 7. That spoke of the relation of a patron to his *protégé*—these of the relation of the *protégé* to his patron. When the two Epistles are taken together they deal pretty fully with the subject. We see the matter from the patron's side, the greed and pushing of one dependent, the servility of another, the clumsy attempts of a third to assert independence by being rude and disobliging. We see also the natural shrinking of many men from a questionable and difficult position. We read between the lines Horace's advice on the whole about it: 'Keep out of it if you can—bear yourself naturally and with self-respect while you are in it. Remember the higher ends and pleasures of life, and be content (as I have been) to make your escape early into a modest competence.'

But there are great differences between the two Epistles. The spirit of Ep. 17 seems at least half satirical. The humility of the beginning, from such a master in the art of pleasing the great (Epp. 1. 20, 23), is overdone for complete seriousness; the motives suggested in vv. 11, 12 are too broadly put, the tone of 'aut virtus nomen inane est' (v. 41) recalls too nearly the irony of Ep. 6; the two golden rules which end the Epistle, as though they contained the whole art of which v. 2 promised to speak, are too like an intentional bathos.

Scaeva is an unknown person. Is he a young man with whom Horace is on friendly terms and in whose particular case the apparent satire has a playful turn beyond our guessing? Or is he a shadow? Is it really a Satire under the form of an Epistle? In any case the literary effect is dramatically to represent a class of aspirants, irresolute at first and half ashamed of being patronized, yet driven to it by greediness and the importunity of relatives, and in danger when they enter on it of turning out beggars and grumblers.

2. *tandem*. The particle often used in direct questions to give

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVII, 2-12

emphasis is here kept in the indirect question. We may take it to imply that the question is a difficult one.

maioribus, 'the great'—those greater than yourself, as in Sat.

2. 1. 61. They are called 'potentes amici' in Epp. 1. 18. 44, 'potentiores' in Epod. 2. 8.

uti, sc. 'familiariter,' as in vv. 13, 14; see on Epp. 1. 12. 22.

3. **docendus adhuc**, 'who still needs plenty of schooling himself.'

We may compare Plaut. Pseud. 915 'Monendus ne me moneas.'

amiculus: the diminutive of depreciation, 'a humble friend.'

Possibly there is reference to 'maioribus,' a friend who is not one of the great, but as small as yourself. But it is all ironical; see introd.

4. **tamen**: in spite of these drawbacks to the value of his advice.

5. **et nos**, 'even such as I.'

cures, 'you may take the trouble.'

fecisse: for the perf. inf. see on Od. 3. 4. 51, and cp. Epp. 1. 18. 59.

6. **primam in horam**. For one who has a patron to please must be up before daybreak to call at his house: 'sollicitus ne Tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem Sideribus dubiis' Juv. S. 5. 20, 'si curet nocte togatus Currere' ib. 3. 127. Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 68 and 75, 2. 1. 104, and Martial 4. 8. 1 'Prima salutantis atque altera continet hora.' For the meaning of 'prima hora' see on Sat. 1. 5. 23.

7. **pulvis strepitusque rotarum**. Obbar well compares the Nux Elegia 89 (of the walnut planted in the country) 'Non hominum strepitus audit, non illa rotarum: Non a vicina pulverulenta via est.'

8. **caupona**: i.e. the noise of taverns in the streets of Rome.

Ferentinum: i.e. a quiet country town. Two places of the name are known, one on the Via Latina, forty-eight miles from Rome, in the country of the Hernici, which the Comm. Cruq. understands to be meant, the other in Etruria.

The gist of the line is 'If you are sincere in saying that the claims of society bore you, shake them off, but do it thoroughly, go quite into the country.'

10. **vixit male**: the opp. of 'bene vivere,' Epp. 1. 6. 56.

natus moriensque fefellit, 'has been born and died unknown': an imitation of the use of *λανθάνειν* with the part. Cp. Od. 3. 16.

20. Plutarch quotes as an Epicurean precept *λάθε βιώσας*. Cp. Ov. Trist. 3. 4. 25 'bene qui latuit, bene vixit,' and the 'fallentis semita vitae' of the next Epistle, v. 103.

11. **benignius ipsum tractare**: cp. 'tractari mollius,' Sat. 2. 2. 85.

12. **siccus ad unctum**. The Scholiast gives, no doubt, the sense, 'sc. pauper ad opulentum,' and generally the figure employed is clear; but it is doubtful whether 'unctum' is neut. as in A. P. 422, 'as a hungry man to a savoury dinner,' or masc., the epithet being transferred from the fare to the person who partakes of it. 'Siccus' is most easily explained by Sat. 2. 2. 14. It is possible,

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however, that it is more closely related to 'unctum,' meaning one who lives on dry food, Cicero's 'aridus victus,' Rosc. Am. 27. 75; cp. *ξηλοφαγείν*.

13-15. The saying of Diogenes and the reply of Aristippus were traditional. Diog. Laert. 1. 68 *παριόντα ποτὶ αὐτὸν (Ἀριστιππον) λάχανα πλύνων Διογένης ἔσκωψε καὶ φησιν, Εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέρεισθαι οὐκ ἂν τυράννων αὐλὰς ἐθεράπευες. Ὁ δέ, καὶ σὺ, εἶπεν, εἴπερ ᾗλεις ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἐπλυνες.* For Aristippus see on Epp. 1. 1. 18.

13. **pranderet**, with accus., as in Sat. 2. 3. 245: so 'cenare' Sat. 2. 8. 27, Epp. 2. 2. 168, &c.

uti: see above on v. 2.

15. **qui me notat**, 'my censor.' For the metaphorical use see on Sat. 1. 3. 24.

16. **iunior**, 'as the younger': i. e. 'I take my privilege of age'; see introd.

18. **mordacem**, 'snappish,' as a cur; the usual play on the name 'Cynic.'

ut aiunt seems to imply that Horace is still following some well-known story of Aristippus; but his sayings are freely paraphrased and adapted to the purpose of the moment. Porph. quotes a Greek proverb *ἵππος με φέρει, βουσιλεύς με τρέφει*.

19. **scurror . . . mihi**. He begins with the offensive term for the profession (cp. 'scurrantis,' Epp. 1. 18. 2) to be softened (as Porph. points out) to 'officium facio,' 'render my service,' in v. 21. 'We are both "scurrae," for we gain our sustenance by pleasing some one else; but in my case I am really pleasing myself, for by pleasing my patron I make him please me.'

hoc, 'my plan': see on Sat. 2. 2. 36.

21. **facio**: for the om. of 'ego' see on Epp. 1. 14. 40.

verum. The construction is 'tu poscis vilia, verum [poscis] dante minor,' 'what you ask is worthless, but in asking it you humble yourself to the giver.' This (or 'verum es') is the reading of all MSS. of authority. Horace frequently begins a clause or sentence with 'verum' at the end of a line and after a stop: Sat. 1. 2. 92; Epp. 1. 1. 80, 2. 2. 70, 106; A. P. 303. The alternative reading 'rerum' was introduced into the text by Lambinus from some of his MSS. It was accepted without comment by Bentl. 'Vilia rerum' is then constructed as 'abditā rerum' A. P. 49, 'vanis rerum' Sat. 2. 2. 25, 'fictis rerum' Sat. 2. 8. 83.

22. **dante minor**: 'However paltry the boon, you at once become the dependent of him who supplies it, for all your boast of independence.'

nullius: possibly best taken as a masc. 'in need of no man,' as suiting 'dante minor.' It is neut. in A. P. 324.

23. **color**, as Sat. 2. 1. 60 'vitae color.'

24. **temptantem**: cp. v. 34; lifting his thoughts to.

ferē with **aequum**. Either in the sense of 'tolerably' or of 'as a rule': see note on Sat. 1. 3. 96.

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVII, 12-38

25. **panno**=*ράκει*, a contemptuous term for the *τρίβων* or coarse cloak of the philosophers.

duplici, because the Cynics wore no undergarment (*χιτών*) but doubled the cloak instead: so Juv. S. 13. 122 'Stoica dogmata . . . A Cynicis *tunica* distantia,' i.e. by the presence or absence of a tunic.

patientia: cp. 'patienter' in v. 13; 'endurance.'

27. **alter**, Aristippus. Horace is following the traditional picture of him, cp. Diog. Laert. 2. 67 *διό ποτε Σπράτωνα, οἱ δὲ Πλάτωνα, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν* 'Σοὶ μόνῳ δέδοται καὶ γλαυῦδα φορεῖν καὶ ῥάκος.'

29. **inconcinnus**, 'awkwardly'; Epp. 1. 18. 6.

30. **Mileti textam**: cp. Virg. G. 3. 306 'quamvis Milesia magno Vellera mutantur Tyrios incocta rubores.'

cane peius et angui, 'a dog or snake': see on Od. 3. 11. 49. The expression is doubtless proverbial. Both dog and snake were of unlucky omen to meet; see Od. 3. 27. 2 and 5. 'Peius vitabit' seems, as Wilkins says, an extension of the use in 'peius timet' Od. 4. 9. 50.

32. **ineptus**. Notice how this word gives the final verdict on the impracticable Cynic and sets the writer free for his new approach to the subject.

33-42. For the general purport of these lines see the analysis. Some irony is no doubt to be felt in the heroic tone of the commencement, and in the apparent reference in vv. 37, 38 to Horace's doctrine (set out in Epp. 1. 6) that men are to be measured not so much by their ideals as by the thoroughness with which they pursue them.

33. **res gerere**: of warlike enterprises. The reference is to Augustus; his triumph B.C. 29 and the successes spoken of in Epp. 1. 12. 26 foll. Tiberius was associated in the latter, and it has been suggested that he is included in this reference, and that it is his favour especially which Scaeva is contemplated as seeking.

34. Compare the expression of Od. 3. 3. 10-12, 4. 2. 17, 18.

36. A Greek proverb *οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθόν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς*, is quoted by Acr. Several explanations are given of the danger originally intended, the prevalent one being that it meant 'Few have the long purse needed for the expensive vices of Corinth.' In any case the application here is quite general. 'There are pleasures and dignities which are not for every one.'

37. The tone reminds us of the familiar story of Sir W. Raleigh: 'Fain would I climb, but that I fear to fall.' 'If thy heart fail thee, do not climb at all.'

ne non succederet: the impersonal and absolute use, as Cic. Or. 28. 98 'si quando minus succedet.'

esto: 'Well,' 'Perhaps he is right.' It is, in short, a repetition of vv. 6-10.

38. 'Tell me, the man who has made his way there, in spite of the obstacles, think you he has shown manly energy?' 'Sedit' ('has stayed at home') and **pervenit** keep up the figure of v. 36.

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fecitne: see on Epp. 1. 16. 31. Both passages may be added to the instances collected by Kühner on Cic. Tusc. 2. 11. 26 of 'ne?' used where we rather expect 'nonne?' He points out that it is sometimes used, in a similar way, for 'num?'; the explanation in both cases being (as with ἀρα for ἀρ' οὐ) that the question is purposely put as if it were an open one, with the effect (as in other cases of ironical λυτότης) of giving stronger, not weaker, emphasis to the true nature of the answer expected. See also Mayor on Juv. S. 10. 28. Cp. also the use of 'ecquid sentis?' in Epp. 1. 18. 82.

39. **hic**, sc. 'in viriliter faciendo.'

quod quaerimus. He is speaking of the quest on which he supposes himself and the readers of his Epistles to be engaged (see Epp. 1. 1. 24-26, &c.), viz. for the true principles of life.

41. **aut virtus nomen**: cp. Epp. 1. 6. 31 'virtutem verba putas,' Horace seems to be arguing or playing on the etymology of 'virtus' as he does in other places. Cp. notes on Epod. 15. 11, 16. 39. 'What is "virtus" if it is not "viriliter facere," if it is not the quality of the "experiens vir"?'

42. **recte petit**, 'is rightly seeking,' deserving.

experiens vir, ὁ πειρώμενος (ἐς Τροίαν πειρώμενοι ἦρθον Ἀχαιοί Theoc. 15. 61); cp. Cic. Clu. 8. 23 'vir fortis et experiens'; 'enterprising.' But there is an emphasis here on 'vir,' 'one who tries as a man should.' See note on v. 41.

43 foll. Horace turns abruptly to some practical precepts for keeping a patron's favour; the two chosen must be intended to contrast satirically with Scaeva's previously supposed scruples.

rege suo. For 'rex' of a patron cp. Epp. 1. 7. 37.

45. **atqui**, &c. 'Yet this was the very fount and source of everything,' i.e. the business with which we started was to get all you can.

hoc goes back to 'plus poscente ferent,' the intervening words being parenthetical.

erat. The impft. refers to the time when the motives of seeking a patron were considered, i.e. in vv. 11, 12. It is hardly idiomatic in the sense of the note on Od. 1. 37. 4.

46. **indotata**. The father is dead and the brother feels it a disgrace that he cannot provide a dowry. The edd. quote Plaut. Trin. 3. 2. 63.

paupercula: the diminutive expresses pity, as 'misellus.'

47. A farm which we can neither sell nor live by. For **pascere firmus** see App. 2. vol. 1.

48. **clamat**, 'Victum date,' 'is like a common beggar'; the thought is kept up in the next line.

49. **et mihi?** This punctuation seems to have been that of both Acr. and Porph. If the whole line be made the cry of the second beggar there is a difficulty in the future tense, as there seems no point in the tone of command (cp. Epp. 1. 13. 2) which it conveys. With our reading, the interpretation of Acr. is substantially right,

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVII, 38-62

'dimidium accipiet, dum impudenter petendo etiam alium ad eandem petitionem accendit.' 'The gift will be divided and you will get your share; but you might get more and that more pleasantly if you didn't ask.'

50. Possibly another reference (see Sat. 2. 5. 56 with note) to the fable of the Fox and the Raven, touching, as there, only the single point that the Raven by opening its mouth lost its prize; but it is possible also that Horace has in view, or is inventing for the occasion, a fable more completely apposite.

52. **Brundisium comes**, as Horace himself, Sat. 1. 5. As the port of embarkation for Greece and the East it would be a common object of expeditions.

Surrentum: Sorrento, at the southern extremity of the Bay of Naples. In the two following lines Horace touches the minor annoyances of each of the two journeys. For those of the road to Brundisium, which involved crossing the Apennines, see Sat. 1. 5. 77-81, 95, 96. A traveller to Surrentum could hardly complain of the road, but finds other grievances in the pilfering of his luggage.

55. **refert**, 'is repeating.' Porph. refers to Plaut. Truc. 1. 1. 31, where a lover complains of his mistress's greed and artifices.

catellam, 'catenulam,' a little chain, Liv. 29. 31.

56. **periscelidem**, 'an anklet'; 'aureum cruris vinculum,' Comm. Cruq.

59. **planum**. *πλάνον*, 'a vagabond,' or 'an impostor'; the word is found as naturalized even in prose Cic. Clu. 26. 72.

60. **dicat**: under the construction of 'licet,' repeated in thought.

Osirim. Compare the oath of the perjurer in Juv. S. 13. 92 'Decernat quodcumque volet de corpore nostro Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro.' The superstitious at Rome affected foreign and especially Egyptian cults, and such an oath would be more impressive than one of Roman habit. So Martial 8. 81. 1-4 'Non per mystica sacra Dindymenes, Nec per Niliacae bovem iuvencae, Nullos denique per deos deasque Iurat Gellia: sed per uniones.'

61. **tollite**: cp. the cry of the man who has fallen into a pitfall, A. P. 459.

62. **quaere peregrinum**. It seems, from Quintilian 6. 3. 98, that there was a proverbial saying 'tollat te qui non novit.'

vicinia (as in Sat. 2. 5. 106, Epp. 1. 16. 44) = 'vicini' the opposite of 'peregrinum'; those who know his tricks too well.

rauca, not, as the Comm. Cruq., 'ad ravim,' 'till they are hoarse,' which gives an unnecessarily ludicrous touch: but 'harshly,' 'roughly,' their tone expressing their absence of sympathy.

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EPISTLE XVIII

TO LOLLIIUS

Verses 1-9. YOU are sure, Lollius, to avoid one extreme, that of the mere parasite. You will have to beware of the other, that of the man who shows his independence by rudeness.

10-14. The one flatters and echoes his patron.

15-20. The other quarrels about trifles, blusters about the most insignificant questions of gossip.

21-36. A patron hates and avoids a dependent who has extravagant tastes, who is greedy of money, who is not content with his station. If he does not hate him he reads him a lesson. 'Vice is a luxury permissible only to the rich. Dress modestly and don't imitate me.' It is good advice. Smart clothes have ruined many a man, as Eutrapelus knew.

37, 38. You will remember that your patron's secrets are his own property. You will not pry into them; if he entrust you with one you will keep it sacredly.

39, 40. So in the matter of tastes. You will not flout his tastes in words, nor in practice show that you want to write verses when he wants to go hunting.

41-44. This is how Zethus and Amphion fell out, till Amphion put away his lyre.

44-57. Get up and go out with him. It is fine exercise, and you are an adept in manly exercises. You have begun early with some hard campaigning.

58-66. You are even fond of military sports at your own country house. If you meet his tastes he will meet yours.

67-71. For more particular advice; be cautious in talking of his affairs.

72-75. Don't set your heart on one of his slaves.

76-85. Be very careful whom you introduce, and if you make a mistake and introduce an unworthy man, be prompt to acknowledge it, that you may have the power to protect the worthy, when he is attacked, as you may be yourself, by the tongue of slander.

86-88. You see there are risks in cultivating a great friend. You must take care lest all your labour be wasted.

89-95. You must accommodate your moods to his; remember that shyness is sure to be misconstrued.

96-end. But through it all do not lose sight of the true ends of life. Think whether after all the peace of a private life is not the happiest thing. Think of me in my Sabine valley with my books, my modest competence, and my contented mind.

On the general subject of the Epistle and its relation to Ep. 17 see the introduction to that Epistle. The subject of a dependent's behaviour is continued, but in a different vein; this time in a letter

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVIII, 1-5

which has, in part at least, close relations to the circumstances of Lollius. It is not a needy man making up to a patron for a dinner and for the benefit of his relations (Ep. 17. 21), but a man born in good position. The Epistle speaks (vv. 60-64) of his father's estate, and he is probably the Lollius of Ep. 2, and the son of the Lollius who was consul in B.C. 21 (Ep. 20. 28). He is thought of as entering the friendship not of some merely rich patron, but of a 'potens amicus,' a man high in the political world, with secrets of importance which his *protégé* must respect and keep (vv. 37, 38 and 68-70). The Epistle, however, is not free from difficulties. The dangers against which Lollius is warned in vv. 21-36 and 72-75 seem ill suited to the kind of character presumed in the rest of the poem; and, taking the Epistle as a whole, and supposing that Lollius had really attached himself to some one of high position in the Court circle, it is not easy to believe that its immediate publication can have been agreeable either to patron or *protégé*. This last supposition, however, is not necessary. The conditions of the case are satisfied if Lollius, a young literary friend of the poet, was contemplating the acceptance of such an office as that which Augustus himself offered to Horace, or that which Celsus holds in Ep. 8; and if Horace wrote to him, perhaps at his request, sketching the duties and dangers of a private secretary in a great house. Part of the lecture may have been evidently playful, and the issue of the Epistle may have been that Lollius declined the office.

It is to be noticed that any disrespect to Lollius is out of the question, supposing him to be the person we imagine. It seems also that the Epistle was written in B.C. 20 (see on v. 56 and General Intro. to the Epistles), and published therefore within a few months.

1. *Si bene te novi*, 'I am sure from my knowledge of you.' An habitual phrase: Sat. 1. 9. 22 'si bene me novi,' Sen. Epp. 16. 6 'iam ab initio si bene te novi circumspicies.'

metues: Od. 2. 2. 7 n.

liberrime Lolli, 'my frankest Lollius.' Cp. 'liber amicus' Sat. 1. 4. 132; the epithet explains the 'si bene te novi.' Horace's fear for him is on the side, not of subservience, but of too 'brusque' independence.

2. *sourrantis*: see Epp. 1. 17. 19.

3. *dispar* . . . *atque discolor*, the difference of *tint*, i.e. tone (cp. 'vitae color,' Sat. 2. 1. 60, Epp. 1. 1. 23), will correspond to difference of *kind* (cp. use of 'dispar' in Epod. 17. 12). Cp. the comparison of bought love and true affection in Od. 1. 35. 25-28.

4. *distabit*, with dat., as Od. 4. 9. 29, Epp. 1. 7. 23; cp. 'huic diversum vitio' in the following verse, and see Madv. 247 b, obs. 3.

5. *est, ἔστι*. 'There is something the very opposite of this vice, yet a vice also (the collocation "vitio vitium" implies "both are vices"; cp. "viro vir" Od. 3. 1. 5 n.), and perhaps (cp. use of "prope" in v. 28, Epp. 1. 6. 1, A. P. 432) a greater one.'

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6. **inconcinna**, 'awkward'; Epp. 1. 17. 29, but cp. also the opposite 'concinus,' Sat. 1. 3. 50.

gravis, 'forbidding,' 'disagreeable.' So Cic. de Rep. 1. 43 'senes ad ludum adolescentium descendant ne sint iis odiosi ac graves.'

7. **tonsa cute**: perhaps 'with skin like a stubble-field.' 'Tondere crinem' meant to clip or trim the hair, and was opposed to 'radere,' to shave the skin clean. 'Tondere cutem' (an equally permissible phrase, for they said 'tondere prata' (Virg. G. 1. 290), as well as 'segetes,' 'gramina') must imply close clipping, clipping as a field is shorn so as to leave mere stubble. Such close cropping of the hair belonged apparently to those who lived or affected to live roughly, slaves of the less refined class ('de grege sordidaque villa Tonsos, horridulos, rudes,' Mart. 10. 98. 8), Stoic philosophers (though they wore the beard long) 'detonsa iuventus,' Pers. 3. 54. See Conington's note. Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 50 n. 'adrasum.'

dentibus atris: another affected sign of neglect of appearances. Theophrastus gives among the characteristics of the *μικροφιλότιμος* that 'he has his hair cut frequently and keeps his teeth white.'

8. **dum vult**, 'desiring all the while.' This form is specially used by Horace in assigning motives for actions that are described. Epp. 1. 2. 21 'dum parat,' 1. 7. 79 'dum quaerit,' 1. 19. 16 'dum studet,' A. P. 230 'dum vitat,' 465 'dum cupit.'

9. The antithetical position 'virtus . . . virtus,' &c., gives the connexion. 'It poses as virtue—whereas virtue lies no more in one extreme than in the other.'

medium vitiorum. The doctrine of Aristotle that virtue lies in a mean—*μεσότης δύο κακιῶν, τῆς μὲν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δὲ κατ' ἑλλειψιν* Eth. N. 2. 6. See on Sat. 1. 2. 24.

utrimque reductum: kept carefully back from both extremes. 'Utrimque remotum' is a phrase in Lucr. 5. 839, though in a different connexion.

10. **alter**, sc. the 'scurra.'

imi derisor lecti: a jester to be found on the 'lowest' couch, i.e. acc. to Sat. 2. 8. 40 the couch on which the entertainer himself reclined with his own henchmen; 'derisor' is illustrated by Sat. 1. 4. 87, 88.

12. **verba cadentia tollit**, 'picks up every word he lets drop'; 'temere prolata suscipit pro mirandis,' Acr.

13. **saevo**: a master like Orbilius, Epp. 2. 1. 70, of whom he is afraid.

dictata reddere: an habitual phrase of repeating a lesson; 'ista quasi dictata redduntur,' Cic. de N. D. 1. 26. 72; see on Epp. 1. 1. 55.

14. **partis mimum tractare secundas**, 'a mime-actor,' because his imitation is so exaggerated and theatrical: 'playing the second part,' because it was the duty of the *δευτεραγωνίστης* or actor 'secundarum partium' to play in every way to the lead of the first actor. This is a frequent source of metaphor and similitude, as in

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVIII, 6-20

Cic. Div. in Q. Caec. 15. 48 'ut in actoribus Graecis fieri videmus saepe illum qui est secundarum aut tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquanto clarius dicere quam ipse primarum, multum summittere ut ille princeps quam maxime excellat, sic faciet Alienus: tibi serviet, tibi lenocinabitur.'

15. **alter**: the client who affects independence.

de lana caprina: a proverbial expression for an absurd subject of argument, as the Greek *περί θνυ σκιάς μάχεσθαι*, but the source of the proverb is not known. The Scholiasts agree that it is a proverb, but give various explanations: 'something valueless,'—but goats' hair was not valueless; 'something non-existent,'—a colour is given to this by the fact that one of Livy's prodigies is the birth of a 'capra lanata.' Porph. gives an alternative suggestion that the question fought over was the *name*, whether goats' hair could properly be called 'lana.'

16. **propugnat nugis armatus**, 'does battle for trifles in full armour.' It has been questioned whether 'nugis' is to be taken with 'armatus' as abl., or with 'propugnat' (either as a dative, acc. to the use in later Latin, or as an abl. as though it were 'pugnat pro nugis'). There can be little doubt the latter is right. The illustrations given in the following lines are not (as they should be if 'nugis armatus' were the last words left on our ears) of futile arguments employed, but of the *spirit* of the strife, the triviality of subject being supposed. It is the emphasis on 'propugnat' and 'armatus,' substituted for the tame 'rixatur,' which forms the climax and justifies the asyndeton between vv. 15, 16; 'nugis' merely repeats the 'de lana caprina' of the line before in a less emphatic form, the emphasis being laid here on the spirit not the occasion of the fight.

scilicet ut non sit. The same construction as Sat. 2. 5. 18 'utne tegam?' Madv. § 358 obs. 'Scilicet' adds irony to the indignant question or exclamation. Some editors, with less force, put only a comma at 'elatrem,' and construct 'ut sit' 'ut elatrem' after 'pretium,' 'is a mean price for my not being trusted,' &c.

18. **elatrem**: as we say of unrestrained speech, 'open-mouthed.'
aetas altera: cp. 'ter aevo functus,' Od. 2. 9. 13; 'life a second time over'; *εἰ κέν μοι ὑποστάνη θεὸς αὐτὸς | γῆρας ἀποξύσας θήσῃ νέον ἡβώνοντα*. Hom. Il: 9. 445.

19. **sciat plus**, 'has the more skill'; the phrase suits the view that the pair are gladiators, better than that they are actors. The Scholiasts offer the two alternatives.

20. **Minuci via**. This cannot be identified with any certainty. The only other mention of a 'via Minucia' is in Cic. ad Att. 9. 6, where he describes six cohorts as moving by it from Alba to join Curius, Caesar's partisan. If this is the Alba by the Lacus Fucinus, as is generally thought, the 'via Minucia' would seem to be a part of the 'via Valeria,' which led across the Apennines from Tibur by Alba Fuentia and Corfinium to the Adriatic at the mouth of the Aternus. It would here strike into the coast road, and so a traveller might reach Brundisium; but the route is

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a strange one to take from Rome to that port. Mr. Bunbury (Dict. Geog. ii., p. 1289 a) suggests that Horace's 'via Minucia' was the road from Beneventum through Canusium to Brundisium, which Strabo describes as an alternative to the 'via Appia' proper, which went round by Tarentum (see on Sat. 1. 5. 94). This would suit the present passage perfectly, but there is no further evidence in its favour. See Tyrrell's 'Correspondence of Cicero,' note on ad Att. 8. 16.

21 foll. We pass to another point, 'whatever his own habits, a patron hates extravagance in his dependent.'

21. **damnosa**, as in Epp. 2. 1. 107; from the special use of 'damnum' for waste of money, Od. 3. 5. 27, Sat. 2. 2. 95.

praeceps: such an epithet does not bear too rigid and logical examination. It is appropriate in several senses; a poet feels the appropriateness, but does not analyse them and limit his meaning to one of them. Dicing is 'headlong' because it is a passion which makes men forget everything else, because it leads over a precipice of ruin, &c. Cp. 'periculosae aleae,' Od. 2. 1. 6, though there the dice are metaphorical.

22. **gloria**: subjectively, as is usual in Horace, the love of glory—glory as a motive; and, as is also usual, in the meaner sense, vainglory, vanity, Od. 1. 18. 15; Sat. 1. 6. 23, 2. 3. 179; Epp. 2. 1. 177.

supra viris vestit: Juv. S. 3. 180, of the same subject, of extravagance of dress, 'ultra viris habitus nitor.' Cp. his phrase *ibid.* 'ambitiosa paupertate,' 'pretentious poverty.'

23. **argenti**, in the more common sense of 'money' as in Sat. 2. 3. 78, Epp. 1. 2. 44, not 'silver-plate,' as in Epp. 1. 6. 17, &c. Cp. 'auri sacra fames,' Virg. Aen. 3. 57. Complaint has been made of the tautology of the two lines if this sense is given to 'argenti'; but greed of money and the shamefaced dread of the appearance of narrow means are sufficiently distinct.

25. **decem vitis instructor**: the abl. of measure, 'more accomplished by ten vices' than himself.

26. **regit**, i.e. 'corrigit,' 'schools,' 'lectures.'

28. **prope vera**. The rich man's words (Horace says with a cynical turn) are 'not very wide of the truth.' Vice is a luxury allowed only to the rich.

contendere noli, 'do not try to match me.' Cp. the fable of the Frog and the Ox in Sat. 2. 3. 312 foll.

30. **arta toga**: for a broad toga as a mark of ostentation see on Epod. 4. 8 'bis triumphum ulnarum toga,' and on Sat. 2. 3. 183.

comitem: when he is walking with his patron.

31-36. This is not a continuation of the patron's speech, but Horace's comment upon it. 'It was good advice—especially the "arta toga"—Eutrapelus well knew that the best way to ruin a man was to give him a set of smart clothes.'

31. **Eutrapelus** has been usually supposed, since Lambinus suggested it, to be the Volumnius to whom Cicero addressed two letters,

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVIII, 21-39

ad Fam. 7. 32 and 33, whom in ad Fam. 9. 26. 2 he calls 'Volumnius Eutrapelus,' and who is, as that epistle shows, the same as Eutrapelus the 'collusor' of M. Antonius, whose mistress Cytheris had been; Phil. 2. 8. 20, 24. 58, 13. 2. 3. There is an interesting history of the word *εὐτραπεία* in Trench's Synonyms of the New Test. pt. 1, from its treatment in Arist. Eth. N. 4. 8 as the excellent mean between *βωμολοχία* and *ἀγροικία*, 'wit that keeps the exact measure of refinement,' to its treatment by St. Paul, Eph. 5. 4 as the companion of *αἰσχρότης καὶ μωρολογία* among *τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα*. The definition which comes nearest to the signification of Eutrapelus here is perhaps that of Aristotle, where he is describing the characteristics of the young in Rhet. 2. 12 *ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπεία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις*, which seems to give room for practical joking. Cp. the conduct of Philippus to his *protégé* in Epp. 1. 7.

32. *dabat*. The story is told as of the last generation; so the impft. in Epp. 1. 15. 26 foll.

beatus, 'in his pride and delight.' The Scholiast rightly points out that these vv. 32-36 '*beatus* . . . *caballum*' give the thought of Eutrapelus. This explains the future following '*dabat*.'

34. *dormiet in lucem*: Epp. 1. 17. 6.

35. *nummos alienos pascet*. The meaning seems fixed by Pers. S. 5. 149 '*nummos quos hic quincunce modesto nutrieras*,' 'your money which you had been nursing with a modest five per cent.' So here 'will feed the capital of others,' i.e. will borrow at heavy interest. For '*nummos*' cp. Sat. 1. 3. 88. It has been otherwise taken as if '*nummos alienos*' were the same as '*aes alienum*,' 'will let his debts grow large.'

ad imum, 'at the end,' A. P. 126.

36. *Thraex*: Sat. 2. 6. 44 n.

mercede: so '*mercede colonum*,' Sat. 2. 2. 115.

37. *illius*, as '*ille*' in v. 40, the patron. It seems the certain reading, though '*ullius*' is found in all the older MSS., and had possession of printed texts till Bentley. The link between this precept and the next (vv. 39, 40) is that both are warnings against egotism.

neque . . . que. The particles imply that the two rules are on an equality: 'you will not more forget the first than the second.'

tu is emphatic, as contrasted with '*illius*.' If the secret is his you will not on your side pry into it—just as if it is trusted to you you will keep it sacredly.

38. *vino tortus*. For the metaphor of '*vino tortus*' cp. A. P. 435 and Od. 3. 21. 13.

et ira: the anger probably not (as Ritter) of those who wish to learn the secret and threaten angrily if it is withheld; but of the recipient of the secret, who is tempted by taunts or false stories to lose his balance and betray it.

39. *nec . . . nec*: as you will not be so egotistical as in words to praise your own pursuits and condemn those of every one else, so in

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practice you will not show your friend that you think your literary pursuits superior to his field sports.

40. **panges**: a word of Lucretius, i. 25, 4. 8. It is used again in A. P. 416 'ego mira poemata pango.' In both places there is a touch of sarcasm in its use, as though it was rather a grand word to use of your own composition.

41. **gratia . . . dissiluit**: cp. Epp. i. 3. 32 'gratia . . . coit et rescinditur.' The story of the two brothers was told in the Antiope of Euripides, which was adapted by Pacuvius. Amphion the player on the lyre (Od. 3. 11. 2, A. P. 394) quarrelled with Zethus, the shepherd and huntsman, as to the value of music, but yielded for peace and hid his lyre. It will be noticed that there is a compliment in the comparison of Lollius to the more accomplished brother deferring to the rougher one.

42. **suspecta severo**. The epithets quoted as used by Zethus in the Antiope are [Μοῦσαν] ἄσπον, ἀσύμφορον, ἀργήν, φίλοιον, χρημάτων ἀτρηελή. Most of the complete lines quoted in editions as fragments from the play, are the result of conjectural piecing together of phrases quoted unmetrically in prose writers.

43. The words are carefully chosen and balanced. 'Amphion gave way (as we are given to believe) to the temper of a brother and equal. You may well yield to the commands so gently laid on you by a powerful friend' (cp. Sat. 1. 3. 3 'Caesar, qui cogere posset'). **putatur** (cp. 'fertur' Od. 3. 5. 41 with note) throws the responsibility for the story on the legend: 'poets would have us think so.'

46. **Aetolia**. An instance of what is frequent in Virgil, a 'literary' epithet, not describing any characteristic of the nets which a Roman would use, but reminding the reader of the mythological boar-hunt of Meleager in Calydon. There is some appropriateness here in its use in addressing a man of letters. It seems to say 'there are precedents for such sports in your own poets.'

47. **surge**: sc. from your 'lectus lucubratorius'; cp. Sat. 1. 4. 133, 1. 6. 122.

senium, 'moroseness'; Pers. S. 1. 26 'en pallor seniumque,' of a poet; see Conington's note. Cp. also 'senectus,' Epod. 13. 5.

48. **pariter**, with the whole sentence, 'side by side with your friend.'

pulmenta, 'relishes,' as 'pulmentaria' in the similar expression, Sat. 2. 2. 20.

49. **Romanis sollemne viris opus**: an accus. in apposition to the action generally described in vv. 47, 48 of which the purport is 'go hunting.' For the sense cp. Od. 3. 24. 54 foll., Sat. 2. 2. 10 'Romana militia.' In 'Romanis viris' there is a suggestion that verse-writing is after all an effeminate pursuit, fitter for Greeks than Romans.

52. **virilia . . . arma**: for 'arma' cp. Od. 1. 8. 10 n., A. P. 379, where also 'corona' for the ring of spectators occurs.

55. **Cantabrica bella**: as the next line shows, not the campaign

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVIII, 40-66

of Agrippa in B.C. 20 (Epp. 1. 12. 6), but the expedition nominally headed by Augustus in B.C. 25; see introd. to Odes 1-3, 1. § 6, and cp. Od. 3. 14.

56. *refigit*, 'is taking down'; cp. 'signa Punicis adfixa delubris' Od. 3. 5. 18, and 'clipeo refixo' Od. 1. 28. 11. The reference is to the recovery from the Parthians of the standards taken at Carrhae; see on Epp. 1. 12. 28, Od. 4. 15. 7.

57. *adiudicat*: a technical term, it seems, for adjudging land in dispute; Cic. Off. 1. 10. 33 'in medio relictum, quod erat populo Romano adiudicavit.' Augustus is adding to the empire any corner of the earth which is still outside of it; an hyperbolical phrase, but describing rather what seemed in progress than particular events which had actually occurred; but cp. Od. 4. 15. 13-16.

Italix, i. q. 'Romanis,' as *ibid.*, and Epp. 2. 1. 2.

58-66. A last argument, and one which illustrates most clearly the strictly personal bearing of the Epistle. 'With all your refinement we have heard that you have a hobby of your own—the war-game in which Actium is fought over again on your father's lake. Be sure your patron will enter into your amusements, but you must let him feel that you enter into his.'

58. *ne te retrahas*: see on Od. 1. 33. 1; Epp. 1. 1. 13, 1. 16. 1.

absis, from the hunting-field.

59. *extra numerum . . . modumque*: literally, 'out of time and tune.' The two words are used together in their literal sense in A. P. 211, in a metaphorical sense (as here) in Epp. 2. 2. 144 'verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae'; cp. *πλημμελής*: 'you, though such a purist in matters of propriety, have your own hobby in moments of relaxation.'

curas fecisse: Epp. 1. 17. 5, Od. 3. 4. 51 n.

60. *nugaris*: Sat. 2. 1. 73, Epp. 2. 1. 93.

61. Lollius is represented as imitating, on a domestic scale, the public 'naumachiae': one of these is described in Suet. Jul. Caes. 19, as having been given by Julius Caesar, who made an artificial piece of water for the purpose by the side of the Tiber. Augustus and several of the emperors are also said to have given these exhibitions, and they became part of the shows of the Circus.

lintris: the pleasure boats, we may suppose, on the piece of water in his father's estate.

Actia, the poetical form of 'Actiaca,' as in Virg. Aen. 3. 280.

62. *pueros*: doubtless, slaves.

64. *velox*, 'till victory hastes to crown.'

65. *consentire suis studiis*. These two lines refer of course immediately to those which precede: 'If you sympathize with his hobby, he will with yours'; but the words with which they begin refer back also to v. 39, and so serve to close the period.

66. *utroque . . . pollice*. In Pliny's time we learn that 'premere pollices' had become a proverb for an expression of favour, N. H. 28. 5. Whether it was so in Horace's cannot be said. It was

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derived apparently from the usage of the amphitheatre, where the people, according to Juv. S. 3. 36, signified their pleasure as to the killing or sparing of a gladiator by turning the thumb one way or other.

67. *protinus ut moneam*, 'to go on with my lecture'; an apology.

68. 'What, and of whom, and to whom.' 'Tria dixit: quid dicas, de quo dicas, cui dicas,' Porph. This punctuation and interpretation is strongly supported by Bentley, who quotes Cic. in Pis. 31. 75 'Tu quid, tu apud quos, tu de quo dicas, intelligis.' It makes it more clear that the warning is, not to speak rashly of your patron. If 'quoque' were taken as the abl. of 'quisque' the precept would seem rather wide of the special mark.

70. *patulæ*. The metaphor is meant to convey the idea that like a large-mouthed vessel, as it is easy to pour into it, so it is easy to pour out again. Cp. the somewhat similar metaphor '*rimosa ... aure*,' Sat. 2. 6. 46.

71. *emissum*: A. P. 390 'nescit vox missa reverti.' There is probably a reminiscence of Homer's *ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων* Il. 4. 350, &c.

72. *non ... ulceret*. For the substitution of 'non' with the potential for 'ne' with a jussive subj. see note on Sat. 2. 5. 91. Here notice that 'non' goes especially with 'ulla,' the separation of the two at the beginning and end of the clause emphasizes both.

73. *marmoreum venerandi*. The suggestion of the epithets is that it is like coveting what you see in a temple.

75. *beet*, in an ironical sense, 'make you a present of the slave and think he has made you a happy man,' as though he had given you all you could expect from him.

incommodus, if he is disobliging.

76. *commendes*, 'introduce.' Cp. Horace's own caution in this matter, Epp. 1. 9, and 1. 12. For his introduction to Maecenas by Virgil and Varius see Sat. 1. 6. 54.

78. *quondam*, 'sometimes,' Od. 2. 10. 18, Sat. 2. 2. 82.

tradimus: Epp. 1. 9. 3.

80. *ut*: perhaps best taken as final. 'Remember that we are liable to make mistakes. Be ready therefore to abandon one who proves unworthy, *in order* that you may keep your power to protect one who is slanderously attacked.' Some follow the Scholiasts in taking it for 'just as,' followed by a proper hypothetical sentence.

82. *dente Theonino*, evidently means the 'tongue of slander,' but nothing is known of the origin of the expression. Porph. says, 'Theon quidam illo tempore rabiosae dicacitatis fuit,' and the Scholiasts call him 'Luthienus (?) Theon, libertinus,' and tell a story of his offending his patron by the bitterness of his tongue, so that he was turned out of the house.

circumroditur. The metaphor is common, Od. 4. 3. 16; Sat. 1. 4. 81, 1. 6. 46; Epp. 1. 16. 38, 2. 1. 151.

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVIII, 67-95

aequid . . . sentis: cp. 'aequid sentitis in quanto contemptu vivatis,' Liv. 4. 3, 'Have you *any* feeling?' 'surely you have some feeling,' 'for (the next line continues) you ought to have, your own safety is at stake when the fire has reached the wall that adjoins your house.'

86. A reflection on the difficulties suggested in the preceding lines and leading to the exhortation which follows. In 'dulcis inexpertis . . . expertus metuet' has Horace in mind the end of Virg. E. 3 'et quisquis amores Aut metuet dulcis aut experietur amaros'?

87. **dum tua navis in alto est**, i.e. as you have embarked on this voyage.

88. **huc age**, 'give all your attention.' Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 152, Epp. I. 6. 31.

89. Horace returns to the topic of vv. 40 foll. viz. the necessity of some harmony of humour and taste, showing where he thought Lollius likely to fail. In vv. 89, 90 he imagines two alternative grounds of difference; but v. 93 indicates that he expects Lollius to show unreasonable gloom, not unreasonable mirth.

91. This verse is of very doubtful origin. The Scholiasts give no sign of having read it, for the annotation in Comm. Cruq., 'Oderunt, potulenti,' means that 'Oderunt' stood in the text without a subject, and the annotator was suggesting the one which was to be understood. There is also the objection pointed out by Bentley that 'de nocte' is used not in the Horatian sense (Epp. I. 7. 88: cp. I. 2. 32 and Sat. 2. 8. 3, and see note on Epod. 13. 4) of something which begins before midnight, but in the unclassical sense of that which is prolonged to or past midnight. In the parallel line which Horace, or his interpolator, is recalling, Epp. I. 14. 34, untimely drinking is described by 'de luce.' It must be allowed on the other hand that a subject is badly wanted for 'Oderunt' in v. 92. Keller would have us supply 'porrigentes pocula,' but such an ellipsis following the balanced phrases of vv. 89, 90 does not seem likely. It has been proposed to mend this by ejecting not the whole of v. 91, but from 'bibuli' to 'oderunt,' reading 'Potores porrecta negantem pocula.' This makes excellent sense, but it is then very hard to account for the double process of corruption, the substitution of a second 'Oderunt' for 'Potores,' and then the restoration of 'Potores' with the rest of the interpolated line. If the line be retained, 'bibuli' must be taken as governing 'Falerni,' as in Epp. I. 14. 34.

93. **tepores**: a word not found elsewhere, until late Latin, for 'feverishness.'

94. **plerumque**, 'very often'; see on Sat. I. 10. 15.

95. **occupat . . . speciem**, 'puts on the guise,' is thought, though he has no claim to be so.

obscuri, 'dark,' 'designing'; 'non aperti, non simplicis, non ingenui, versuti potius, obscuri, astuti,' Cic. Off. 3. 13. 57. Cp. the mis-reading of amiable qualities into vices, Sat. I. 3. 55 foll.

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96. *inter cuncta*, 'through all this.' 'After all, what we have been talking of touches the outside of life only; you will not forget, I am sure, the more important inside.'

leges et percontabere, sc. the dead and the living.

97. The general question of which the succeeding questions are the expansion.

traducere: a usual word in Cicero, as Tusc. 3. 11. 25 'hoc quod datum est vitae tranquille placideque traducere.'

98. *semper* may be taken either with 'inops,' 'desire always a beggar' (cp. 'semper avarus eget' Epp. 1. 2. 56 and 'magnas inter opes inops,' of the man who desires instead of enjoying, Od. 3. 16. 28), or with the verbs. In either case 'agitetur' is probably deliberative subj., although forming also the matter of an indirect question, 'whether desire must stir and harass,' &c. Lollius is sent to the philosopher, not to ask what he is, but what he ought to be.

99. *pavor*. It may be doubted whether this is 'fear,' the usual correlative in Horace of desire or hope (Epp. 1. 2. 51, 1. 6. 12, 1. 16. 65, &c.), or as in Epp. 1. 6. 10 'the flutter' of excitement, common to either passion.

mediocriter utillum, 'things far short of the "summum bonum."' The phrase describes external goods, which the Stoics classed among *ἀδιάφορα*, 'indifferentia' Cic. de Fin. 3. 15. 53.

100. 'If the philosophers answer "no" to the first question, then where is virtue, the alternative ideal, to be looked for?' The question is the one so often raised in Plato *ἀρα διδιδκόν ἡ ἀρετή*;

101. 'And in any case what kind of external life is most conducive to internal peace, the philosophers' calm?'

te tibi reddat amicum: Epp. 1. 3. 29, *ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φίλοι ὦμεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς* Plat. Rep. p. 621.

102. *honos*, 'office'; 'the life of ambition.'

103. Notice the fuller description and the sympathetic touch of poetry in this line, indicating the poet's preference between the three lives. 'Dulce lucellum' is a satirical designation, the epithet and the affectionate diminutive describing the attitude of the lover of gain, not of the writer. For *fallentis* see on Epp. 1. 17. 10.

104. *me*. The reference to his own taste suggested in v. 103, is now emphasized and forms the conclusion of the Epistle.

quotiens reficit. There is a contrast between 'reficit' and the description of Mandela in the next line. 'Every time I visit my Sabine home which is to me new life (cp. "mihi me reddentis agelli" Epp. 1. 14. 1, and for Horace's use of the cold water, Epp. 1. 15. 4, 1. 16. 14), though some people might think it merely a bleak spot.'

The names Digentia and Mandela survive in the forms of Licenza and Bardella, the latter a village overlooking the Licenza valley. See additional note to Epp. 1. 16.

107. *etiam minus*: cp. Sat. 2. 6. 3 'auctius atque Di melius fecere.' Heaven has blest him beyond his prayers.

BOOK I, EPISTLE XVIII, 96—XIX

et mihi vivam, i.e. as my own master. Cp. the picture of the independence which he claims in Epp. I. 7. 1-36.

111. **sed**. Horace feels that his prayers in both cases have gone beyond external things to matters which belong to and depend on himself, and he corrects himself. 'It is enough to pray Jove, who gives those things and takes them away, that he grant life and subsistence—a balanced mind I will assure to myself.' The MSS. are very evenly divided between **qui** and '**quae**.' With the latter we understand '**ea**' as a direct obj. of **orare**. There is also a question between **ponit** and '**donat**.' If '**ponit**' is read, Dr. J. S. Reid (in Wilkins) suggests that the metaphor is of the banquet of life, 'puts before us and snatches from us.'

112. **aequum . . . animum**: Epp. I. 11. 30.

EPISTLE XIX TO MAECENAS.

Imitation, false and true.

Verses 1-11. IT is an immemorial commonplace that wine and poetry go fitly together. If I have repeated this, immediately the foolish crowd of would-be poets set to drinking deep night and day.

12-20. That is an example of external imitation, which is so easy and which leads into such follies.

21-25. My imitation has been of a different kind. It has been original in its choice of models, and in its choice between what should and what should not be imitated in them. I was the first Latin poet to follow Archilochus, but it was his measures and his spirit, not his subject or his abuse of his power.

26-31. If you think me slavish in taking his metres, remember that even Sappho did the same, and Alcaeus, though he departed so far from his subjects and tone.

32-34. It is Alcaeus that I am proudest of having popularized in Latin. I am proud of the audience I have found.

35-36. Do you ask why though men read and like my poems in the study, they yet cry me down out of doors?

37-40. It is because I will not stoop to the vulgar arts of bribing audiences and making up to schoolmasters.

41-end. I am met with taunts on my avoiding '**recitation**.' My true ground for it is not believed, but I resist the temptation to quarrel and let them have their way.

The Epistle is a defence of his Epodes and Odes 1-3, against the criticism of detractors. It is addressed to Maecenas, both as the representative of the fair and wise critics, whose judgement he values (Od. I. 1. 35, Sat. I. 10. 81 foll.), and contrasts with that of the tasteless, and also as the patron and friend (Epp. I. 1. 1), to

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whom the first Epistle of the Book and the last but one are inscribed on the same principle that is observed in Od. 1. 1, and 3. 29, the last Epistle being reserved, as Od. 3. 30, for his own anticipations of personal fame.

1. **Maecenas docte**: Od. 3. 8. 5 'docte sermones utriusque linguae.' The epithet has its immediate place as justifying the learned reference to Cratinus, 'As you know, as well as I'; but it gives also the ground of his appeal to Maecenas on the whole matter, as the critic whose judgement he values most. Cp. Od. 1. 1. 35 'si me lyricis vatibus inseres,' and the tone of Sat. 1. 10. 78-87.

Cratino: Sat. 1. 4. 1. Aristophanes charges him with intemperance, and Plutarch (Symp. 2. 1) speaks of him as having jested upon it himself in his play *Πυτίνη* (the Flagon). The nearest reference to the passage which Horace had in mind is in the Epigram attributed to Nicaenetus Samius (Brunck. vol. 1, p. 417) οἶνός τοι χαρίεντι πέλει ταχύς ἵππος αἰδοῦ· | ὕδωρ δὲ πίνων οὐδὲν ἂν τέκοι σοφόν. | ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν, Διόνυσσε, καὶ ἔπνεεν, οὐχ ἐνὸς ἀσκού | Κρατίνος, ἀλλὰ πάντος ὠδωδὼς πίθου.

2. **placere**: Od. 4. 3. 24.

vivere: Od. 1. 32. 3, 4. 9. 11.

3. **potoribus**, the dative of the agent. Cp. Sat. 1. 10. 16; see Madv. § 250 a.

ut, 'ever since'; Od. 4. 4. 42, Epod. 7. 19. It carries on the idea of 'prisco.' 'It is a very old story,' Bacchus and the Muses, the Father of Greek and the Father of Roman poetry.

male sanos: and so fitter to be 'enlisted' among Satyrs and Fauns, but, as in the whole passage, there is an ironical self-depreciation in the epithet. It is the world's view of poets, not their own. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 322, A. P. 295.

4. **adscripsit**. 'Tamquam in legionem suam: nam hoc verbum militare est,' Porph. For the Satyrs cp. Od. 1. 1. 31, 2. 19. 4. The Fauns are their Italian equivalents, A. P. 244, and represent the inspiration of native Roman poetry. For Bacchus as god of poetry see on Od. 1. 1. 29, Epp. 2. 2. 78.

5. **mane**. When the steady world is sober; 'sicci,' Od. 4. 5. 39. 6. **arguitur . . . vinosus**, 'is convicted as a wine-lover.' Dillf. calls attention to Horace's love of such a collocation as 'vini vinosus': cp. Sat. 2. 2. 39, Epp. 1. 18. 5, 89, A. P. 133. The reference is to such passages as Il. 6. 261 ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀΐξει, and to the frequent epithets, μελιγδής, μελίφρων, εὐήνωρ, κ.τ.λ.

7. **pater**: so Prop. 4. 3. 3 'admoram fontibus ora Unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit.' Lucretius uses it of his master Epicurus, 3. 9. Cp. 'pater Aeneas' Od. 4. 7. 15, 'pater Chrysippus' Sat. 1. 3. 126.

arma: with reference to his patriotic poem the Annales.

8. **puteal Libonis** = 'Scribonianum,' 'Libo' being a family name in the gens Scribonia. See on Sat. 2. 6. 35.

BOOK I, EPISTLE XIX, 1-15

9. **mandabo**. Orelli points out that the future is probably an imitation of the usual form of a praetor's edict, quoting the instances given in Cic. Verr. Act 2. 1. 44 and 45 'possessionem dabo,' 'hereditatem dabo.'

siccis: Od. 1. 18. 3.

severis: Catull. 27. 5 'At vos quo libet hinc abite, lymphae, Vini pernicies et ad severos Migrate.' For the infin. after **adimam** see vol. 1, App. 2, § 1.

10. **edixi**, as a praetor: see the last note, and cp. Sat. 2. 2. 51.

11. **certare mero**: Od. 4. 1. 31. The rhythm of this line is like that of A. P. 269.

13. **exiguas**: cp. 'arta,' Epp. 1. 18. 30.

textore, the 'tailor' = the 'cut' of the gown.

Catonem: Cato of Utica, as in Od. 2. 1. 24; cp. Plutarch's life of him, c. 6 πολλάκις δ' ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον προσήει, and the full description in Lucan. 2. 372.

15. An allusion to some story which cannot now be recovered. Timagenes we learn from other sources (Suidas s. v.), to have been a rhetorician of the time at Rome, who was famous for a witty tongue, which gained him, and again in the end lost him, the favour of Augustus. For 'Iarbita' we have nothing but discordant scholia. The name is apparently coined from Iarbas (the name of a king of Numidia mentioned in Liv. Epit. 89, used by Virgil for the Numidian suitor of Dido in Aen. 4) with the Greek gentile termination -ιτης. They agree in calling him 'Maurus genere.' One adds that his name was Cordus, possibly to be written Codrus. This has suggested the Codrus of Virg. E. 5. 10, 7. 26, assumed, rightly or wrongly, to have been the real name of a poet of the time. The expression in the latter of the two passages 'invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro' has been taken as an illustration of 'rupit Iarbitam . . . aemula lingua,' and may possibly have been present to the mind of the Scholiasts when they explain 'rupit' by 'invidia.' This, however, will not bear examination. Conington pointed out that the words in Virgil are put into the mouth of a spiteful rival, not meant to give a true trait of Codrus. And Horace is here talking not of envy but of imitation, sincere but misdirected. The Scholiasts offer an alternative explanation of **rupit** as used literally of some internal strain, caused by trying to imitate Timagenes in the feat of eating and declaiming at the same time. Connected with the explanation is the curious v. l. 'cena' for **lingua** found in at least one good MS. (E). Whatever the story actually was, Weichert seems right in supposing that in 'rupit' Horace is glancing (after his fashion) at the fable of the Frog and Ox, 'non si te ruperis, inquit, Par eris,' Sat. 2. 3. 319. He compares Martial 10. 79. 9 of a small man imitating a great one, 'Grandis ut exiguum bos ranam ruperat olim, Sic puto, Torquatus rumpet Otacilium.' The connection of thought requires that the imitation should have been of some external trick or mannerism of Timagenes. More it seems we cannot say.

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16. **dum** : see on Epp. 1. 18. 8.
studet . . . tenditque. The separation of the two verbs is not meant to appropriate specially one to one adjective and the other to the other, but to give greater emphasis on the 'aim' and the 'effort.'

17. **decipit** : as A. P. 25 ; 'leads astray.'
vitilis goes with **imitabile**. 'Easy to imitate in its defects.' Cp. Cic. de Or. 2. 22. 90 'multos imitatores saepe cognovi qui aut ea quae facilia sunt aut etiam illa quae insignia ac paene vitiosa consecretantur imitando,' and Quintilian, remembering Horace, 'acciditque his, qui quidquid apud illos reperitur, dicendi legem putant, ut deteriora imitentur (id enim est facilius) ac se abunde similis putent, si vitia magnorum consequantur?' 10. 1. 23.

18. **exsangue**, 'bloodless,' i.e. causing pallor. Cp. Pers. 5. 55 in imitation, 'pallentis grana cumini'; Plin. N. H. 20. 14. 159 'cuminum pallorem gignit bibentibus.'

20. **tumultus** : of fussy, illegitimate, and abortive effort.

21. **libera** : opp. 'servum.' Note the triple statement of his originality, 'libera,' 'vacuum,' 'princeps.' Horace has in mind Lucr. 1. 926 'Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante Trita solo.'

23. **dux** **reget examen**, 'will be leader and king of the swarm,' i.e. will lead instead of following.

Paros, i.e. the measure of Archilochus of Paros, A. P. 79 ; cp. Epod. 14. 7 n.

primus. Horace ignores Catullus' few experiments in the metre.

25. **agentia** : as 'Diris agam vos,' Epod. 5. 89, perhaps with the definite metaphor of hunting, as in Epod. 6. 7.

Lycamben, the father of Neobule, who betrothed her to Archilochus and broke his promise, Epod. 6. 13.

26. **ac ne** : the negative purpose of the coming statement ; see on Od. 1. 33. 1 ; Epp. 1. 1. 13, 1. 16. 1.

foliis . . . brevioribus, 'minore corona,' Schol.

27. **mutare modos**. He is thinking perhaps of Lucilius' freer imitation of the Greek comedians, 'mutatis pedibus numerisque,' Sat. 1. 4. 7.

28-31. Some difficulty hangs over these lines. Horace is pleading against the charge that he had shown servility in adhering to the metre and poetical form ('carminis artem') of Archilochus. The Scholiast supposed him to answer, 'Though I did not alter the measures of Archilochus, I mingled with them those of Sappho and Alcaeus, persons of very different tone.' The insuperable objection to this lies, not only in the difficulty of **sed**, which, as Bentley argued, should in that case be rather 'et,' but in the irrelevance of vv. 29-31 'sed . . . nectit' ; for in this interpretation 'Alcaeus' is not the poet himself but the Alcaic Odes in Horace, and therefore these lines are only a repetition and expansion of what has been already said in v. 25 'non res et agentia verba Lycamben.' Bentley first suggested the view which has been generally taken since, that

BOOK I, EPISTLE XIX, 16-37

Horace's answer is, 'I am only doing what Sappho and Alcaeus did before me. They used Archilochus' metres, though they departed (as I do) widely from his subjects and purpose.' The accidental fragments which we possess of Alcaeus and Sappho hardly explain the statement that they employed the metres of Archilochus, but neither are they enough to show that Horace did not make it.

28. *temperat*. The metaphor suggested is of mixing a cup. Construct 'Archilochi pede . . . Musam (suam).'

mascula: the poetess a match for the poets.

29. *rebus et ordine dispar*. The general meaning is clear. Alcaeus, though borrowing metres from Archilochus, showed his independence in everything else. The exact meaning of 'ordine' is less easy to catch. Bentley takes it of metrical arrangement, referring as an example to the substitution by Alcaeus of a Dactylic hexameter for the Iambic trimeter in the couplet known among Horatian metres as 'Archilochium I^m' (see Index of Metres in vol. 1, App. 3, § 6). This is perhaps inconsistent with the purpose of the appeal to Alcaeus and Sappho, namely as precedents for exact imitation of metre combined with freedom of matter. If we had the poems referred to, it may be, the phrase 'subjects and arrangement' would explain itself more definitely.

30. *quaerit*, 'select.' Horace is shocked at the turning of the sting of the lampoons on near relations. His conscience would not be troubled for Canidia and other personal objects of his own Epodes.

atria, 'venomous'; Epod. 6. 15. Cp. the use of 'niger,' Sat. 1. 4. 85, 100.

31. *famoso*: Sat. 2. 1. 68.

32. *hunc*, sc. 'Alcaeus'; 'he is the model I am most proud of being the first to follow.' Alcaeus is named singly, although the general spirit of the passage implies that he has imitated Sappho also, not so much because Catullus had essayed the Sapphic metre (which possibly Horace would have ignored as he has Catullus' iambics, see on v. 23) as because he is thinking chiefly of the inspiration which he caught from the 'citizen poet' (Od. 1. 32. 5). There seems a definite reference in vv. 33, 34 to the stately political Odes at the beginning of Book 3, which he professes to address as 'non prius audita . . . Virginibus puerisque,' Od. 3. 1. 1-4. These are the 'gentle eyes and hands' of this passage.

Latinus fidicen, as he expresses it later, 'Romanae fidicen lyrae,' Od. 4. 3. 23. Cp. Od. 1. 32. 3, 3. 30. 13.

34. *manibus teneri*: Sat. 1. 4. 72, Epp. 2. 1. 53.

35. *opuscula*: see on Epp. 1. 4. 3.

36. *premat*, 'depreciates'; Virg. Aen. 11. 402 'premere arma Latini.' Cp. A. P. 262.

37. *ventosae*: Epp. 1. 8. 12. With the picture cp. Epp. 2. 2. 103, A. P. 420 foll.; and Persius' imitation 1. 53 foll. 'calidum scis ponere sumen, Scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna,' &c.

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39. *auditor et ultor*, 'who listen to them and give them as good again.' It is said jestingly, as Bentley points out. His account in Sat. 1. 4. 73 is 'Non recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus.' These words are the original of Juvenal's opening burst, 'Semper ego auditor tantum, numquamne reponam?' Cp. also Epp. 2. 2. 105 'impune legentibus.' The 'nobiles scriptores' are his literary friends—Virgil, Varius, &c.

40. 'To canvass the schoolmasters' lecture platforms,' i.e. to pay court to those who expound and criticize poetry and can make or mar the fortunes of a young poet.

tribus: not, as some take it, the pupils, but part of the metaphor of *ambire*, 'to canvass the schoolmasters as a candidate would the tribes.' So *et pulpita* adds no fresh object but indicates what was sought of the 'grammatici.'

41. *hinc illae lacrimae*, i.e. there is the true grievance. A proverbial expression, even where no tears are involved; Cic. pro Cael. 25. 61. It comes from Terence, Andr. 1. 1. 126.

spissis . . . theatris: cp. 'spissa sedilia,' A. P. 205. Tacitus de Orat. 13 speaks of Virgil as reciting in a theatre. See Mayor's exhaustive note on Recitation, Juv. S. 3. 9. It may be doubted whether theatres proper are intended, or lecture halls, the reciters' 'show-places.'

43. *Iovis auribus*, i.e. 'Augusti.' Cp. Sat. 2. 6. 52 'deos quoniam propius contingis,' where the tone of jealousy is the same.

44. *manare mella*. The accus. as 'stillare rorem,' A. P. 429.

45. *ad haec*: see on Epod. 9. 17.

naribus uti: interpreted by Pers. 1. 40, where he is imitating the passage 'nimis unci Naribus indulges'; that is, 'you are too visibly sneering at us'; 'I do not dare to show my resentment too openly.'

46. *acuto ungui*: cp. Od. 1. 6. 18. It implies the ferocity of the attack. Cp. Cic. Tusc. 5. 27. 77 'adolescentium greges Lacedaemone vidimus ipsi incredibili contentione certantis pugnīs, calcibus, unguibus, morsu denique, cum exanimarentur prius quam victos se faterentur.'

47. *iste locus*. Orelli and others take this literally (after the Scholiasts) as the place proposed for recitation, 'I make it seem a question of place and time, not an absolute refusal,' but it is better to take it as part of the metaphor of the combatants in the arena. The combatant objects to the place or asks for a postponement. Possibly 'locus' had some closer technical sense as applied to such contests. Cp. Aesch. in Ct. § 207 *ἐν τοῖς γυμνακοῖς ἀγῶσι ὁρᾷτε τοὺς πύκτας περὶ τῆς στάσεως ἀλλήλοις διαγωνιζομένους*. The whole line will mean, 'I put the whole question by; I will not quarrel over it.'

diludia: not found elsewhere. Porph. explains by 'intermissionem vel dilationem ludorum.'

48. *ludus*, with a play on the double meaning; 'contests even in sport breed heat and passion.'

genuit: the aoristic use. Epp. 1. 2. 48 'deduxit'; Madv. § 335 b, obs. 3.

EPISTLE XX

TO HIS OWN BOOK.

Verses 1-5. YOU are longing for the publicity of a bookseller's stall, and have forgotten the modesty to which I bred you.

5, 6. Well, go, if you will! Remember there is no coming back.

6-8. You will be sorry when you find what criticism is, and how soon people tire of you.

9-18. I foretell your fate.—In the bloom of novelty you will be liked; then the vulgar will begin to thumb you; then you will be forgotten or sent to the provinces. The last humiliation is to be turned into a schoolbook.

19-28. When you get an audience mind you tell them what I did, what I looked like, what I was, and when I lived.

It is the epilogue to the Book—playful in tone, but recalling, though in an altered form, the proud and confident anticipations of *Od.* 3. 30. It is with characteristic irony that he describes the widespread fame which he foresees, as something to be dreaded rather than sought. The last ten lines show the pleasure which he really finds in the thought that all the world will be interested to know every detail about him. At the same time he is, no doubt, so far serious in his profession that it is the applause of the few that he most values. Cp. the tone of *Sat.* 1. 10. 78 foll.

His book, now finished and ready for publication, is addressed in terms borrowed in part from the image of a favourite slave anxious to escape from the protection and restraint of his master's house into a naughty world, where he will be made much of at first and wronged and forgotten presently. The figure is lightly handled, not pressed (as by some commentators) into tasteless detail.

On the date given in the concluding lines see General Introd. to Epistles, Book 1.

The device by which the author professes to address to his own book what he wishes to say to the world by way of preface or epilogue, is frequent in the Roman poets, as *Ovid*, *Trist.* 1. 1; *ex Pont.* 4. 5; *Martial* 1. 3, 2. 1, 3. 2, 4, 89, 8. 1, 10. 104, 11. 1, 12. 2. Such passages often bear traces of remembrance of this Epistle.

1. *Vertumnus Ianumque*. A statue of *Vertumnus* stood at the end of the *Vicus Tuscus*, where it joined the *Forum* (*Propert.* 4. 2. 6). It seems to be implied that there were booksellers' stalls in the neighbourhood of it. *Janus* has been taken here either for the arches in the *Forum* (see on *Sat.* 2. 3. 18) or for the temple attributed to *Numa*, which stood in the *Argiletum*. This is known to have been a booksellers' quarter; see especially *Mart.* 1. 3. 1 (to his own book, in imitation of this Epistle) '*Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas.*'

spectare, 'to look wistfully at.'

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2. **sollicet** calls ironical attention to the motive named, 'in order—save the mark!—that,' &c., as Sat. 2. 5. 87, Epp. 1. 9. 3.

prostos, be set out for sale on the bookseller's stall.

Sosiorum: A. P. 345: 'Sosii illo tempore fratres erant bibliopolarum celeberrimi,' Porph.

pumice mundus. Cp. Catull. 1. 1 'novum libellum arido modo pumice expolitum,' 22. 8 'pumice omnia aequata.' Explained by Munro of the smoothing of the edge of the papyrus when rolled up tightly (Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus, p. 54).

3. **clavis . . . sigilla**. It was a custom to seal as well as lock the cases in which things of especial value were stowed away, as in the master's absence. Cp. Aesch. Agam. 611 of the faithful wife, *σημαντήριον οὐδὲν διαφθείρασαν*. So Martial (1. 66. 5 foll.) to a plagiarist of compositions not yet published, and with a figure perhaps suggested by these lines 'Secreta quaere carmina et rudes curas Quas novit unus scrinioque signatas Custodit ipse virginis pater chartae.' Cp. A. P. 388.

4. **communis** = 'vitam communem,' 'life in public.'

5. **non ita nutritus**. The book has not been prepared for publication by being generally 'recited.' For Horace's practice see Sat. 1. 4. 73.

fuge. The meaning is made clear by Martial's imitation 1. 3. 11 'Aetherias, lascive, cupis, volitare per auras: I, fuge, sed poteras tutior esse domi.' The word specially suits the figure of a slave who contemplates running away: cp. v. 13 'fugies.'

descendere: see on Od. 3. 1. 11 and cp. 'deferar,' Epp. 2. 1. 269.

6. **non erit**, 'go, remembering the condition on which you go—there is no recalling the step.'

emisso is used in its simple sense (cp. Epp. 1. 18. 71), but with reference also to a technical sense of 'publishing' a book.

7. **ubi quid**, &c., 'when you meet with hostile criticism, or find that friendly readers tire of you.' **et scis** follows **laeserit** rather awkwardly, but the only alternative is to make it an independent sentence, and (as Ritter says) the book is not yet published, and therefore does not 'know.'

8. **in breve te cogi**: the opposite of 'evolvi'; to be rolled up tight and put back in the case.

plenus languet. Cf. 'languidus iam conviva,' Sat. 2. 4. 39.

9. 'If my annoyance at your folly does not make me read your future too gloomily.' The irony is obvious.

10. **aetas**, used here, like *ᾠπα*, for 'the prime of life.'

11. **sordescere**: to grow dirty from the thumbing of the vulgar. Cp. Sat. 1. 4. 72.

12, 13. 'You will be left in the bookcases to get worm-eaten, or even be sent abroad for provincial readers,' i.e. you will cease to be read by the only public I care for, viz. the 'ingenui' (Epp. 1. 19. 34) of Rome.

12. **tineas pascos**. Cp. 'Blattarum ac tinearum epulae,' Sat. 2. 3. 119.

BOOK I, EPISTLE XX, 2-19

taciturnus, 'your voice will be hushed.'

inertis: the disparaging epithet of the bookworms adds to the sense of the spiritless existence of their victim. It is taken both as 'sluggish' (Orelli), and in its etymological sense 'barbarous' ('sine artibus'); see on Epp. 2. 2. 126, A. P. 445. So Schütz, who compares 'divina opici rodebant carmina mures,' Juv. S. 3. 207.

13. **fugies . . . vinotus mitteris**: he recurs to the figure of a slave. The two places named, Utica near Carthage, and Ilerda (now Lerida), stand for second-rate towns in Africa and Spain. Note that when he is speaking without suspicion of irony Horace counts the fact that a book is read across the sea a proof of excellence, whether generally (A. P. 345), or in his own case (see Od. 2. 20. 17-20).

14. **monitor non exauditus**: the poet himself, whose warnings have not been listened to.

ut ille: as the man in the fable. This explains also the tense of **protrusit**. The fable is not found elsewhere.

16. Cp. A. P. 467.

17, 18. 'The second childhood of the book will be when it becomes a reading-book in the schools of low degree.'

17. **elementa**: Sat. 1. 1. 26.

18. **extremis in viis**: schools in the outskirts of the city. It answers to 'vilibus in ludis' in the parallel expression, Sat. 1. 10. 75.

balba senectus. In saying that in its old age it will become a schoolbook, Horace fills out the figure by finding a likeness between the defective pronunciation of old age 'sans teeth,' and that of little boys at a reading-lesson. The adj. 'balbus' covers both. Remember that in Epp. 2. 1. 126 he speaks of the first use of poetry in education as being to correct mistakes in pronunciation, 'Os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat.' Juvenal tells us that in his time Horace had become a schoolbook, 7. 226 'cum totus decolor esset Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.'

19 foll. A last word; the prophecy of warning is over, and it is taken for granted that the book is to be given to the world. 'When you find an audience tell them something of the author,' says Horace, and gives the book the means of fulfilling his command. The transition to v. 19 is abrupt, and the exact meaning of the verse uncertain. Is Horace speaking of the 'recitation' of his book when published? If so, **tepidus sol** will perhaps be best taken with Ritter for a time of year neither too hot nor too cold for gathering a good audience. Contrast Juvenal's horror of 'Augusto recitantes mense poetae' (S. 3. 9). Or is **auris** only a figurative expression for readers? So Orelli; comparing 'tepidus sol' with Martial's 'hora libellorum decuma est, Eupheme, meorum' (4. 8. 7), i.e. my poems will be read after dinner. Or are we to think of a reader to a group in the streets? or of men loitering, like Horace (Sat. 1. 6. 113), in the afternoon by booksellers' stalls, and taking up a copy of his book (Wilkins)? A more serious change of

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meaning is made if with Schütz we follow the Scholiast in taking the verse and those that follow as a continuation of the picture of Horace as a schoolbook. The Scholiast interpreted 'tepidus sol' of the time of day, with the odd note that boys are more manageable ('tractabiliores') in the afternoon. Modern editors, who follow them, amend this by taking it of the time of year when the schools reassemble in larger number after the holidays (see on Sat. 1. 6. 75). This interpretation seems at first sight to give a smoother connection between vv. 18 and 19; but there is no true relation between the picture of Horace's compositions used as a school-book, introduced, as it is, as the final indignity that they are to suffer; and this charge to them to keep alive the memory of his personal characteristics and history. A break is required, for there is a real change of tone in v. 19, and the true purpose of the Epistle asserts itself in distinction from the playful and ironical tone of the earlier part.

20. **libertino . . . patre.** Cp. Od. 2. 20. 5 and Sat. 1. 6. 45. **tenui re:** *ibid.* 71.

21. **maiores . . . nido.** For construction see on Sat. 2. 3. 310. With the metaphor cp. Epp. 2. 2. 50; with the feeling cp. Od. 3. 30. 12 'ex humili potens.'

23. **primis . . . placuisse:** Sat. 2. 1. 76, Epp. 1. 17. 35. The question is raised whether 'belli domique' qualifies 'placuisse' or 'primis.' The first is the most natural both in view of rhythm and of construction. It also makes Horace's boast here correspond to the grounds of the jealousy felt towards him of which he complains in Sat. 1. 6. 46 foll. 'Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum, Nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor; at olim Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.'

24. **corporis exigui.** See for a jesting allusion to this characteristic Sat. 2. 3. 308, and the extract from Augustus' letter to him in the Suetonian life, vol. 1, Introd. 'vereri videris ne maiores libelli tui sint quam ipse es,' &c. Cp. also Epp. 1. 4. 15 n.

præcanum: 'ante annos albo capillo,' Porph. The word is not found elsewhere, but this seems certainly the meaning. Horace speaks of 'albescens capillus' in Od. 3. 14. 25, written some four years before this Epistle (cp. Od. 2. 11. 15). He was at that time forty. We may notice that the expression here is of a general characteristic, 'one who whitened early.'

solibus aptum. Ritter well paraphrases 'aptum' by 'factum natura,' 'whom nature meant for sunshine,' the plur. as in Epod. 2. 41 'perusta solibus.'

25. **irasci celerem.** For the inf. see vol. 1, App. 2, § 1. For the characteristic cp. Sat. 2. 3. 323, 2. 7. 35; also Od. 1. 16. 22, 3. 9. 23, 3. 14. 27. So perhaps with a fellow feeling Epp. 2. 2. 102 'genus irritabile vatum.' Doubtless like the person he describes in Sat. 1. 3. 29, he was open to criticism on this score, and meets it halfway. Cp. Cic. ad Att. 1. 17. 4 'et irritabilis animos esse optimorum saepe hominum, et eosdem placabilis.'

BOOK I, EPISTLE XX, 19-28

ut = 'ita ut,' 'with the further characteristic that'; Epp. i. 16. 6 and 12.

27. **Decembris.** Horace was born in December. The Suetonian life says 'sexto idus Decembris,' i.e. Dec. 8, B.C. 65.

28. The year indicated is B.C. 21, in which M. Lollius was for some months sole consul, the second place having been kept for Augustus, who declined it. Later in the year Q. Aemilius Lepidus was elected as his colleague, Dion Cass. 54. 6. On the bearing of these lines on the date of the publication of the Epistles see General Introduction to Book I of the Epistles. The exact meaning of *duxit* has been questioned. The Scholiasts interpret it by 'sortitus est,' as though it were 'sorte duxit.' In that case it is not used technically (for Lepidus was elected after a contest), but as *ἔλαχε* might be: 'It was his fortune to have Lepidus as a colleague.' Orelli prefers the simpler explanation that it is used as 'comitem ducere' of the one who was consul first. Keller holds that 'duxit' is an early error for 'dixit,' which is the technical phrase used (as in Liv. 7. 24) when a sole consul nominates a colleague. But apart from the fact that Horace usually avoids rather than affects exact technical terms, the verb does not suit the election of Lepidus as Dion describes it.

The Lollius of this verse cannot be the Lollius of Epistles 2 and 18, who in B.C. 20 was still a young man, but is usually taken to be his father. He is also the friend whom Horace so warmly upholds in Od. 4. 9. The two Epistles, then, are due probably to Horace's friendship for the father, and the book ends fitly with the name which is by it to be linked with the poet's immortality.

NOTE ON THE SITE OF HORACE'S 'VILLA'¹

(See Ep. XVI, pp. 252-261.)

THE 'Sabine valley' in which Horace's estate lay can be certainly identified, though the exact spot on which his house stood is still doubtful.

Seven miles above Tivoli in the Anio valley, on the road to Subiaco (i.e. on the ancient 'via Valeria,' a few miles before the point at which the 'via Sublacensis' diverged from it), stands the little town of Vico Varo, the Varia of Epp. i. 14. 3. Here there opens from the left a side valley, running directly from north to south. In this valley, near its junction with that of the Anio and beyond the stream, is seen at some height the village of Cantalupo-Bardella, or, as it is called in the Italian Staff Map, Mandela, for it has been conclusively identified with Horace's Mandela 'rugosus frigore pagus' (Epp. i. 18. 105). The valley is that of the Digentia (ibid. 104), a name which survives in the form of Licenza, and

¹ The chief references to the villa in Horace are Od. i. 17. 1-12, 3. 1. 47, (possibly 3. 13), 3. 16. 25-37; Sat. 2. 6. 1-17, 60 f.; Epp. i. 10. 49, i. 14 passim, i. 16. 1-16, i. 18. 104-end.

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is given both to a village which did not exist in Horace's day, or his 'vilicus' might perhaps have found the tavern life which he so much missed (Epp. 1. 14. 24), and to the stream in its lower course: higher up it is known as the Maricella. At Vico Varo a road turns off up the Licenza valley, keeping at some height on the western side, and in three miles reaches the little village of Rocca Giovane. It was here that a few years ago an inscription was found recording the restoration by Vespasian of a temple of Victory. This is held with great probability to have been the 'fanum putre Vacunae' of Epp. 1. 10. 49. Vespasian was of Sabine origin, having been born at Reate, and it is natural that he should have restored the temples of Sabine deities, and especially of one who, as we learn, was worshipped at Reate and who, as Acron tells us from Varro, was according to one view identified with the Roman 'Victoria.' Of the other names which we have in Horace 'Vstica cubans' (Od. 1. 17. 11) possibly still survives in the name La Rustica, said to be given to some part of the valley; but peasants are so willing to recognize names which travellers suggest that such discoveries are to be received with caution. Two names are given of hills or forests, 'Lucretilis' Od. 1. 17. 1, 'Haedilia' *ibid.* 9. The latter has left no discoverable trace. The former is possibly found in an altered form in the Liber Pontificalis, in a record of a donation by the Emperor Constantine to a church on the via Labicana, where an estate is described as 'possessio in territorio Sabinensi quae cognominatur "ad duas Casas" sub monte Lucretio.' The name 'ad duas Casas' is supposed to survive in the chapel of the Madonna della Casa on the hillside beyond Rocca Giovane. The Mons Lucretius or Lucretilis will be the high ground behind it, but it still may be either some minor point immediately at its back or the whole mass of hills between the valley and the Campagna, of which the highest point is called in some maps Gennaro, in others Monte Zappi. This point is 4165 English feet above the sea, and is visible to a great distance. The nearer tops are from 600 to 800 feet lower. When the valley was identified, about the middle of the 18th century¹, the site selected as that of Horace's villa was that marked A in the plan facing the title-page. There are some remains of an ancient dwelling-house, 'a scattered fragment or two of columns of travertine or a small piece of mosaic,' and it is said that the floors of six chambers were uncovered, but covered again with the earth, as nothing of value was found. All subsequent visitors and topographers took this for the site till the question was reopened (1855) by M. Noel des Vergers and Cavaliere Rosa, the Roman explorer, who examined the valley together and put forward the claims of a rival site (that marked B) just behind Rocca Giovane, where some terracing is noticed. Their arguments

¹ The arguments for the valley and the special site are given in books, printed at Rome, by the abbé Domenico de Sanctis, 1761, and by the abbé Capmartin de Chaupy, 1769.

BOOK I, EPISTLE XX

for this situation are (1) that it answers more exactly the description of 'post fanum putre Vacunae.' But any place higher up the valley than the temple might fairly be so described, especially as the purpose of the expression is pretty certainly not topographical, but humorous, being equivalent to 'in holiday land' (see note on Epp. 1. 10. 49); (2) that it is in close proximity to a spring of water which they held to be the Bandusian Fountain (see introd. to Od. 3. 13) and the 'iugis aquae fons' of Sat. 2. 6. 2. The distance, however, is greater than the account recognizes. I visited the valley some years ago and walked from Rocca Giovane to the older site, passing the spring, and I could not satisfy myself that there was much difference between its distance from one site and the other.

EPISTLES. BOOK II

EPISTLE I

TO AUGUSTUS

A defence of the Classical School of Latin Poetry.

- Verses 1-4. YOU are so busy, with the Roman world on your shoulders, Caesar, that anything I write to you must be short.
- 5-17. Like the demigods in your aims, you are unlike them in this, that men have recognized you for what you are in your lifetime.
- 18-27. But your countrymen, though they do this justice to you, are incapable generally of doing justice to contemporaries, from their excessive regard for the ancients. Every rag of primitive Latinity is treated as an utterance of the Muses.
- 28-33. If it be pleaded that of Greek poets the oldest are the best, the answer is plain: Are we the Greeks?
- 34-49. If it be said that generally poems, like wine, improve by time, the answer is: Time is a relative phrase. Where will you draw the line between ancient and modern?
- 50-62. There is a rage for the ancients. We know by heart all the cant epithets for Ennius and Naevius, Pacuvius and Accius; in comedy it is Afranius, Plautus, Caecilius, Terence. This is the orthodox list.
- 63-68. The admiration is too indiscriminate.
- 69-75. I do not make a crusade against Livius whom we learned at school, but neither do I accept him as a perfect model.
- 76-85. I do not like to see moderns run down merely because they are modern, and all criticism of ancients treated as profanity.
- 86-89. This praise of antiquity is inspired by jealousy of contemporaries.
- 90-92. It is lucky for us that the Greeks had no such dislike of novelty, else we should not have had the storehouse which we have.
- 93-102. The first use to which they put their leisure was to essay first one art, then another, with the freshness and the inconstancy of a child.
- 103-107. At Rome we were more serious: domestic duties, morals (and a little money-getting), occupied our countrymen in old days.
- 108-117. Now no doubt the tide has turned and we are all scribbling, young and old, fit and unfit.

BOOK II, EPISTLE I

- 118-138. Well, there is something to be said after all for poetry. There are worse madresses. It has even its uses, in education, as a practical teacher of philosophy, in religion.
- 139-155. Poetry began with us in the rough improvisations of Fescennine verse, so rough that the law had to step in.
- 156-160. Then came Greek influence, softening and refining, but the old rusticity did not go at once, if it has gone now.
- 161-164. It was late, after the Punic wars, when Roman writers first began to know, and then tried to imitate, Greek tragedy and comedy.
- 165-167. They were only too well satisfied with themselves. Their tragedy was good enough in spirit, but too hasty.
- 168-176. Comedy was thought easier, but the failure is on this account the more palpable. Look at Plautus with his coarsely drawn characters and slipshod style. That came from writing for money.
- 177-181. Another great difficulty of the dramatic poet is his dependence on his audience.
- 182-207. And the audience amongst us, or the most numerous and noisy part of it, cares for the excitement of spectacles more than for real drama.
- 208-213. Do not think that I am undervaluing the dramatic art. It is wonderful.
- 214-218. But give a share of your patronage to other poets also.
- 219-228. I know it is often our own fault that you do not. We are devoid of tact, we are impatient of criticism, we are too exacting in our demands.
- 229-231. Still it is worth while to see what sort of poets are set to celebrate your great deeds.
- 232-244. Alexander, though he was particular as to the painters and sculptors who took his likeness, paid a miserable poetaster for singing of his exploits.
- 245-250. You have been wiser in choosing Virgil and Varius, and you know what the poet can do to immortalize greatness.
- 250-end. I would sing your deeds myself, if I could. But I am afraid of bringing you and myself too into contempt.

Horace, taking his pen at the bidding of Augustus, in order to link the Emperor's name with one of his 'Sermones,' chooses with great tact, as the subject of his Epistle, an apology for the poetry of the Augustan age, for poetry as he, Virgil, and Varius, understood it.

The first eighty-nine lines are occupied in directly attacking the school which decried all contemporary poets in its admiration, real or professed, for the ancients. This leads him in v. 90 to institute a comparison between the history of poetry in Greece and Rome, which is to explain why Roman poetry is only now being brought to perfection. It is the same explanation as that which is given in the *Ars Poetica*: 'Grais ingenium . . . dedit Musa.' Peace was

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necessary in either case for the development of literature, but when once that external condition was satisfied, there followed a spontaneous burst of artistic life in a thousand forms. The nature was artistic, and only circumstances restrained it. In Rome, on the contrary, all the original tendencies were prudential and utilitarian. When poetry came, as it had come now, it came by a sudden reaction, and to people not prepared for it. Then follows, 118 f., a playful passage, with its serious side, in which he pleads even for this new development of uninstructed verse-writing. 'It is better than many things, better than the sordid money-getting to which Romans are inclined. It has its use. Poetry is worth something in education and in religion, as you recognized, when you set me to write an ode for the Secular Games.' Then he sketches (139 f.) the actual course of Latin poetry, its rustic origin, with the coarseness and personal tone which attached to it, the late introduction of Greek culture, which has been slowly driving out the old taint of rudeness, and has not fully done its work yet; the faults, in spite of their vigour and spirit, of the early writers of tragedy and comedy, in their self-sufficiency, haste, and eagerness to make money.

Turning from the writers of plays, he goes on (v. 177 f.) to arraign the audiences as equally wanting in the artistic spirit. They care for shows, not for good plays or acting. Lastly, after explaining in a few words that in what he says he is not undervaluing the dramatic art, he turns (v. 214 f.) to other kinds of poetry, and asks Augustus' support for them. 'I know,' he says, 'there are many of us who bore you; but there are differences between us, and happily you are not like Alexander, you know a Virgil from a Choerilus. And you will reap your reward. Good poetry is indeed "aere perennius." I would do my part as your poet, if I could, but bad poetry is worse than none.'

The points of the Epistle are—

1. That it is ridiculous to judge poetry by its age, not its intrinsic merit.

2. That the conditions of the development of Roman literature had made it certain that perfection would come late.

3. That Augustus' taste is a true one; that Virgil and Varius (and it is hinted, Horace) have taken the right way to be classics, and so immortal, in a sense that their predecessors had not.

2. *res Italas*. 'Italus' has now come to be nearly synonymous with 'Romanus'; Od. 4. 15. 13, Epp. 1. 18. 57; so that '*res Italae*' is 'the Roman world.'

tuteris: Od. 4. 14. 43.

moribus: with reference to Augustus' social reforms. See on Od. 3. 24. 35, 4. 5. 22, where there is the same antithesis of '*mos*' and '*lex*.'

4. *morer*: as Epp. 1. 13. 17.

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 2-14

tempora, καιρός, 'busy moments.'

5. With the list of demigods and the implied comparison of their civilizing labours to those of Augustus cp. Od. 3. 3. 9-15 n. Orelli rightly sees a special purpose in placing the name of Romulus first, and in immediate juxtaposition with that of Caesar; 'your great prototype, the first founder, as you are the second founder, of Rome.' He recalls the story that Augustus had wished himself to take the name of Romulus. Suet. Oct. 7, Dion 53. 16.

6. **deorum in templa recepti**, i.e. who were worshipped as gods.

7. **dum oolunt** qualifies 'ploravere'; so long as they were engaged in their beneficent tasks they missed their reward.

oolunt: in a double sense with its two objects, 'make fruitful' and 'civilize,' the first referring especially to Liber and his vine.

8. **agros assignant**. The institution of private property was, according to the writer's point of view, a step in civilization (as here and A. P. 397), or a declension from the golden age (Virg. G. 1. 126 'ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum Fas erat'). The verb used here was the technical term for the division of public lands. Horace hints, without saying, that Augustus has been repeating all these forms of beneficent labour, encouraging agriculture, civilizing, restoring peace, settling veteran soldiers on confiscated farmlands, founding cities; cp. the recital of the effects of his rule in Od. 4. 5. 17-32, 4. 15. 4-20, and with this particular phrase cp. Od. 3. 4. 37, 38.

10. **contudit**: with his club. For the favourite comparison of Augustus to Hercules see on Od. 3. 3. 9, 3. 14. 1, 4. 5. 36, and cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 801.

11. **fatali**. It elevates Hercules' labours, and by implication those of Augustus, to describe them as not accidental but part of the predestined order of things.

portenta, 'monsters': Od. 1. 22. 13.

12. **supremo fine**: not by any fresh labour but by the end which admits nothing after it. Cp. 'morte suprema' Epp. 2. 2. 173 and Ov. Met. 3. 136 'dicique beatus Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.' With the thought cp. Od. 3. 24. 30-32. 'Invidia,' in the case of Hercules, was the envy of Juno, which according to the legend was appeased by his death.

domari: the verb is chosen in order to suggest the image of envy as the last and greatest monster with which he grappled.

13. **praegravat**: Sat. 2. 2. 78. As 'urit' gains its force by suggesting the contrast of what should be, 'scorches,' instead of warming or lighting, so 'praegravat' implies an opp. 'tollit,' 'weighs down,' 'depresses' instead of lifting.

artis: see note on Od. 4. 15. 12. It is chosen as a very general word, covering art (proper) and the 'arts' of life; excellence in any department.

14. **extinctus**: the metaphor of 'fulgore' is resumed. 'These suns of glory please not till they set.' Pope.

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15. **praesenti**, 'while still among us,'
maturos, 'betimes,' not waiting, as with the heroes, till you are gone.

16. **iurandas**. 'Iuro' is used both with an acc. 'numen' Virg. Aen. 6. 324, 'aras' Juv. S. 3. 144 (whence the passive 'dis iuranda palus' Ov. Met. 2. 46), and with 'per,' 'per caput hoc iuro,' Virg. Aen. 9. 300. Horace here combines the two constructions.

numen. The question is doubtful between 'numen,' the reading of V, R, E, and 'nomen,' which is found in the majority of MSS. 'Numen' was restored to the text by Bentley, who quotes abundantly to show that 'iurare numen' or 'per numen' is the usual phrase, and points out that Ovid speaks repeatedly of 'Augustum numen,' 'Caesareum numen,' &c. The historical reference is probably to the worship of the 'genius Augusti' among the Lares. Cp. Od. 4. 5. 34 'et Laribus tuum Miscet numen,' and see general introd. to the Literary Epistles.

18. **tuus hic populus**, 'this same people of thine.' 'Tuus' at once sums up the attitude of the people which is in question, 'this people so devoted to you though you are still with us,' and gives a point of connexion between the address to Augustus and the arraignment of the poet's contemporaries. Augustus is in a sense responsible for them and should hear their failings.

in uno. Is this neut., 'in one point,' viz. in preferring, &c.? or masc., agreeing with 'te'? Probably the latter. In the former case a comma should be put at 'uno.' The argument for that view is the more complete antithesis which seems to be gained between 'uno' and 'cetera.' On the other hand, it may be said that the greater antithesis, viz. between 'sapiens et iustus,' and the character described by 'cetera nequaquam,' &c., is emphasized by every touch which brings out the largeness of what they grant. This 'uno te,' &c. does: 'though they show wisdom and justice in setting you, you only, before all our own captains, all the captains of Greece.'

20. **ratione modoque**: cp. Sat. 2. 3. 266 and 271. As that passage shows, not a mere pleonasm, as 'more modoque' in Od. 4. 2. 28, but with some sense that the 'principle and method' are reasonable.

21. **suis temporibus defunota**, 'quae sua tempora compleverint ac finierint,' Porph.

23. **sic fautor**. Horace uses 'sic' for 'tam' or 'adeo' with adjectives, Sat. 1. 3. 19, 1. 5. 69; Epp. 2. 1. 179. So with verbs or participles, Sat. 2. 8. 3, 36, 48.

veterum: neut.; we have passed from the judgment of men to that of literature.

tabulas: the XII Tables of the decemviri.

25. **Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis**. For the omission of 'cum' with the first subst., see on Od. 3. 25. 2. Dionys. Halicarn. (3. 33 and 4. 58) vouches for the existence in his time (the Augustan age) of what professed to be the original treaties of Tullus

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 15-37

Hostilius with the Sabines, and Tarquinius Superbus with Gabii. The epithet 'rigidis' suggests the idea of antiquity, 'the stern old Sabines.'

aequata: a coloured substitution for 'facta'; 'quibus aequabant condiciones' Acr.

26. **pontificum libros**: Cic. de Or. i. 43. 193, where the XII Tables are classed as monuments of antiquity with these ancient rules of ritual.

vatum, 'seers,' not merely poets. The ref. is to such compositions as the 'carmina Marciana,' which Livy describes (25. 12) as having contained a foreshadowing of the battle of Cannae; see Wordsworth, *Fragm. of Anc. Latin*, p. 567.

27. **dictitet**: Epp. i. 16. 22; 'never tire of saying.'

Albano in monte: as on a Roman Parnassus. It has been suggested that Horace is parodying some such boast as that recorded in Quintilian 10. i. 99 'in comoedia maxime claudicamus, licet Varro Musas, Aeli Stilonis sententia, Plautino dicat sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent.'

28. 'If we argue that because the oldest Greek writers are the best therefore the oldest Roman writers are so also, we ignore the vast difference between the Greeks and ourselves. We are transferring the characteristics of nuts to olives, and of olives to nuts. We may as soon say that our painting and music and wrestling are better than those of the Greeks.' Horace often dwells on the great gulf set by nature between Greek and Roman genius; see inf. vv. 93-107, A. P. 323 f. To refuse to see this and argue as if the same laws governed both is to fly in the face of nature.

30. **non est quod multa loquamur**: there is no need to say much, i.e. the conclusion is obvious.

32. **ad summum fortunæ**: 'We have attained all that is possible to human nature; we can beat the Greeks at their accomplishments.' **Achivis doctius unctis** shows that this is said with some irony, as though he had added 'as much as we can in our own more solid excellences.'

35. **quotus**, 'which in the series?' the 100th? the 99th? &c. Tacitus (*Dial. de Or.* 16) puts the same answer into the mouth of Afer, when he is meeting a sweeping assertion of the superiority of ancient orators.

arroget: the sense of 'to claim,' common in other writers and found in Sat. 2. 4. 35, A. P. 122, seems in this place, as in Od. 4. 14. 40, less appropriate. We want rather 'to add,' 'to assign further.' This may be an extension of the recognized use, or may come by a different channel from some technical use of 'arrogō.'

36. **decidit**: Od. 4. 7. 14.

37. Note the mockery in the repeated coupling 'perfectos veteresque,' 'viles atque novos,' and also in the order in each case, the questioner professing to put the 'perfection' or 'worthlessness,' as the characteristic which strikes the mind first. This is made evident by the reversal of this order in the answer, which is meant

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to be plain matter of fact, yet equally to assume that age and worth go together.

38. *excludat iurgia finis*: let us have a limit to bar disputes, like Virgil's landmark, 'Limes agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis,' Aen. 12. 897.

41, 42. The questioner here expresses the convertibility of old and good, new and bad, not as before by coupling the terms, but by opposing 'old' in one clause to a vehement expression for 'bad' in the other. Bentley seems to have missed this when he wished to read 'probosque' for *poetas*. His further reason against the text, viz. the *ὁμοιοτέλετον* 'poetas,' 'aetas,' is answered by reference to A. P. 99, 100; 176, 177.

43. 'Aye, call him old, by favour of the court, Who falls a month or e'en a twelvemonth short.' So Conington translates, rightly indicating that (as in v. 39) there is the affectation of a sententious tone as of a judge allowing a point. Cp. the answers of Trebatius in Sat. 2. 1.

honeste. As this is the equivalent to 'Est vetus atque probus' of v. 39, *ponetur honeste* probably means 'shall have honourable place,' place as 'probus,' not (as Orelli and Ritter) 'shall be placed without discredit to the placer.'

45. *caudae pilos ut equinae*. Has Horace already begun the definite reference which appears in v. 47 to the logical puzzle attributed by Diog. Laert. (2. 108) to Eubulides, and called, after two illustrations used of it, *φαλακρός* or *σωρίτης* (transl. by Cic. Div. 2. 4. 11 'acervalis'; cp. the description in Acad. Pr. 2. 16. 49 'captiosissimo genere interrogationis utuntur, cum aliquid minutatim et gradatim additur vel demitur. Sorites hoc vocant, quia acervum efficiunt uno grano')? Those who think so imagine that the horse's tail was a recognized form of the illustration called *φαλακρός*, the question of how many hairs are the minimum that makes a tail being substituted for the question how many hairs save a man from being rightly called 'bald.' The two forms of the puzzle would, however, be then rather awkwardly joined in one sentence. It is better perhaps to suppose that 'like single hairs from a horse's tail' is a separate illustration of his piecemeal destruction of his opponent's argument. Lambinus suggested that Horace had in mind the apologue (attributed by Plutarch to Sertorius) of the two men who tried to pluck out a horse's tail, one by a single pull, the other hair by hair.

46. *et item*: the evidence for 'et item' and 'etiam' is nearly balanced. Bentl. preferred 'et item' (cp. Lucr. 4. 543). For 'etiam' cp. Pers. S. 6. 58 'Adde etiam unum: Vnum etiam,' which may possibly be a reminiscence of this place.

47. *cadat elusus*. Orelli and others say that the metaphor is of a gladiator 'overthrown by a trick': but the words are natural, and would not necessarily bring any such definite image. In the meantime they are given a new appropriateness by their relation to the words that follow, as though the imagined heap were represented

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 37-57

as slipping away by degrees from under the disputant who rests upon it.

48. *redit in fastos*: i.e. to see the date before pronouncing a judgment.

49. *Libitina*: Od. 3. 30. 7, Sat. 2. 6. 19.

50-59. Illustrations of the rage for the ancients, the illogical character of which has been discussed. It is to be remembered throughout that we are not reading Horace's criticisms, but the cant phrases and stock judgments which are to be heard in the literary circles which he is laughing at.

50. *Ennius*: Od. 4. 8. 20, Epp. 1. 19. 7. The epithets are from the current language of the day. They rise from a tone which Horace would echo to a hyperbole ('a second Homer') which he would condemn.

51. *leviter curare videtur*. These words are rightly interpreted by Porph., as Bentley shows, '*securus iam de proventu laudis suae est Ennius propter quam ante sollicitus fuerat*'; 'he has attained now such assured fame (i.e. as one of the 'ancients'—Horace speaks with some irony) that he can afford to let his own professions and dreams of metempsychosis take their chance of being true or not.' Ennius, so Porph. further explains, in the beginning of the Annals had described a dream of his own in which he was assured that the soul of Homer had reappeared in his person: see Conington on Pers. S. 6. 10 and 11, Ennius, Annal. 15 (Vahlen).

52. *Pythagorea*. For Horace's tone towards Pythagorean tenets see introd. to Od. 1. 28; and cp. Epod. 15. 21, Sat. 2. 6. 63.

53. 'Nay, is not Naevius, who is still older and more crabbed, read and remembered by every one as though he wrote yesterday?'

mentibus haeret: so Cic. Tusc. 3. 2. 3 '*poetae qui audiuntur, leguntur, ediscuntur, et inhaerescunt penitus in mentibus.*'

55. In the talk of such literary circles the merits of Pacuvius and Accius are often discussed, but it is only to ask which is the greater poet, and what is the appropriate adjective to characterize each.

56. *docti, alti* are the cant epithets. Quintilian (10. 1. 97), doubtless with these words in mind, writes '*virium Accio plus tribuitur; Pacuvium videri doctiorem qui esse docti adfectant volunt.*'

Pacuvius: the nephew of Ennius, lived between B.C. 219 and 129.

senis, 'an ancient'; see on Sat. 2. 1. 34.

Accius was born B.C. 170, and was alive in B.C. 87. They were both tragic poets. For Accius see Sat. 1. 10. 53, A. P. 258.

57. *dicitur*: i.e. this is the talk.

toga. The form of expression is chosen (after the model of '*cothurnus*' for 'tragedy,' &c.) because Afranius wrote '*togatae*': to say that 'his gown was the very fit of Menander,' is to say that his comedies were of the character and value of Menander's.

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58. A line of doubtful meaning. Horace is giving, as in the other cases, not his own judgment, but the too favourable criticism of admirers of Plautus. Some explain *properare* of Plautus' rapidity of dramatic movement (cp. the phrase 'ad eventum festinat,' A. P. 148), or of the brightness and quickness of his dialogue. Others of the quick strides that he makes towards catching up his model. *Si cull* is a touch of learning on the part of the critics, and implies, by identifying him, 'the master,' 'Epicharmus,' the Dorian comic poet, was born at Cos B.C. 540, but spent his life in Sicily.

59. *vincere*. The comparison is between Caecilius and Terence, not between them and Plautus.

Caecilius : Caecilius Statius died B.C. 168, two years before the appearance of Terence's first play. Cicero (*de Opt. Gen. Orat.* 1. 2) gives him provisionally ('fortasse') the first place as a comic writer.

60-62. *hos . . . hos . . . hos*, 'these and these only.' 'These are the poets learnt by heart in schools; these are the dramatists that Romans will crowd into a close theatre to see acted; this is the complete and final list from the days of Livius Andronicus (the father of Roman literature, who began to exhibit tragedies in Rome 240 B.C.) to the present day.'

61. *potens*, 'this mighty Rome of ours': cp. *Od.* 4. 3. 13; but here, as Schütz points out, there is some irony in the epithet. A contrast is suggested between her greatness in other respects and her humble standard in literary taste. Cp. A. P. 289 f. 'Nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis Quam lingua Latium si non,' &c.

63. *rectum videt*: ὀρθὸν βλέπει.

est ubi peccat. 'Est ubi' as ἐστὶν ἐνθα, ἐστ' οπου, &c. Cicero (*Tusc.* 5. 8. 23) uses it with a subj. 'Est ubi id isto modo valeat.' For the indic. see on *Od.* 1. 1. 3 and *Epp.* 2. 2. 182. Possibly it is here, as in the latter case, preferred for a purpose. It is a single blunder that is in view.

66. *pleraque*, 'many,' not necessarily 'most,' things: see on the use of 'plerumque,' *Sat.* 1. 10. 15.

67. *ignave*, 'dully,' 'without spirit.' This is a worse charge than 'antique' or 'dure,' and so we pass from 'credit' to 'fatetur.'

68. *mecum facit*: *Epp.* 2. 2. 23; 'takes my side.'

Iove iudicat aequo, 'Jove smiles on its judgment,' i. e. it judges wisely. Cp. 'invita Minerva,' A. P. 385; 'Iove quidem irato fit ut errent homines et delirent,' *Porph.*

69. 'I do not go into the opposite extreme and rail against the ancient writers as fit only to be destroyed.'

Livi : Livius Andronicus, taken as a representative of the early writers. Cicero speaks (*Brutus* 18. 71) of his Latin *Odyssey* as a puzzle, 'opus aliquod Daedali,' and says of his plays that they were 'non satis dignae quae iterum legantur.'

70. *plagosum Orbilius*. Orbilius was a native of Beneventum, who set up a school in Rome in B.C. 63. Suetonius gives a short life of him among the 'illustres grammatici.' With respect to the

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 58-82

epithet he says 'fuit naturae acerbae non modo in antisophistas quos omni sermone laceravit sed etiam in discipulos, ut Horatius significat plagosum eum appellans, ut Domitius Marsus scribens "Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit." For other references to Horace's school days see Sat. 1. 6. 72 foll., Epp. 2. 2. 41 foll.

71. *dictare*: Sat. 1. 10. 75, Epp. 1. 1. 55, 1. 18. 13.

72. *exactis*, 'perfect.'

75. *duclt venditque*: the single happy word or neat line 'passes off the poem.' The metaphor of 'vendit' is common. Cp. Juv. S. 7. 135 'purpura vendit caudicem,' 'vendibilis orator,' Cic. Brut. 47. 174. That of 'ducit' is not so clear. It is usually taken of a gang of slaves for sale, the best *put in front*, and so making the lot look better than it is, 'ceterorum agmen ducit,' Ritter. Wilkins compares the Ciceronian metaphor 'familiam ducere,' lit. 'to be the foremost of a gang' of slaves: see King on Cic. Phil. 5. 11. 30.

76. *indignor* follows up the feeling of 'iniuste.' 'I feel keenly the injustice that this implies, that modern work should be blamed, not for its faults; but for being modern, that antiquity should be held not only (which it may be) an excuse for defects, but a ground of praise and preference in itself.'

orasse, 'of coarse texture': opp. 'tenui filo,' inf. v. 225.

79. *orocum floresque*, sc. 'scaenam . . . ubi flores sparguntur,' Acr. For the sprinkling of essence of saffron on the stage cp. Lucr. 2. 416 'Et cum scaena croco Cilici perfusa recens est,' Martial, 5. 25. 7 'rubro pulpita nimbo Spargere et effuso permaduisse croco.'

recte perambulet, to 'tread the boards without stumbling' is in the first place an adaptation of the common figurative use of 'stare,' 'cadere,' of theatrical success and failure: cp. vv. 174, 176. A comparison however of that passage makes it probable that the words are meant to hit by the way some special characteristic of Atta's plays. The most obvious explanation is that 'perambulare' (cp. Od. 4. 5. 17 n.), as contrasted with 'percurrere' in v. 174, implies a pompous style or slowness of movement. There are two more far-fetched suggestions, (1) of Porphyryon, that the whole expression refers not to treading the stage, but to a long list of flowers given in a special play named 'Matertera,' which is taken as a typical instance of his wordiness; (2) of Lambinus, that there is a play on the meaning of Atta which is said by Festus (s.v.) to have been a nickname of the poet, and to have meant 'one who walks with a tripping gait'; 'qui plantis insistunt et attingunt potius terram quam ambulant.'

Attae: T. Quinctius Atta, a writer of 'togatae,' died in B.C. 78. A few fragments and the titles of a few of his plays are all that remains of him.

81. *patres*: probably as 'centuriae seniorum,' A. P. 341. They represent the orthodox and middle-aged opinion.

82. *Aesopus . . . Rosolus*: the famous actors of Cicero's time; the former of tragedies (see on Sat. 2. 3. 239) 'summum artifex et

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semper partium in republica tam quam in scaena optimarum,' Cic. pro Sest. 56. 120; the latter of comedy. Cicero says of him (de Orat. 1. 28. 130) that his standard of perfection was so high that 'a Roscius in his own line' had become a proverb for a master in any art. 'Gravis,' 'doctus' suit these descriptions. They are meant, however, not to give original judgments, but to be the conventional epithets on the lips of the 'patres.' 'Ea quae . . . egit' is not to be limited to the plays of Atta, which indeed Aesopus, if, as seems likely, he was a tragic actor only, would not have acted. It is general; the 'patres' take it for granted that Horace's criticism on Atta is only a sample.

84. *minoribus*: A. P. 174.

86. *iam* marks a new point in the argument. 'This veneration for antiquity is only masked spite against contemporary genius.'

Numae: because the institution of the Salii was traced to Numa, Liv. 1. 20, 'Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta,' Quint. 1. 6. 40. See Wordsworth's *Fragm. of Anc. Latin*, pp. 562 foll.

89. *lividus*: Sat. 1. 4. 93 n.

92. *tereret*, 'thumb,' 'pore over'; 'teritur noster ubique liber,' Mart. 8. 3. 4, 'παίδεϊν Κύρου contriveram legendo,' Cic. ad Fam. 9. 25. 1.

virtitum . . . publicus usus. Orelli is right in seeing in 'publicus usus' a shadow of legal meaning. The art and literature of the Greeks are a public demesne, not their own private property, but that of all the world, of Romans also. 'Virtitum' adds that each could find in them what suited his taste. It gives the key to the description which follows of their variety. By a common poetical use the actions of an 'occupier' are attributed to the abstract 'occupation.'

93. *positis bellis*. For the expression cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 291 'Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis.' What Horace says finds a noticeable illustration in Arist. Pol. 5. 6 (Welldon's translation): 'As the increase of wealth afforded them better opportunities of leisure and quickened the moral aspirations of their souls, the result was, even before the Persian wars, and still more after them, in the full flush of their achievements, that they essayed every kind of education, drawing no line anywhere, but making experiments in all directions. Thus the use of the flute among other things was introduced into the educational curriculum.' Horace has probably in his mind particularly the age of Pericles at Athens as having followed that of the Persian war. This perhaps corresponded roughly in his view with the burst of literary life which followed the Punic wars at Rome (v. 162 foll.). But his purpose must be remembered: he is not fixing historically the beginning of Greek art and literature, for which purpose his words would be inadequate and misleading. It is the character, not the moment, that is in point. 'As soon as Greece had leisure for such things, her energy found vent in a hundred directions at once.'

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 82-106

nugari . . . in vitium labier. The contrast at the moment is with the more manly Roman standard from which 'graecari' (Sat. 2. 2. 11) was a declension: see on Epp. 1. 18. 49. But, as we shall see, both in the contrasted description of the Roman modes of using leisure (vv. 103-107), and when he apologizes (vv. 118 foll.) for their having taken to the pursuit of literature, his tone is half ironical. Literature is his own pursuit, and he is speaking to Augustus, who represents the imperial Roman spirit (Virg. Aen. 6. 847-853). Yet he is not really ashamed of the Muse, and he is conscious that the Emperor has some sympathy with him (Od. 3. 4. 37-40).

labier: for the form of inf. see Sat. 2. 3. 24.

95. He is thinking of the great national games and Pindar's celebration of them: see Od. 4. 2. 17 foll.

97. Cp. with the expression Sat. 2. 7. 95 n. and Virgil's 'stupet obtutuque haeret defixus in uno,' Aen. 1. 495, of Aeneas gazing on the pictures in the temple.

98. **tibioinibus**: cp. the passage quoted on v. 93 from Arist. Pol. 5. 6.

100. **reliquit**: the subject is 'Graecia.'

mature, 'quickly.'

101. This verse reads naturally enough as a summing-up of the preceding lines, 'so variable are the tastes of mankind!' Any difficulty that has been felt arises from the fact that v. 102 seems also to sum them up and from a different point of view. Many good editors follow Lachmann in thinking that the line was misplaced and should come after v. 107. It would then be the comment beforehand on the change of mind at Rome: 'mutabile' leading to 'mutavit . . . levis'; but see on v. 108.

102. **paces**, 'times of peace'; see on Epp. 1. 3. 8.

103. **dulce**: they asked no other pleasure.

sollemne: Epp. 1. 18. 49. The word describes the Roman precision and reverence for usage.

reclusa domo: for the purpose of receiving and advising clients; see on Od. 3. 5. 54, Epp. 1. 5. 31.

105. 'To open the cash-box when security is given and the borrower solvent.' 'Cavere pecuniam,' 'to guarantee money,' was a current legal phrase. **nominibus** may be the dat. after **expendere**, or the modal abl. with **cautos**. Cp. the use of 'nomina' in Sat. 1. 2. 16. **rectis**, 'right,' 'suitable,' is a variation for the usual 'bonis': cp. the saying of the 'fenerator Alfius' (quoted Epod. 2 introd.) 'vel optima nomina non appellando fieri mala.'

106. **maiores audire, minori dicere**, &c. The lines well describe two characteristics of Roman morality, its leaning on family tradition, and its close relation to thrift (note that **damnosa** means 'ruinous to pocket,' Epp. 1. 18. 21), but when read in the light of A. P. 323-332, where there is the same contrast of the Greek and Roman spirit in respect of fitness for art and literature, we must see some irony in the description. "Serious business"

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which is set up against literature, ends at Rome sooner or later in money-getting or money-saving.'

108. This is the place where it has been proposed to insert v. 101: but it is not needed. To say that all the world changes its tastes would weaken the force of 'populus levis,' the epithet substituted for 'gravis,' the traditional Roman characteristic. No one will take Horace's description 'au pied de la lettre.'

calet: of a fever. Orelli recalls Lucian's description (*Quomodo sit conscribenda historia* 1) of the epidemic at Abdera, which began with fever and ended in a rage for spouting tragic verses. Cp. also Juvenal's 'insanabile . . . scribendi cacoethes,' S. 7. 52.

110. **fronde**, 'leaves,' not flowers; leaves, that is, of bay or ivy, Od. 1. 1. 29, 3. 30. 16.

diotant, i.e. to an amanuensis; Sat. 1. 4. 10.

111-113. For the arguments based on these lines with regard to the date of the Epistle see Introduction to the Literary Epistles. The reference is clearly to Epp. 1. 1. 10 'et versus et cetera ludicra pono.'

112. **Parthis mendaaior**: Od. 4. 15. 23 'infidi Persae.'

113. **calamum**: Sat. 2. 3. 7.

scrinia: Sat. 1. 1. 120. What Horace asks for is the means of writing out fair and storing the verses with which his head is running over.

114 foll. The thoughts recur in A. P. 379 foll.

114. **habrotonum**, southernwood, much used in medicine: Plin. N. H. 21. 21. 92.

117. **indocti doctique**: whether we have learnt the art or not.

118-138. There is some irony in the way in which Horace first apologizes for poetry as a craze more harmless than many, and then bases his defence of it (for Romans) on utilitarian grounds; its uses in education, its office as a school of practical philosophy, its application to ritual.

118. **levis haec insania**: cp. 'amabilis insania,' Od. 3. 4. 6, and Sat. 2. 3. 320, where poetry is the final proof of madness.

119. **sic collige**: Sat. 2. 1. 51.

120. **non temere**: Sat. 2. 4. 35, Epp. 2. 2. 13; οὐ ῥαδίως.

122. **incogitat**, ἀναξ λ. Schütz collects from Horace instances of similar compounds, found rarely or never elsewhere: 'inaestuet' Epod. 11-15, 'inemori' Epod. 5. 34, 'involitant' Od. 4. 10. 3, 'insudet' Sat. 1. 4. 72, 'inamarescunt' Sat. 2. 7. 107.

123. **siliquis** stands for 'vegetable food' (so Pers. S. 3. 55, Juv. S. 11. 58). In this and the following verse Horace is perhaps thinking of himself.

pane secundo: Suet. Oct. 76 of Augustus 'secundarium panem . . . appetebat.' Contrast 'niveus mollique siligine factus,' Juv. S. 5. 70.

124. **militiae**: prob. the usual locative, 'in the field'; so 'acer militiae,' Tac. Hist. 2. 5.

malus: only in the sense of 'malus miles.'

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 106-143

126. **os . . . figurat**: the first use of poetry lessons is to train the child's pronunciation: see on Epp. 1. 20. 17, 18.

127, 128. **iam nunc . . . mox**. Even in those tender years poetry has in a negative and indirect way a moral influence in giving the ear a bias against coarse subjects and ways of speaking; presently it directly educates the heart by the precepts and examples which it conveys. The particles may be compared with Od. 4. 4. 5 foll. 'iam,' 'mox,' 'nunc,' of the stages in the eaglet's education.

130. **orientia tempora**, 'Each new time as it arises'; the figure, half conscious, is perhaps that of a star, the antithesis is with **notis**; poetry is a link between the generations, preserving the experience of one to be the guide of the next.

131. **inopem solatur et aegrum**. Ritter is probably right in taking these words as qualified, like 'instruit' by 'notis exemplis.' The way that poetry is to solace men in distress and soreness of heart, is by showing them illustrious examples of endurance and deliverance. Horace is no doubt attributing to the poet the offices usually claimed for the philosopher; but he has told us in Epp. 1. 2 how he discharges those offices.

132 foll. Cp. Od. 1. 21, 4. 6. 29-end, and the whole of the *Carm. Saec.*

134. **praesentia numina sentit**: cp. *Carm. Saec.* 57 to the end, and esp. vv. 73, 74.

135. **caelestis aquas**: Od. 3. 10. 19.

docta prece blandus, 'winning favour by the prayer which has been taught them'; for 'docta' cp. Od. 4. 6. 43, C. S. 75; for 'blandus' cp. Od. 3. 23. 18.

138. **Manes**, the 'good powers' of the world below; see on Epod. 5. 94.

139 foll. We resume the main subject in a sketch of the growth of Latin poetry from a rustic origin, the traces of which lingered long, yielding gradually to Greek influence, which was not brought to bear till late. This proves the unreasonableness of an indiscriminating preference for the ancient poets. Cp. the account of the origin of Latin dramatic poetry given in Virg. G. 2. 385 foll.

139. **fortes parvoque beati**: cp. 'fortem colonum,' Sat. 2. 2. 115, and Virgil's 'patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,' G. 2. 472.

141. **spe finis dura ferentem** describes their temper, not at this moment when the end has come, but during the toil that has preceded it.

142. His sons and his wife shared the labour (Sat. 2. 2. 115, Epod. 2. 39) and so share the relaxation.

143. **Tellurem**; Varro R. R. 1. 1. 4 places first among the gods 'qui maxime agricolarum duces sunt' Jove and Tellus.

Silvanum: Epod. 2. 22. For the offering of milk, Wilkins compares Virg. E. 7. 33, where it is offered to Priapus.

piabant . . . Genium: Od. 3. 17. 14, A. P. 210. The genius,

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as described in Epp. 2. 2. 187 foll., was the man's self, so that, translated out of mythological language, this is: 'Said to themselves, crown yourselves with flowers and drink, for to-morrow you die.'

145. **Fescennina licentia**: cp. Liv. 7. 2, in speaking of the first introduction of regular dramatic representations, 'histrionibus . . . qui non sicut ante Fescennino versu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant.'

147. **accepta**, 'welcomed.' There is an emphasis on **recurrentis per annos**. It was the ground of welcome and the whole-some limit; it came only once a year.

148. **ludit amabiliter**: the play was innocent.

149. **honestas**: A. P. 213.

150. **ire per domos**: 'to attack houses one after another.'

oruento dente: 'a tooth that drew blood'; for metaphor cp. Epp. 1. 18. 82.

151. **intactis**: cp. Sat. 2. 1. 23 'sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit.'

152. **super**: Od. 3. 8. 17 n., Epp. 2. 2. 24, A. P. 429.

lex: for the law against 'mala carmina' in the XII Tables see on Sat. 2. 1. 82.

154. **describi**: Sat. 1. 4. 3.

vertere modum, 'changed their strain.'

fustis, 'the cudgel,' a natural metaphor, especially where there is meant to be some satire in the description. Editors however generally suppose a reference to the punishment (so far as we know, only a military one inflicted on deserters, &c.) called 'fustuarium' (Cic. Phil. 3. 6. 14, Liv. 5. 6), which consisted in being beaten to death with cudgels and stones. They point out that in the XII Tables the penalty for libellous verse was death. It is doubtful whether Horace has the detail of the law in mind so accurately.

155. **bene dicendum**: the meaning is ruled by the contrast with 'malo carmine,' 'civil speaking.'

156. **Graecia capta . . . cepit**: cp. for the antithesis, though the thought is not the same, Cic. Brut. 73. 254 'quo uno vincebamur a victa Graecia.' Horace's points are that the impulse of culture came from Greece, the conqueror learning from the conquered, that therefore it came late; that roughness was the original characteristic of Roman literature slowly subdued, and never wholly lost. The point of 'Graecia capta' is therefore not to fix a date, whether it be the complete conquest of Greece in B.C. 146, or the expulsion of Pyrrhus and the capture of Tarentum in B.C. 275, 272, though both of these were epochs in the conquest and reconquest.

158. **numerus Saturnius**: the native Italian measure, in which Livius Andronicus wrote his adaptation of the Odyssey and Naevius his poem on the Punic war, but which was driven from the field by the Greek metres introduced by Ennius and later poets. A popular account of it is to be found in the preface to Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome. Its irregularity struck those who had

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 143-165

become familiar with Greek metres. Many attempts have been made to reduce to metrical law the specimens of the verse which we have, but it is coming to be believed (see Nettleship, *Journ. of Phil.* ii. p. 184) that (as is perhaps implied in the words of Servius on Virg. G. 2. 385 'Saturnio metro . . . quod ad rhythmum solum vulgares componere colebant') it rested on accent, not on quantity. With the epithet 'horridus' cp. Virgil (l. c.) 'versibus incomptis,' and Ennius (Ann. 7. 1) 'versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant, Cum neque Musarum scopulos quisquam superarat, Nec dicti studiosus erat.'

defluxit, 'the stream ran dry'; Epp. 1. 2. 42.

virus, 'rankness'; offences against good taste.

160. hodieque manent. As time has not spared to us the writings of which Horace speaks, we cannot estimate the 'rusticity' of which he complains.

161-167. The Scholiasts were no doubt right in taking the subject throughout these lines to be the 'ferus victor' of v. 156, 'the Roman'; the last four would suit perhaps more easily a personal subject, such as Accius or Pacuvius; but unless the text is faulty they cannot be separated from the first three, and in these Horace is evidently speaking of the people. There is a touch of irony in 'acumina,' 'quid utile,' after the description of their rusticity; the sharpness of their wit set to discover how Aeschylus, &c., could help them (*τί προύργου φέροι*).

162. post Punica bella quietus: when at rest after the wars with Carthage. Horace is perhaps thinking, so far as he particularized at all, of the period following the second Punic war, from B.C. 201, not taking account of the third, B.C. 146, since an active study of Greek literature went on in the early part of the second century B.C.; Aul. Gellius (17. 21. 45) quotes from Porcius Licinus the line 'Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.'

163. Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus. The three names represent Attic tragedy. Thespis is inserted as the traditional founder of it (see A. P. 276), though we are not to suppose that plays of his were studied by the Romans. Euripides, who was their real favourite (Quintil. 10. 1. 68), is omitted, possibly, as Prof. Wilkins says, for his unmetrical name.

164. 'He went on to make essay whether he could worthily translate them.' Schütz parallels the construction from Livy 1. 57 'temptata res est, si capi Ardea posset,' so id. 2. 35.

165. et placuit sibi. Horace rallies Roman poets on their self-complacency and ignorance of the exacting claims of art.

sublimis. The word is used frequently with a reference to the meanings of *μετώρος* (see on Od. 1. 15. 31), 'lifted off the ground' or 'with head in air'; whether literally, as in A. P. 457 of the poet who walks into a pit-fall, or metaphorically, from eagerness, as here, and in A. P. 165 of the young man 'sublimis cupidusque.' There is a flavour of caricature in the word.

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166. **spirat tragicum satis.** We are meant to feel some bathos in the minimizing adverb 'satis,' 'sufficiently,' after 'spirat tragicum,' 'has the true tragic breath' or inspiration. See on Od. 2. 16. 38.

feliciter audet, 'is happy in his ventures'—another phrase to which the connexion gives a suspicion of irony. Was Quintilian remembering the words when (without any irony) he characterizes Horace as 'variis figuris et verbis felicissime audax'?

167. **inscite, ἀπαίδευτος.**

lituram: A. P. 293, and cp. Sat. 1. 10. 72.

168 foll. The comic writers are still more apt to be lazy, thinking their subject excuses them; but the fact that the subject is within the experience of all makes us less tolerant of carelessness.

168. **ex medio:** as A. P. 243 'de medio'; 'from common ground' here = 'from daily life'; cp. 'in medio positorum,' Epp. 1. 12. 7 n.

171. **quo pacto.** Porph. explains 'quam indecenter,' and so many editors; but Schütz seems right in saying that abuse, all round, of Plautus does not suit the parallel case of tragedy vv. 166, 167. There the judgment was that the Roman writers had spirit and force but lacked industry. 'It was thought,' Horace has said, 'that the requirements of comedy were easier, but the truth is that failure there is more fatal because every one can perceive it.' 'Judge for yourselves':—he goes on—'look at Plautus; see how he draws his favourite characters; how he catches the very spirit of droll farce in his greedy parasites—yet how hasty and slipshod his style is.' I am taking for granted the second of the two interpretations of 'quantus sit Dossennus' discussed below. If the first were adopted we might still give a colourless meaning to 'quo pacto,' &c., the mingled praise and blame of 'quantus,' 'quam non adstricto' would be meant to be carried back in thought upon the case of Plautus from that of Dossennus.

172. **attenti,** 'careful'; with the special meaning of 'close with his money': Sat. 2. 6. 82, Epp. 1. 7. 91.

173. **quantus sit Dossennus.** This verse has caused much difficulty. The traditional explanation is of a writer of 'Atellanae' of the name of Dossennus. 'How great Dossennus is in his greedy parasites.' This was clearly intended by Porph., and the Comm. Cruq. gives distinctly 'Dossennus Atellanarum scriptor,' and the view is still supported by Schütz as it was by Orelli. The only extraneous references to such a writer that can be quoted are (1) words of Pliny, N. H. 14. 13 (15) in explaining 'murrhina,' 'Fabius Dossennus his versibus decernit: Mittebam vinum pulchrum, murrhinam: et in Acharistione: Panem et polentam vinum murrhinam.' Opponents notice that 'decernit' is a phrase which suits those who quote verses as well as those who compose them, and that Nonius quotes the Acharistio as a play of Plautus. (2) Seneca's 'inscriptus Dossenni monumento titulus: Hospes resiste et sophiam Dossenni lege,' Epist. 89, which carries us a very little way, as the only question being discussed is whether 'sophia'

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 166-179

was a word used in earlier Latin. Dossennus (or 'Dorsennus') was certainly a Roman cognomen, being found on coins of the 'gens Rubria.' It probably meant 'humpbacked.' Meanwhile it has been conjectured with some plausibility that the word, which is found in two fragments of Atellanae by Pomponius Bononiensis, and in Festus s. v. 'temetum' ('Novius in duobus Dossennis,' i. e. 'Novius, the writer of Atellanae, in his play, the two Dossenni'), and restored with more or less probability in several other places, was, like Bucco, Maccus, &c., the name of a standing character in the Atellanae. Horace then will be speaking throughout of Plautus, 'how thoroughly in his greedy parasites he reproduces the "Dossennus" of farce.' If we accept Müller's emendation in Varr. de Ling. Lat. 7. 95 'manducari a quo in Atellanis Dossennum (MSS. ad obseum) vocant manducum,' the Dossennus would be the glutton; but it is not certain, and from the word itself we should rather guess that it belonged to the personal deformity, which was traditional in the character, and gave no clue to the character itself.

174. *non adstricto socco*: cp. Sat. I. 3. 31 'male latus calceus'; here of the 'sock' or slipper which was to comedy what the 'cothurnus' was to tragedy, A. P. 80, 90; in 'slipshod' style.

percurrat adds the idea of 'hasty'; cp. 'properare,' v. 58.

175. *nummum*: the sing. is contemptuous; 'he is in such a hurry to drop a coin into his purse that he does not stay to finish his work.'

oculos: see on Sat. I. 3. 17.

176. *securus*: for the construction see on Sat. 2. 4. 50.

cadat an stet: see on v. 79. 'Stare' is used frequently of a play succeeding, as Ter. Phorm. prol. 9 'quum stetit olim nova Actoris opera magis stetit quam sua.' 'Cadat' recalls the Greek ἐκπίπτειν. Cicero puts the two together, but with a more distinct reference to wrestlers, Orat. 28. 98, of an orator, 'minimeque in lubrico versabitur et si semel constiterit numquam cadet.'

recto talo: perhaps from the Greek as Pind. Isthm. 6. 12 ὀρθῶ ἕστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῶ, or by Pers. S. 5. 104 'recto vivere talo.' On the charge against Plautus of writing for money see Sellar, Poets of the Republic, p. 164.

177 foll. Plautus has too little thought of the spectators, others have too much.

177. *ventoso Gloria curru*. The power of glory to carry men away is touched in a still stronger metaphor in Sat. I. 6. 23 'trahit constrictos Gloria curru.' 'Ventoso'—a figure within the figure; the chariot of glory is 'windy,' because glory itself is as unsubstantial and as variable as the wind. 'Ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem,' Virg. Aen. II. 708.

178. *lentus*, 'languid.'

sedulus, 'attentive.'

179. *laudis avarum*: A. P. 324. Note the link in this phrase to the last paragraph. It matches the φιλότιμος against the φιλόχρηματος.

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180. *valeat res ludicra*, i.e. 'that is a reason for not writing for the stage.'

181. *reducit*: Od. 4. 2. 17 'Quos Elea domum reducit Palma caelestis.'

182 foll. 'There is a stronger reason in the bad taste of audiences who care now for nothing but shows.' It will be noticed that Horace has come down to his own time, but the complaint of the preference of rope-dancers and gladiators to the drama is as old as Terence. See both prologues to the *Hecyra*.

182. *audacem*, 'one who faces the risk just spoken of.' The metaphors pass into one another. 'He is frightened by the "numero plures" and their militant eagerness for spectacles.'

183. For the different views taken by different parts of the house cp. Sat. 1. 10. 76 foll., A. P. 113, 248.

184. *depugnare*, 'to fight to the death': Od. 1. 3. 13 n.

185. *carmina*: here of dramatic poetry, as in A. P. 220.

186. *plebecula*: the diminutive of contempt, as 'popello,' Epp. 1. 7. 65. '

188. *incertos*, 'restless.'

189. *aulaea premuntur*: A. P. 154; 'the curtain is kept down,' i.e. the performance continues. The curtain, as is well known, was drawn upwards; not, as with us, let fall, Virg. G. 3. 25, Ov. Met. 3. 111. What is described is apparently military spectacles, processions, &c., introduced into plays, such as Cicero describes himself as being bored with, ad Fam. 7. 1. 2 'quid enim delectationis habent sescenti muli in Clytaemnestra? aut in Equo Troiano craterarum tria milia? aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt delectationem tibi nullam attulissent.' 'Fugiunt,' therefore, in v. 190, possibly describes a battle-scene (as Porph. took it)—the subsequent triumph being introduced by 'mox' in v. 191. 'Fugiunt' might also be taken (as 'festinant' in v. 192) for 'pass rapidly.'

191. *trahitur*: Od. 4. 2. 34.

manibus retortis: Od. 3. 5. 22 n.

regum fortuna: a poetical variation; what the eye sees is the kings; but they are to the mind a picture passing before it of the vicissitudes to which kings are liable.

192. *essedae*, *pilenta*, *petorrita*, 'chariots of every shape and kind.' Perhaps this is all that is meant. The Scholiasts treat them as belonging to the different parts of the triumphal procession; 'essedae' (the war-chariots of the Belgae and Britanni, familiar in Caesar) being those in which the captive princes rode; the 'pilenta' (used in processions by Roman matrons, Liv. 5. 25, and to carry sacred vessels, &c., Virg. Aen. 8. 666) for the captive princesses; and 'petorrita' (see on Sat. 1. 6. 104) for their households. Nettleship suggested that in these, as in the words that follow, the triumphs over different nations are indicated.

193. *captiva Corinthus*. The antithesis with *captivum ebur* perhaps fixes the meaning to 'spoils of Corinthian brass.' Otherwise

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 180-214

we might take it of a model or picture such as was frequently carried in a triumph. Cicero (Pis. 25. 60) enumerates 'simulacra oppidorum' among the features of a triumph, and Livy 37. 59 speaks of Scipio Asiaticus as having so exhibited the 'simulacra' of 134 towns. Corinth would be named typically as recalling the richest of Roman triumphs. The Scholiasts offer both explanations.

194. **Democritus**, the laughing philosopher; see on Epp. 1. 12. 12, A. P. 297. Cp. Juv. S. 10. 28 f., where he is imagined as laughing at the fantastic pomp of the praetor's train at the games.

195. **diversum genus** may be the nom. in apposition, or an acc. constructed as in Virgil's 'Delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum,' Aen. 3. 428. A camelopard, according to Pliny, N. H. 8. 18. 27, was first seen at Rome in the 'ludi circenses' given by Julius Caesar.

198. **nimio**: with **plura**, 'very much more,' i.e. than the games. See on 'plus nimio,' Od. 1. 18. 15. It is difficult choosing between this reading, and 'mimo' = 'histriionibus.'

199. 'He would think those who take the trouble to write plays foolish for their pains.'

asello surdo. Lambinus remarked that Horace has put together two proverbial expressions for wasted labour, 'to speak to the deaf' (as Ter. Heaut. 2. 1. 10) and to 'speak to an ass,' ὄνον τις ἔλεγε μῦθον ὁ δὲ τὰ ὄτρα ἐκίπτε.

201. **evaluere**: Virg. Aen. 7. 756. The preposition expresses the effort required. For the noises of the audience cp. A. P. 81.

202. **Garganum nemus**: Od. 2. 9. 7 'querceta Gargani.'

203. **artes**, 'works of art': Od. 4. 8. 5.

204. **oblitus**, 'bedizened': there is a sting in the word, as though the ornaments were laid on with too coarse a hand.

206. **nil sane**, 'absolutely nothing': Sat. 2. 3. 138.

207. **veneno**, 'dye'; Virg. G. 2. 465; see on Od. 3. 5. 28. The purple dye of Tarentum is praised by Pliny, N. H. 9. 39. 63.

208-210. **ne forte putes . . . ille**, &c., 'for fear you should think . . . let me say that he,' &c. A Lucretian formula (Lucr. 2. 844, 4. 129); cp. Od. 1. 33. 1 n.; Epp. 1. 1. 13, 1. 19. 26.

recusem. The word suggests, but does not prove, that Horace had been pressed to write for the stage.

209. **maligne**, 'grudgingly'; so as to 'damn with faint praise.'

210. **per extentum funem . . . ire**: a proverb of something very difficult.

211. **inaniter**, 'by mere illusion.' In 'angit' 'terroribus' there is reference to the pity and terror which, according to Aristotle, are the instruments of tragedy.

213. **ut magus**: as one who is master of the 'terrores magici,' Epp. 2. 2. 208.

214. **verum age**: a formula of transition like Lucretius' frequently repeated 'Nunc age'; but Horace here goes with Virgil (G. 4. 329, Aen. 7. 429, 12. 832) in joining a second imperative by

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'et' rather than (as Lucretius does, and as he does himself in the case of 'nunc age,' Sat. 2. 3. 224, Epp. 1. 14. 31) treating 'age' as a pure exclamation—'Nunc age quod superest cognosce,' Lucr. 1. 266.

his, 'these of whom' Horace would imply 'I am one.' The personal reference of the last lines, and especially the confession of his own taste 'quae facere ipse recusem,' have prepared the way for this transition from those who write for the stage to those who write for readers.

215. **fastidia ferre superbi**: Virg. E. 2. 15 'superba pati fastidia.'

216. **redde**, ἀπόδος, 'render,' as due.

munus Apolline dignum, i.e. the Palatine library. See introd. to Od. 1. 31; also Epp. 1. 3. 17, 2. 2. 93.

217. **addere calcar**: as Cicero's 'admove,' 'adhibere calcar,' ad Att. 6. 1, Brut. 56.

218. **Helicon virentem**, i.e. poetry with all its charms.

219. **multa quidem**: concessive answering to 229; 'granted that we poets give trouble, and by our own fault, yet it is worth while to spend pains on us.'

220. **ut vineta**, &c., 'to put the knife to my own vineyard,' i.e. to criticize myself and my friends. The nearest likeness quoted for this proverbial expression is Tibull. 1. 2. 100 'quid messis uris acerba tuas?' It is in accordance with Horace's habitual irony to include himself in his criticism on the want of taste shown by his contemporaries.

221. **sollicito aut fesso**. For Horace's own care in the matter see Sat. 2. 1. 18, Epp. 1. 13. 3 'Si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet.'

laedimur. For the touchiness of poets under criticism cp. A. P. 438 foll.

223. **loca**. Cic. and Quintil. always use 'loci' as the plur. in this literary sense of 'passages.'

revolvimus, 'unroll again,' i.e. to read a second time.

irrevocati: 'revocare' was used of an actor who is 'called to repeat a performance'; as Cic. Sest. 56. 120 'revocabatur ab universis (Roscius)'; also of a poet at a 'recitation,' Arch. 8. 18 'quotiens hunc Archiam vidi revocatum eandem rem dicere commutatis verbis atque sententiis.'

224. **non apparere**, 'are not perceived,' 'are not properly recognized.'

225. **tenui deducta filo**, 'with how fine a thread the poems are spun.' See on Sat. 2. 1. 4.

227. **commodus**: see on Od. 4. 8. 1.

229. **est operae pretium**: a formula of transition from Ennius; see Sat. 2. 4. 63.

230. **aedituos**. Poets are the *ιεροφύλακες* of the temple raised to the 'virtus Augusti.' Cp. Virg. G. 3. 10 foll.

belli domique, with *spectata*; cp. Epp. 1. 20. 23.

232. **ille Choerilus**: A. P. 357. An epic poet of Iasos in Caria

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 214-246

who attached himself to Alexander; to be distinguished from two other poets who bore the same name: (1) an Athenian tragic poet B. C. 523-483, (2) a Samian contemporary and friend of Herodotus who wrote an epic poem on the Persian war.

233. **male natis**: 'ill bred,' not the children of true poetic spirit. See note on Od. 1. 27. 1 and add Sat. 2. 3. 8, A. P. 122, 377. **versibus** is the dat. after 'rettulit acceptos'; 'set down to the credit of his verses,' 'owed to them'; a phrase from book-keeping. Ovid imitates, 'Acceptum refero versibus esse nocens,' Trist. 2. 10.

234. **regale nomisma**, 'from a king's own mint.' He exalts the price, as we might talk of 'broad gold pieces.' 'Philippi' bore the name of the great Philip, and were from the time of their coinage the chief gold coin of Greece.

235-237. 'As you cannot handle black fluids without getting stained, so you can hardly have bad poetry written about you without your reputation suffering.'

235. **remittunt**: Sat. 2. 4. 69, 2. 8. 53; 'produce,' give you in return for handling them.

237. **linunt**: Epp. 1. 19. 30 'quem versibus oblinat atris.'

239. **edioto**. Cicero refers to the same story, ad Fam. 5. 12. Plutarch tells us that the best representations of Alexander's person were those of Lysippus, whom alone he allowed to take him; also that Apelles drew him with thunderbolts in his right hand.

240. **alius Lysippo**, 'another than Lysippus.' Epp. 1. 16. 20 'alium sapiente.'

duceret aera, 'mould the brass,' a slight extension of the more usual construction of 'ducere' with an accus. of that which is formed of the metal, as Virg. Aen. 7. 634 'levis ocreas lento ducunt argento.'

241. **simulantia**: A. P. 20.

242. **subtile**, 'fine,' 'discriminating'; Sat. 2. 7. 101, 2. 8. 38.

videndis artibus. It is hard to say whether this is a dative = 'ad videndas artis' or an abl. of the point in which the adjective applies. For 'artibus' see on v. 203, and notice that in Od. 4. 8. 5 it is used, as here, of 'works of art' in special opposition to works of literature.

244. **Boeotum**, gen. plur. Cp. Juv. S. 10 50 'Vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.' For the proverbial stupidity of the Boeotians, cp. Pind. Ol. 6. 152 ἀρχαίων δνείδος . . . Βοιωτίαν δν. It was attributed to the heavy air of their valleys and lake basins, and specially contrasted with the λαμπρότατος αἰθήρη (Eur. Med. 829) of Athens. Cp. Cic. de Fato 4. 7 'Athenis tenuae caelum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici, crassum Thebis itaque pingues Thebani.'

245 foll. 'Your patronage of Virgil and Varius brings you no such discredit.' 'Vergilius Variusque' are the subjects of 'dedecorant,' they stand and are also constructed in the relative clause.

246. **munera**. The Comm. Cruq. annotates that each of these poets had received 'decies,' i.e. a million sesterces, from Augustus.

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multa dantis cum laude, 'to the credit of the giver.' They were 'digni pro laude merentis,' Epp. 1. 7. 24.

247. **Vergilius Variusque poetae**: 'poetae'=those true poets; see on Sat. 1. 4. 1. Virgil is coupled with 'Varius,' as in Sat. 1. 5. 40, 1. 6. 55, 1. 10. 44, 81; A. P. 55. Virgil was no doubt dead when this was written.

248. **expressi**: A. P. 33 'unguis exprimet . . . aere.' With the thought cp. Od. 4. 8. 13 foll. Cicero, pro Arch. 12. 30 'An cum statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerint, consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum nostrarum effigiem non multo malle debemus summis ingeniis expressam et politam?'

250. **sermones**: Epp. 1. 4. 1 and 2. 2. 60. Here it covers the Epistles as well as the Satires. For the meaning of the term see Intro. to the Satires, § 5. 'Repentis per humum' answers to Sat. 2. 6. 17, 'Satiris Musaque pedestri.'

252. **terrarum situs**, 'how lands lie.' We notice how the topics which Horace speaks of here as those which, if he became a court poet, he must handle, are just those of Odes 4, 5, 14, 15 of Book 4. For the bearing of these lines on the date of the Epistle see Intro. to the Literary Epistles. With their tone cp. Od. 1. 6, 2. 12, 4. 2, and Sat. 2. 1. 10-20.

arces montibus impositas: cp. 'arces Alpius impositas,' Od. 4. 14. 11.

253. **tuis auspiciis**: see Od. 4. 14. 16, 34 n.

255. **Ianum**: Od. 4. 15. 9 n.

256. **te princeps**: cp. 'te duce' in Od. 1. 2. 52. For the Parthians see Epp. 1. 12. 27, 28 n., and intro. to Odes 1-3. 1. § 8.

257. **si quantum cuperem, possem quoque**: cp. Sat. 2. 1. 12 'cupidum, pater optime, vires deficiunt.' Porph. quotes as the original a saying of Aristarchus, 'nec se posse scribere quemadmodum vellet, neque velle quemadmodum posset.'

259. **ferre recusant**: A. P. 39.

260. **sedulitas**: for the word and for the thought cp. Epp. 1. 13. 5.

261. **praecipue cum** depends not on 'urget,' but on 'stulte urget'; the folly of officious affection is never so apparent as when it expresses itself in bad verses, for the worse the verses the better they are remembered, and so the more effectually they bring ridicule on their object.

numeris et arte, 'numbers and their art,' 'the poetic art,' a hendiadys.

262. **discit**: the subject is to be gathered from 'quis' in the rel. clause.

264. **nil moror**: Epp. 1. 15. 16. 'A fig, say I, for an attention which annoys me.' Horace justifies the emperor's supposed dislike for bad panegyric by adopting it as his own. Suetonius speaks of Augustus' anxiety on the point, 'ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit, recitantis et benigne et patienter audiit, nec tantum carmina

BOOK II, EPISTLE I, 246—EPISTLE II

et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. Componi tamen aliquid de se nisi serio et a praestantissimis offendeatur, admonebatque praetores ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus (speeches at the beginning of the games) obsolefieri,' Oct. 89.

neque . . . nec, 'I would no more choose to be complimented in bad verse than to be caricatured in wax.' For the use of 'neque' . . . nec,' see on Od. 3. 5. 27.

flecto in peius: so Plin. Epist. 5. 10 'pictores pulchram absolutamque formam raro nisi in peius effingunt.' Orelli quotes from Aelian V. H. 4. 4 *εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον μμείσθαι, εἰς τὸ χεῖρον πλάσαι*.

265. **proponi oereus**, 'to be offered for sale in wax'; cp. 'aeneus ut stes,' Sat. 2. 3. 183, also Od. 4. 1. 20. Masks in wax of deceased ancestors are frequently spoken of. No other passage is quoted for this practice as applied to living persons, unless Fannius is a case in point 'delatis capsis et imagine,' Sat. 1. 4. 22. Kiessling interprets of a waxen image of Augustus as one of the Lares.

267. **rubeam**, 'blush for shame.'

pingui, 'coarse,' 'stupid,' Sat. 1. 3. 58, 2. 6. 14.

et una, &c., 'lest my name share the same fate as his writings.'

268. **capsa porrectus operta**: the words are chosen to suggest that the 'box' in which the copies of the worthless poem are conveyed to the grocers' shops is the coffin in which the hero of the poem goes to be buried in oblivion.

Some editors have given 'aperta,' a reading only of some later MSS., thinking that the 'open box' or 'open coffin' would imply more contempt. This seems doubtful. The rich were carried in an open bier, 'feretrum,' to the funeral pyre; the poor were buried in coffins, 'vili in arca,' Sat. 1. 8. 9. For 'porrectus' of the dead cp. Epod. 10. 22. Porph. seems to have read 'corruptus.'

269. **vicum**: probably the 'vicus Tuscus' or 'Turarius,' which was occupied by provision shops of all kinds; see on Sat. 2. 3. 228.

270. Cp. Catull. 95. 7 'Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam Et laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.' Persius (1. 43) combines the reminiscence of Catullus and Horace, 'nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus.'

EPISTLE II

TO FLORUS

Horace's reasons for refusing to write more lyrics.

Verses 1-24. YOU complain of my not writing to you; but you are out of court. I told you before you started that you must not expect it.

24, 25. You complain again that I do not send you any lyric poems as you think I promised.

26-54. (1) You forget the history of my writing poetry.

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I am like Lucullus' soldier—when his pocket was empty he would volunteer for forlorn hopes; when it was full again he would do so no more. I had a good education at Rome and Athens, and was started on the studies of philosophy. The civil war carried me off in its current, and eventually sent me home a beggar. It was then I began to write poetry: but I am not mad enough to do it now I have a competence.

55-57. (2) Whatever power I had is leaving me.

58-64. (3) You ask for lyric poetry, but others admire Epodes, others Satires. Which is it to be?

65-70. (4) Above all other reasons, how do you think I can possibly write poems at Rome, in the press of duties?

70, 71. You say, 'Oh! you can write in the streets.'

72-80. Can you? No; poetry requires quiet, woodland scenes.

81-86. Think of the difference between me and the real student—pedant, perhaps you would say.

In this noisy world I cannot stoop to write poetry.

87-105. 'Stoop?' Yes; because the only way to get such poetry as I could write accepted is to join a clique of mutual admiration. I was obliged to do something in this way when I did write; but do not ask me to go back to it.

106-125. Perhaps you mean, and perhaps it is true, that it is best contentedly to write bad poetry. Writing good poetry is a very serious business. The poet has to criticize himself severely. The ease you admire is won by efforts which cost him torture.

126-140. And is it worth the pains? To lose one's illusions is not unmixed gain, as the man at Argos found out.

141-144. But to be serious. It *is* time to wake up to the true purposes of life. Poetry must go among other playthings fit only for boys.

145. So I am trying to get by heart the teachings of philosophy.

[He begins accordingly with single commonplaces on Avarice (the passion usually attacked first, see Sat. i. 1), but presently slides into a philosophical lecture in his own person and in his usual style.]

146-148. If you found a physical thirst growing insatiable you would be alarmed and go to a doctor. Why are you less anxious about a thirst of the soul?

149-157. If it was clear a prescription did you no good, you would give it up. The world prescribes getting as a remedy for avarice—you find it makes you no better; why do you go on with it?

158-182. Cut at the roots of avarice by learning that property itself is a mere dream. The lawyers tell us 'use confers ownership.' They might go further: use *is* ownership, in the only true sense of that word. Real ownership is barred by the limitations of human life. What is the good then of accumulating wealth in all its various forms?

182-204. I do not value it. If you ask why, I can only say 'it is

BOOK II, EPISTLE II

my idiosyncrasy.' I am for enjoying, yet I know how to draw the line short of extravagance and live in the happy mean.

205-212. You say you are free from avarice. Well, are you free from other passions too? It is little to get rid of one if others remain.

213-end. Right living is an art. If you have not learnt it, it is time to give place to those who have. If life is a banquet, you have had your share and had better retire betimes.

The natural explanation of the Epistle is that some fresh and unusual pressure has been put upon Horace to induce him to abandon the abstention from further lyric composition which he announced in Epp. 1. 1, possibly by Florus, as representing the younger generation of sympathetic men of letters, possibly by Tiberius, through Florus, desiring that celebration of his youthful exploits which a few years later Horace accorded to him. Horace throws into the shape of a letter to Florus his reasons for maintaining his resolve. They are in form to a great extent playful and satirical. The description of the motives which alone drove him to write poetry are not meant to be taken quite literally, though he would have us understand that philosophy was genuinely his first love. So the further excuses, which amount pretty much to 'I am not in the mood for lyric verse,' are all put in a paradoxical and humorous way.

'I am too old'; but lyric poetry is treated (in the same ironical vein as in Od. 4. 1) as concerned wholly with 'love, banquets, wine.' 'You ask for Odes, but others prefer my Epodes or Satires,' as though his success in so many lines made a fresh difficulty in taking again to one. 'Rome is too noisy,' as if he lived always in Rome and could not escape to his Sabine valley. Then comes a satirical passage in which he hits the more popular but less high-minded poets of the day, 'success in poetry in these days means the condescending to puff and be puffed'; cp. Epp. 1. 19. 35-41. Then a more serious one, in which in describing what poetry in his sense means ('legitimum,' 'according to the laws of true art') the toil and fastidious self-criticism that it involves, he seems to be describing, and in glowing and sympathetic words, the methods and achievements of his friend, whether recently dead or still alive—the poet Virgil. Then again an ironical passage. 'The world sees in such a poet how easily and smoothly his verses flow, and little thinks of the agony which they have cost the composer. But, after all, isn't it better to be able contentedly to write bad verses? But,' and here finally he becomes serious, 'my true reason is that my mind is full of life and its problems. Is not yours also?'

The Epistle will naturally be compared—

1. With Epp. 1. 1, which handles the same theme. It will be noticed that any arguments for a later date for this Epistle, based on its language about the poet's advancing years (vv. 55 f.) are

THE EPISTLES OF HORACE

answered beforehand by the parallel 'solve senescentem' of Epp. 1. 1. 8. What he says here is very greatly an expansion of the 'non eadem est aetas, non mens' of that Epistle. The change lies (1) in the fuller space given to the arguments against a return to his old pursuit, which means probably (as has been said) that the question was for some reason, external or internal, becoming a more pressing one to him; (2) in the greater mellowness and confidence with which he sets forth the philosophy of life to which he has attained.

2. With Epp. 1. 3. It is one of two instances, besides those addressed to Maecenas, of a second Epistle to the same person; and it is interesting, as illustrating the reality of the personal element even in the more general Epistles, to trace the identity of the line taken towards Florus in the two. It is, in both, the young man of letters to whom Horace speaks naturally and freely on literary topics, assuming the mutual interest of each in the other's pursuits, but to whom he is disposed to hold up 'divine philosophy' as a better medicine of the soul than either literature or the ambitions of practical life.

1. The address serves to dedicate the Epistle to Tiberius as well as Florus: see introd. to the Literary Epistles.

bono claroque. For the praise of Tiberius see Epp. 1. 9. 4. It belongs to the early part of his life, in which even Tacitus describes him as 'egregium vita fama quoad privatus vel in imperiis sub Augusto fuit,' Ann. 6. 51. 5.

3. **Tibure vel Gabiis.** The vendor supposed is not a slave-dealer (see v. 13), but a neighbour who can tell you all about the boy he is selling.

5. **flet eritque:** an imitation of legal verbiage.

milibus octo: probably a very moderate price for a slave of such origin and capacities; and if so, it is part of the warning which the purchaser received that there was a flaw. It is the sum which Columella (3. 3) names as a fair price for a skilled farm labourer (or vine-dresser). Davus in Sat. 2. 7. 43 speaks of himself, but perhaps in purposed depreciation, as purchased for 500 drachmae, which would be about a quarter of this sum.

6. **ad nutus erilis** takes the place of an adj. to **ministeriis**, 'services at a master's beck.'

7. **litterulis Graecis imbutus.** A useful accomplishment, as it fitted him to be a reader ('lector') or copying clerk ('librarius'). Both the diminutive and the part. 'imbutus' ('with a tincture') disparage its amount. It is not the cue of the seller to seem to make much of the slave's merits.

8. **imitaberis,** 'the clay is still moist, you will be able to mould it as you like.' Persius had in mind Horace's metaphorical use of the image in 'udum et molle lutum es,' &c., 3. 23.

9. **canet indoctum sed dulcoe:** for adverbial acc. cp. Epp. 1. 7. 27 'dulce loqui, ridere decorum.'

BOOK II, EPISTLE II, 1-16

dulce bibenti: 'quo tempore faciliores sumus ad veniam etiam servulis dandam,' Orell.

10. **levant:** as Comm. Cruq. 'leviorem faciunt, minuunt.' He suggests that he might promise much more if he had not this fear before his eyes.

11. **extrudere** seems to mean 'to get rid of,' with the idea that some force is required for the purpose.

12. **meo in aere**, i.e. not in debt; as Cicero opposes 'in suis nummis' to 'in aere alieno,' Verr. 4. 6. 11. For **pauper** see on Od. 1. 1. 18.

13. **mangonum**, 'the slave-dealers'; Juv. S. 11. 147: see Mayor's note.

14. **cessavit**, 'was lazy.' Cp. Sat. 2. 7. 100 'nequam et cessator Davus.'

ut fit, 'as boys will do.' An innocent colour is put on it.

15. **in scalis.** This is taken either with **latuit** or with **penderitis**. In the first case the stairs are named as a hiding-place, as in Cic. Mil. 15. 40 and Phil. 2. 9. 21 Clodius is said to have taken refuge 'in scalarum tenebras,' 'in scalas tabernae'; 'penderitis' will then mean 'on the peg,' i.e. hung up for use and for the warning of the slaves. But possibly the second is best. The boy is supposed really to have run away. To say 'latuit' is fair, 'he couldn't be found.' 'In scalis latuit' is too definite a 'suggestio falsi.'

16. I follow Bentley in taking this line as the conclusion of the seller's speech, 'Put down the money, unless, which I can't think, the exception I have made of his having "run away" troubles you.' **laedit** is the reading of V, accepted by the same editor, and is perhaps preferable in sense to 'laedat.' The subj., by making it a regular conditional sentence, gives more prominence and possibility to the difficulty. The ind. makes it parenthetical, an afterthought, and assumes that the drawback named does not 'trouble' the customer. Others make 'des[tu]... ille ferat' two parallel clauses of the apodosis to 'si quis,' &c., vv. 2, 3. It seems essential that the damaging word 'fuga' should be actually used by the seller, even though its effect has been discounted by explanations which make it come, when used, almost as if it were in jest. It is difficult also in this interpretation to see any purpose in the condition. It is a truism to say 'you would pay the money, if you were satisfied with the terms.' Another objection is that any such double apodosis divided between the purchaser and the vendor implies a correspondent division of the lesson of the apologue between Florus and Horace, whereas in the interpretation (v. 20 foll.) Horace only is concerned. The whole moral is 'You must not expect more than you were promised.'

excepta. For the use of 'excipere,' and for another reference to the obligation on a vendor of a slave to warn the purchaser of defects, see Sat. 2. 3. 286 'mentem nisi litigiosus Exciperet dominus cum venderet.' The law of the question is stated by Cicero in de Off. 3. 17. 71 'in Mancipiorum venditione venditoris fraus omnis

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excluditur. Qui enim scire debuit de sanitate, de fuga, de furtis, praestat edicto aedilium.' The morality is discussed in de Rep. 3. 19.

18. **prudens emisti**. Horace adopts the measured tone of counsel advising a would-be litigant, or of a judge dismissing the case.

dicta tibi est lex; best taken, after Porph., 'cum condicione emisti,' 'you were told the conditions of sale.'

19. **lite moraris iniqua**, your action is 'frivolous and vexatious.'

21. **mea**, 'on my side.' It stands first in the sentence, to match **rediret** (which means 'in answer to yours') at the end of it: see Introduction.

23. **mecum facientia**: Epp. 2. 1. 68. It is a Ciceronian phrase, as Caecin. 28. 79 'rem et sententiam interdicti mecum facere fatebatur.'

24. **attemptas**, 'attack,' 'attempt to shake.' It seems also a legal term.

super hoc: perhaps best 'about this,' as Od. 3. 8. 17, 4. 2. 42, C. S. 18; Epp. 2. 1. 152; A. P. 429. Orelli takes it, as Sat. 2. 6. 3, as 'besides this'; the object clause **quod**, &c. depending directly on **quereris**.

25. **carmina**, sc. lyrical poems, as we see in v. 59; see also v. 91 n.

mendax, 'breaking my promise.' Cp. Epp. 1. 7. 2.

26. For the abrupt introduction of the apologue cp. Epp. 1. 7. 46. **Luculli miles**, a soldier 'serving under Lucullus, in the war against Mithridates'; see v. 30 'praesidium regale.' Keller points out that the fixing of this story on one of Lucullus' soldiers corresponds with what Plutarch tells us in his life of Lucullus (ch. 33 and 35), of his unpopularity with his men; that they would reject his greeting, showing him their empty purses, and bidding him advance alone to dangers from which he alone would grow rich.

viatica must have meant originally equipment or travelling money; but it seems to be used for a soldier's savings or private purse; see Tac. Ann. 1. 37. 2.

27. **ad assem**, to the last 'as'; after the model of 'ad unum.'

28. **vehemens lupus**, 'a very wolf in his fury.' Cp. Virgil's simile for a forlorn hope, Aen. 2. 355 'lupi ceu Raptores,' &c.

30. **regale**: see above on v. 26.

deiecit, 'dislodged,' a military term; see on Od. 4. 14. 13.

ut atunt, 'so goes the story'; Epp. 1. 6. 40, 1. 7. 49, 1. 17. 18.

32. **honestis**, 'gifts of honour,' the 'corona muralis,' e.g. as contrasted with the substantial rewards of the following words.

33. **bis dena**. For the distributive in a formula of multiplication see Madv. § 76. 6.

super, adv. 'besides.'

nummum. The original phrase was 'nummus sestertius,' i.e. the coin that represented two and a half 'asses.' The gen. plur.

BOOK II, EPISTLE II, 16-44

would be 'sestertiorum nummorum.' In this expression 'sestertia' = 'milia sestertiorum'; 'nummum' (= 'nummorum') remains unaltered. The rhetorical force of the addition is, as we might say, 'in hard coin.'

34. *sub hoc tempus*, 'immediately after this'; Epod. 5. 83, Sat. 2. 8. 43.

praetor: in the old sense of military commander.

36. *addere mentem*: a variation of the usual 'addere animum' or 'animos.' It is perhaps rather 'to find [the coward] intelligence,' or 'presence of mind,' than 'courage.' Virgil's 'demittunt mentes,' Aen. 12. 609, though usually quoted, is hardly a parallel; 'mentes' are there the souls whose courage is lowered, not the courage itself.

37. *bone*: Sat. 2. 3. 31 n.

38. *quid stas*: Sat. 1. 1. 19 'quid statis?'

39. *catus*: Od. 1. 10. 3 n.

quantumvis: used here like 'quamvis': 'though as boorish as you please.'

ibit, ibit eo quo vis. The man echoes the general's 'i... quo': 'Go, say you? he will go, go where you will.' This line is the original of Juvenal's 'in caelum, iusseris, ibit,' S. 3. 78.

40. *zonam*: the belt with a pouch for money, or with money sewn into it. So, in Juv. S. 14. 297, the shipwrecked sailor, 'zonam laeva morsuque tenebit.' ζώνη is translated 'purse' in St. Matt. 10. 9.

41 foll. The application of the story—'My life was running on other lines. I had the education of a man of means, at Rome and Athens, and was started in the tastes that really suited me, of philosophy. This was broken off by the civil war, which made me a soldier and then a beggar. It was poverty that made me write verses. But that motive is now removed.'

41. *Romae*. For his being brought to Rome for his education see Sat. 1. 6. 72.

42. *iratus* . . . *Achilles*. For the place of Homer in Roman education see Quintil. 1. 8. 5 'optime institutum est ut ab Homero [et Vergilio] lectio inciperet,' Plin. Epp. 2. 14. 2 'in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari ut ab Homero in scholis.'

43. *bonae* with *Athenae*; a touch of affectionate retrospect, 'my *alma mater*.'

paulo plus artis, 'a little further skill.' He implies that philosophy was an advance upon mere literary study.

44. *vellem*. The MSS. vary between 'vellem,' 'possim,' and 'possem.' 'Possim' would hardly stand. Bentl. gives 'possem.' There is force in the argument that 'vellem' is at first sight the harder reading, and the least likely to have been due to an emender. It is Horace's purposed substitution for 'possem.' It is a lesson that he has not learnt perfectly yet, only the wish to learn it.

curvo . . . *rectum*. Cp. Pers. S. 3. 52 'curvos deprendere

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mores,' 4. 11 'rectum discernis ubi inter Curva subit,' 5. 38 'intortos extendit regula mores.' It is an extension of the original metaphor which spoke of right conduct as a 'straight' course ('rectum'); the prose word is 'pravus.' For 'dinoscere' with abl. see Epp. 1. 15. 29 n.

45. *inter silvas Academi*: the garden, named from the hero Academus, where Plato and his successors taught. Brutus, and doubtless Horace, actually attended the lectures of Theomnestus the academic. He is speaking, however, generally of his philosophical studies.

47. It is best to join *civilis aestus* and *rudem belli*; with the latter cp. 'rudis agminum,' Od. 3. 2. 9. With the metaphor of *tulit aestus* cp. Od. 2. 7. 15, 16 'Te rursus in bellum resorbens Vnda fretis tulit aestuosus.'

48. *responsura*, 'to be a match for.' Notice that he says nothing of the merits of the cause (see on Od. 2. 7. 11). His compliment to the emperor is that it was an idle enterprise; the arms were as playthings to the 'thews' of Caesar. The double title (only here in Horace, cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 793, 8. 678) emphasizes this; it is a way of saying 'Caesar, the master of the world.'

lacertis, the metaphor from wrestling, as Cic. ad Fam. 4. 7. 2 'pugnabamus . . . lacertis et viribus, quibus pares non eramus.'

49. *simul primum*, a rare combination. Cicero has 'simulac primum,' Verr. 2. 1. 13. 3.

dimisere, 'gave me my discharge.' *unde*='ab armis.' Horace gave up the cause, though some of his friends followed the fortunes of Sextus Pompeius; see Od. 2. 7.

50. *decisis pennis*. For the metaphor cp. Epp. 1. 20. 21, and more closely Cic. ad Att. 4. 2. 5 'iidem illi qui mihi pinnas incidere nolunt easdem renasci.' The note of Porph. is 'significat se proscriptum esse.' His estate at Venusia was no doubt forfeited.

52. *quod non desit habentem*. It would seem from Juvenal S. 7. 62 'satur est cum dicit Horatius Euhoe!' that he did not take Horace's account of his motives in writing poetry too literally.

53. *cioutae*, the plur. of quantity. It was used as a cooling drug, and so might be supposed to cure madness, which the ancients traced to fullness of bile and heat of blood. Cp. Pers. S. 5. 144 'calido sub pectore mascula bilis Intumuit quod non exstinxerit urna cicutae?' Cp. A. P. 301 'O ego laevus, Qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam. Non alius faceret meliora poemata.'

54. *melius dormire . . . quam scribere*. For the alternative cp. Sat. 2. 1. 7.

55. An abrupt passage to another ground for not composing. With the thought cp. Virg. E. 9. 51, where excuse is being given for not singing, 'Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque.'

57. *tendunt extorquere*: the power is not gone yet, but it is the next thing to go. For the inf. see vol. 1. App. 2.

quid faciam vis? 'what would you have me do?' i.e. 'it is a natural process. How do you think I can resist it?'

BOOK II, EPISTLE II, 44-71

58. **denique**: 'and if there was anything to do, there is this remaining difficulty, that you can't agree what kind of poetry you wish from me.' 'Denique' finishes the series so far, though other reasons follow in v. 65 foll.; cp. Lucret. 1. 301, and see on Sat. 1. 1. 92.

59. **carmine**: see on v. 25.

iambis. Horace's own name for his Epodes: see on Epod. 14. 7, and cp. Epp. 1. 19. 23, also Od. 1. 16. 3 and 24.

60. **Bionis sermonibus**. As the epithet implies, this means the Satires (cp. Epp. 1. 4. 1). The Epistles are lost to sight, as though *ex hypothesi* they were no satisfaction of Florus' desire. Bion Borysthenites, a Scythian by birth, was a philosopher and wit at Athens in the third century B.C. He was a Cynic at one time, a Cyrenaic at another, and lastly a pupil of Theophrastus the Peripatetic. Horace is concerned with him not as a philosopher but as the reputed author of many pungent sayings, some of which are preserved by Diog. Laert. 4. 46. Cp. Cic. Tusc. 3. 26. 62.

sale nigro: literally, in Sat. 2. 4. 74, of a strong and coarse salt, here metaphorically of coarse and biting wit. Cp. the use of 'niger' in Sat. 1. 4. 85, 91. As he looks back at them Horace clearly shows that he prefers the 'Attic salt' of his Epistles to the coarser strain of his earlier Satires.

61, 62. A metaphorical statement of the same fact. 'Give me any three guests (the smallest possible party according to the saying that a party should not be less than the number of the Graces nor larger than that of the Muses), it is not too much to say ('prope') that I may expect each to have a taste for different fare.'

62. **multum diversa**: see on Sat. 1. 3. 57 'multum demissus.'

65. **praeter cetera**, 'above all other reasons.'

me Romaene. The position of 'ne' with a word emphatic but not the first in the sentence is ante-classical. See instances quoted by L. and S. from Plautus. Horace means by adopting it here to give special emphasis to 'me' as well as to 'Romae.' It would be in prose 'Ego Romae poemata?' 'Do you think I am the man, Rome the place, to write poems?' then he explains first that Rome is not the place and he not the man, vv. 66-86; then secondly that he is speaking of fine poetry (note the emphatic repetition of 'poema' in v. 109), not of verses such as passed in the mutual admiration cliques of the day.

67. For the list of occupations at Rome cp. Sat. 2. 6. 29 foll., beginning with 'Romae sponsorem me rapis.'

auditum scripta: to listen to 'recitations.'

68. **cubat**, 'is ill in bed'; Sat. 1. 9. 18.

70. **humane commoda**: ironically, 'nicely convenient.' So Acron explains, 'probe.' The adv. is used like *ἐπιεικῶς* or *μετρίως*. **verum** introduces the obj. of an interlocutor real or supposed. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 205.

71. **purae**, 'clear,' i.e. of obstacles; 'you can compose as you walk': Virg. Aen. 12. 771 'puro ut possent concurrere campo.'

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meditantibus : inf. v. 76 and see on Sat. 1. 9. 2.

72. Horace rejoins, 'are the streets clear indeed?' With this account of the 'strepitus Romae' compare Juv. S. 3. 239-267. The route from the Aventine to the Quirinal would lie across the Forum and through the busiest part of Rome.

calidus, 'in hot haste,' 'impetuously.'

redemptor, 'the contractor for building,' as in Od. 3. 1. 35, where 'cum famulis' answers to the **gerulis** here. Cp. also Epp. 1. 1. 86. The ablatives are instrumental or modal, explaining how he 'calidus festinat.'

74. The 'golden' line marks the mock heroic vein.

robustis, 'of solid timber.' Cp. Sat. 1. 6. 42 'si plaustra ducenta Concurrantque foro tria funera.'

75. **rabiosa canis**. Rabies and hydrophobia were well known at Rome. Celsus (5. 27. 2) gives directions for the treatment of a bite.

76. **i nuno** : an ironical challenge. See on Epp. 1. 6. 17.

meditare : supr. v. 71. The accus. as in Sat. 1. 9. 2, q. v., and Virg. E. 1. 2 'musam meditaris.'

77, 78. The lines express Horace's own feeling. The explanation here, where he is writing 'sermoni propiora,' and half in irony, is a prosaic one. He gives elsewhere more imaginative reasons. See on Od. 4. 3. 10, and cp. Od. 1. 1. 30, 3. 4. 5 foll. Compare also Virgil's choice, G. 2. 485 'Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,' &c., and the comment on it in Tac. Dial. 12, 13 'nemora vero et luci tantam mihi adferunt voluptatem, ut inter praecipuos carminum fructus numerem, quod nec in strepitu nec sedente ante ostium litigatore nec inter sordis ac lacrimas reorum componuntur, sed secedit animus in loca pura atque innocentia fruiturque sedibus sacris,' &c.

77. **scriptorum** : limited by the context to poets, as in Epp. 1. 19. 39, 2. 1. 30, 36; A. P. 120, 136.

78. **rite oliens Baccohi** : 'in due imitation of their patron Bacchus,' who has the same tastes. Cp. Epp. 1. 19. 4, Od. 1. 1. 29 n., and the spirit of Od. 3. 25 'Quo me, Bacche, rapis,' &c.

79. **tu me** repeats the emphatic 'me' of v. 65. See note there.

80. **contracta**; 'narrow,' difficult to tread in, and so requiring the undivided attention which in the pre-occupation of town life cannot be given. Cp. Prop. 3. 1. 14 'non datur ad musas currere lata via.' Of the readings offered this seems the most probable, but the text was uncertain in the Scholiasts' time. Porph. gives 'contracta' as a v. l., reading himself with the majority of MSS. 'contacta.' This Dillenburger accepts, taking it closely with 'sequi,' 'to follow and tread in.' Schütz complains with reason that if this were the meaning it should have been 'secutum contingere.' V had 'cantata' with the note 'ab aliis prius dicta,' which cannot stand. Bentley would read 'non tacta,' i.e. which others have not trodden in; and there have been many other conjectures.

81-86. The connexion of these lines is not perfectly clear.

BOOK II, EPISTLE II, 71-87

Perhaps it is 'Think of the difference between the trained genius and me. He perhaps overdoes it, becomes a pedant and misanthrope. But I, in the very opposite of his peaceful life, how can I try to write lyric poetry if I have any self-respect left?' There is a tone of satire in the description of the scholar's training which has suggested that Horace is hitting some rival poet.

81. *vacuas*: so 'vacuum Tibur,' Epp. 1. 7. 45; opposed in this point to busy and crowded Rome.

82. *septem*. No reason is given for the selection of 'seven.' It seems to imply something much beyond the usual time allowed for an educational residence at Athens.

insenuit: cp. Epp. 1. 7. 85 'immoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi.'

83. *curis*: limited by the words that accompany it, books and the cares they bring with them. He is thinking of composition.

statua taciturnius: Sat. 2. 5. 40 'infantis statuas.'

exit, i.e. whenever he goes out into the world.

84. *plerumque*, 'very often.' See on Sat. 1. 10. 15.

hic: at Rome, not at Athens.

ego: I, not the recluse scholar.

85. Cp. Epp. 1. 1. 16 'mensor civilibus undis.'

86. 'To string together words which shall wake the lyre to music,' i.e. to compose lyric poetry. Cp. Od. 4. 9. 4 'verba loquor socianda chordis.'

digner, 'deign.' He implies that self-respect prevents him. The word introduces an unexpected note. So far as what has gone before has prepared us, we should have looked rather for 'coner,' which has been actually substituted in some MSS. The additional colour of 'digner' is due to what follows, to which the word is a link. There is only one condition on which verse written in this hubbub can gain praise, and that is the humiliating condition of joining a mutual admiration clique.

87. *frater erat*: the story which is to illustrate such cliques is introduced abruptly, as that in v. 26.

consulti, i.e. 'iurisconsulti': Sat. 1. 1. 17, and inf. v. 159.

ut alter . . . audiret. On what does 'ut' depend? In all cases which have been quoted as parallels from Horace himself, as Sat. 1. 1. 95, 1. 7. 13, Epp. 1. 16. 12, there is an adjective present, the 'ut' clause measuring or limiting its applicability, '[ita] dives ut metiretur nummos,' '[ita] idoneus ut nec frigidior Thracam . . . ambiat Hebrus.' If the text is sound (and the MSS. are unanimous, and the Scholiasts read as we do), we must suppose that such an adjective is latent in 'frater,' not that 'frater' is merely metaphorical (like 'fraternis animis' in Epp. 1. 10. 4), but that it carries the sense of a 'brother indeed.' This is helped by its emphatic position. 'There were at Rome a lawyer and a rhetorician, such brothers that when one spoke the other heard nothing but compliments.' Heinsius was the first to complain of the construction and to suggest emendation. Bentley took up the challenge

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and would read 'Pactus erat Romae consulto rhetor.' Meineke suggested that a line had dropped out and proposed 'Frater erat Romae consulti rhetor ut[erque Alterius laudum sic admirator ut] alter Alterius,' &c. Schütz suggests the easier alteration of 'Fautor' (an Horatian word, see Sat. 1. 10. 2; Epp. 1. 15. 33, 1. 18. 66, 2. 1. 23) for 'Frater.' Palmer (ap. Wilkins) 'auctor erat . . . consulto.' In face of the early evidence to the text it does not seem a case for conjectural emendation.

89. **Gracchus**, 'a Gracchus.' Both the brothers were speakers. Cicero (Brut. 33. 124) specially praises Gaius.

Mucius, i.e. 'a great lawyer.' There were three of the family who attained great distinction as 'iurisconsulti.' (1) P. Mucius Scaevola, consul in 133; (2) a cousin, Q. Mucius Scaevola, called 'Augur,' consul in 117, an interlocutor in Cicero's 'de Amicitia'; (3) Q. Mucius Scaevola, son of (1), and, like his father, 'pontifex maximus,' consul in 95. From the fact that Cicero (Brut. 39. 145) speaks of a case in which Crassus 'eloquentium iuris peritissimus,' and Scaevola (i.e. no. 3) 'iuris peritorum eloquentissimus,' were matched against one another, Bentley suggested that in this line we should read 'Crassus' for 'Gracchus.'

† **huic . . . ille**. All the extant MSS. have 'hic . . . illi' in both clauses. This is not absolutely impossible. Either 'hic . . . hic' or 'illi . . . illi' alone for 'the one . . . the other,' 'to the one . . . to the other,' would be usual, but the repetition of 'hic . . . illi' where the two pronouns change places has not been paralleled. In spite of this, Ritter retains the reading and Keller shows some tenderness towards it. If Horace can be conceived as writing it, he may have meant to emphasize the monotony of the shuttlecock compliments. The alteration however is slight, and the reading of the MSS. (cp. a similar case in Epod. 4. 8 'ter' for 'trium') may have arisen from the mistaken expansion of an abbreviation. 'Huic . . . ille' is said to be due to the edition of 'Iohannes Britannicus,' Venet. 1516. It was adopted by Lambinus, and advocated by Bentley, and thenceforward has been generally given.

90. **qui minus**, 'in what way less?' Sat. 2. 3. 311, 2. 7. 96; 'are not poets attacked by just the same madness?'

argutos: Od. 4. 6. 25, the epithet is playful—'our songsters.'

91. **carmina compono**. 'Carmina' are lyrical poems, as we see from v. 99 'discedo Alcaeus.' Horace playfully takes his own share in the charge. Is he laying the indictment against the writers of elegies more seriously and with a special person in view? Torrentius first pointed out that the name of 'the Roman Callimachus' (v. 100) was one which is actually claimed for himself by Propertius, and this clue has been followed by editors, Ritter especially, who see in the passage an elaborate attack on that poet. For a full statement of the evidence in this passage of a reference to Propertius see Postgate's *Introd.* to his *Select Elegies of Propertius*. Propertius was a member of Maecenas' literary circle, and therefore must have been well known to Horace, who nevertheless never

BOOK II, EPISTLE II, 87-101

names him. If this view is correct, Horace will say 'We poets laud one another. We use extravagant terms in speaking of one another's poems. We strut about the Palatine library and choose places for our books and busts. If you get near enough to listen you may hear Propertius calling me an Alcaeus, and [if he does that unlikely thing] I will call him, not only, as he calls himself, a Callimachus, but even a Mimnermus, to his heart's content.'

mirabile visu, &c.: an exclamation which each poet is supposed to make on reading the poems of the other.

92. **Musis** is the dat. after the pass. part. 'a piece of fine graving from the Muses' hands.' With the fig. cp. that of A. P. 441 'male tornatos incudi reddere versus.' Bentley wished to take the words with the following lines, in apposition to 'aedem,' so that as they stand they would mean 'ornamented with the nine Muses carved in relief'; but he would also alter **caelatum** to 'sacratum.' For the division of **circum-Spectemus** cp. A. P. 424 'inter-Noscere.'

94. **vacuam Romanis vatibus aedem**, 'the temple with its vacant room for Roman bards,' i.e. the Palatine temple and library (Epp. i. 3. 17, Od. i. 31 introd.). The library is ready and well stocked with Greek poetry. Latin contributions are slow to come in, and those poets who are admitted think much of the compliment.

95. **si forte vacas**: 'it is not worth interrupting serious business for.'

procul: not coming too near.

97, 98. 'We belabour one another, and with thwack for thwack wear out the foe, in long drawn out duel, very Samnites, till the lights come.' What is described is a duel of insincere criticism and compliments between the two poets who read their compositions to one another (see v. 105) all day: 'ad lumina prima,' compared with Sat. 2. 7. 33 'sub lumina prima venire convivam,' will mean 'till supper-time.' The Scholiasts were in doubt as to the meaning of 'Samnites'; of the two views which they offer the most commonly adopted is that it refers to the class of gladiators who bore that name from appearing in Samnite arms (Liv. 9. 40, Cic. Tusc. 2. 17. 41, de Or. 2. 8. 325, pro Sest. 64. 134). They were ordinarily matched (see the last reference) with a 'provocator.' If this is so, the meaning seems to be that the two critics, though pretending to fight, were as a pair of gladiators both of whom are armed for defence rather than offence. The other view is that Horace had in view some lines of Ennius with respect to the stubborn resistance of the Samnites to Rome. The Scholiasts quote a line 'Bellum aequis manibus nox intempesta diremit,' 'The poets fight [though in their case it is a sham fight] as the Samnites in Ennius till the lights of evening.'

99. **discedo**: of coming away from a battle; 'victor discessit,' Epp. i. 10. 37.

puncto: A. P. 343.

101. **Mimnermus**: Epp. i. 6. 65.

crescit, 'grows greater and greater.' Cp. Od. i. 12. 45.

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102-105. 'When I am writing poetry myself I am obliged to submit to this sort of thing, but now I have done with it let me keep quite clear of it.'

104. *mente recepta*: for it is assumed that poets are mad, Epp. 2. 1. 118.

105. *impune*: best taken with *legentibus*. 'Let me now close my open ears and allow them to read without fear of reprisals.' Cp. Epp. 1. 19. 39 'auditor et ultor,' Juv. S. 1. 3 'impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas?'

106 foll. The poetaster is laughed at, but he enjoys his own work and thinks it admirable. The man who aims at true poetical work is of different stuff, and he has a serious task before him.

108. *si taceas*: Madv. § 348; cp. Epp. 1. 16. 5. It is not the proper protasis to 'laudant' but to a suppressed 'laudent' which may be mentally supplied with 'ultro.' 'They habitually praise [and would praise] on their own account if you should hold your tongue.'

beati, with *laudant*, but kept till last to gain more point, 'happy people!' With the picture cp. Catull. 22. 14 'Idem [Suffenus] infaceto est infacetiore rure, Simul poemata attigit, neque idem umquam Aequae est beatus ac poema cum scribit: Tam gaudet in se tamque se ipse miratur.'

109. *legitimum*: true to the laws of art. Cp. A. P. 274 'legitimum sonum.'

fecisse: for the tense see Od. 3. 4. 52; the desire is not to compose but to have composed, to leave behind you a poem.

110. *cum tabulis*, 'with his writing tablets,' i.e. for the purpose of composition.

ensoris honesti: the special function of the Censor which Horace has in view is that of revising the lists of the Senate and the Equites with the purpose of striking out unworthy members; a function which Augustus (Suet. Oct. 36) had revived. The idea is carried out in many of the phrases that follow, e.g. 'splendoris,' 'honore indigna,' 'movere loco,' 'invita recedant.' The true poet will be as careful in admitting a word to a place in his writings as a conscientious censor in admitting a claim to the senate. Dr. Johnson, as is well known, happily transfers these lines, in his quotation of them on the title-page of his dictionary, from the poet maintaining the purity of his own diction to the lexicographer doing the same for a language.

111. *splendoris*: frequently used by Cicero of the 'lustre' belonging to the senatorian or equestrian order or their members.

112. *sine pondere*: A. P. 320.

113. *movere loco*: a technical term. Liv. 39. 42 'senatorio loco movit.' Cp. Sat. 1. 6. 20 'Censorque moveret Appius.'

invita recedant: from their place in the poem.

114. *versentur intra penetralia Vestae*. The editors generally give 'intra,' but this is a conjecture, all the MSS. (except R which has 'in') giving 'inter,' which does not seem an impossible ex-

pression. Keller, who retains it, explains 'penetralia' as 'sacra penetralia,' the emblems and relics preserved in the shrine. The phrase as a whole is a difficult one. Is it more than a coloured version of 'invita recedant,' 'pose as something which it would be treason and sacrilege to remove from their place'? It has been suggested to me that the 'shrine of Vesta' may stand, as the heart of Rome's life, for what we might call 'the sanctum of the Latin language,' the most select circle of genuine Latinity. Keller suggested that the phrase might be a quotation or adaptation from Ennius or some other of the older poets (the alliteration 'versentur . . . Vestae' would suit with such an origin). In that case there may be some lost key to it.

115. **populo** : dat. with **obscurata diu** ; 'long lost to the people's view.'

116. **speciosa**, opp. 'quae parum splendoris habent,' v. 111. For the word cp. A. P. 144, 319.

vocabula rerum, 'designations of things,' i.e. words; so 'rerum nomina,' A. P. 57. Cp. Sat. 2. 3. 280 'imponens . . . vocabula rebus.' They are called 'vocabula' alone in A. P. 71.

117. **Catonibus atque Cethegis**, 'such men as Cato (the Censor, consul in B.C. 195; cp. 'lingua Catonis,' A. P. 56); 'and Cethegus' (consul in 204, the orator called by Ennius 'suadae medulla'); cp. both for the reference and for the plural 'cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis' (A. P. 50) and see also on Epp. 1. 1. 64 'Camillis.'

118. **situs**: the only instance in Horace of its Virgilian sense of 'disuse,' 'inaction.' Such disuse, in the case of words, is 'informis,' in that it makes them uncouth to unaccustomed ears.

119. **adsciscet**: a return to the figure of the Censor; 'will place on the rolls.'

usus: A. P. 71.

120. **vehemens et liquidus**: 'strong and yet clear.' Contrast the description of Lucilius, Sat. 1. 4. 11 'cum fluere lutulentus'; but Horace is speaking here of diction only or chiefly. 'Vehemens' is scanned as a disyllable (cp. 'nihilo,' Sat. 1. 5. 67), but that it was written as a trisyll. is shown by the emendations introduced in several MSS., 'Et vehemens,' 'Hic vehemens,' &c.

122. **luxuriantia compescet**: the metaphor from pruning: 'ramos compesce fluentis,' Virg. G. 2. 370. He speaks of a too florid diction. Cp. perhaps A. P. 447 'ambitiosa recidet Ornamenta,' and see note there.

sano: i.e. not overdone; for sometimes 'sectantem levia nervi Deficiunt animique,' A. P. 26.

123. **virtute carentia tollet**: those which have no merit in them (neither the force which leads to redundancy nor that which conceals itself behind roughness) he removes.

124. **et**, 'and yet' (cp. 'ac' in Od. 3. 28. 6). The meaning seems to be 'he will seem to you to move with the ease of one at play, but really he will be putting force on himself, just as the ease of a stage dancer, who takes first the agile part and then the

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heavy part, is the result of effort and training. Cp. Pope's imitation—

‘But ease of writing flows from art not chance,
As those move easiest who have learned to dance.’

In this picture, drawn with a sympathetic hand, of the poet who spares no pains to make his poetry conform to the rules of his art (*‘legitimum fecisse poema’*), who chooses his language with such nicety, whose verse is like a strong clear stream, carrying fertility where it flows, who wins by such labour the appearance of ease, Horace is drawing the ideal of the classical school of Latin poetry, but his thoughts must be specially of the master, probably just lost, his friend Virgil.

125. *Satyrum*: cp. Od. 1. 1. 31 *‘Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori,’* Virg. E. 5. 73 *‘Saltantis Satyros imitabitur.’*

Cyclopa: cp. Sat. 1. 5. 63 *‘Pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat.’* This illustrates also *movetur* with the accus.

126–148. No doubt if the choice were open I should like to take my place with the poets who admire themselves on such easy terms. Any process of disillusion is painful, as the man of Argos found; but (he goes on) the time for such illusions is past.

126. *iners*: cp. A. P. 445 *‘versus inertis’*; very possibly, as the Scholiasts say, the word is used in both cases in its etymological sense=*‘arte carens’* (see also on Epp. 1. 20. 12), but it may only mean *‘spiritless,’ ‘dull’*: for such a metaphorical use cp. Sat. 2. 4. 41 *‘carnem inertem,’* of *‘flavourless’* meat. *‘Delirus’* is *‘doting,’ ‘silly.’* Cp. its uses in Sat. 2. 3. 107, 293, 2. 5. 71.

128. *sapere et ringi*: to be a philosopher with his Cynic (snarling) tone [instead of the poet with his genial self-complacency]. The words are here metaphorical, only meant to describe the pain of disillusion; but the phrase is taken up in v. 141.

131. *qui servaret*, *‘the sort of man to keep,’* &c.

133. *posset qui ignoscere servis*: these are marks of sanity. Cp. Sat. 1. 3. 80 f., where ferocity towards slaves is a sign of madness.

135. *rupem, puteum*: obvious dangers; Sat. 2. 3. 55, A. P. 459.

137. *elleboro*: see on Sat. 2. 3. 82.

bilem, as a cause of madness: A. P. 302.

meraco, *‘undiluted.’* Persius S. 4. 16 imitates, *‘Anticyras melior sorbere meracas.’*

141. *sapere*, with ref. to v. 128. *‘The truth is it is profitable to turn philosopher, but in a graver sense than before; not merely to understand the laws of poetry, but to fling away poetry with all other modes of trifling, and set to the serious business of life.’*

nugis: Epp. 1. 1. 10 *‘versus et cetera ludicra.’*

142. *pueris*: dat. both with *‘tempestivum’* and *‘concedere’*; *‘to leave to boys the play that is seasonable for them’*; a good instance of the so-called *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction; see on Od. 1. 3. 6.

143. *ac non*: Sat. 2. 3. 135 n., Epp. 1. 10. 46.

verba sequi. Orelli compares Plat. Gorg. 489 B *ὀνόματα θηρεύειν*:

BOOK II, EPISTLE II, 124-158

cp. A. P. 240 'ex noto fictum carmen sequar': with 'verba fidibus modulanda' cp. Od. 4. 9. 4 'verba . . . socianda chordis,' but 'fidibus' is here the abl. of the instr. by which the words are to be set in rhythm.

144. *numerosque modosque*: see on Epp. 1. 18. 59.

145. *meum loquor . . . recordeor*. The figure is that of 'ediscere' continued. He would 'get by heart' the methods of reducing life to time and tune. To that end, if Florus were to come and see him, he would hear him 'saying over to himself,' not tags of verse in the making, but what he can remember of the commonplaces of his philosophical teachers. This is the description of the remainder of the Epistle. It is Horace's way of talking to himself, a sermon to Florus only at secondhand.

The maxims and arguments which he recalls are the 'elementa' of Epp. 1. 1. 27, the store of rudimentary philosophy which he there represents himself as accumulating for his own use. Avarice is as usual (see Sat. 1. 1) the typical vice first attacked.

146. *tibi*, not Florus: see the last note.

147. *medicis*. The argument from analogy between the medicine of the body and of the soul is frequent: see Epp. 1. 1. 33 foll. Cp. the hint of Florus' own ailments in Epp. 1. 3. 26. For the folly of not dealing with first symptoms and of not being frank with your doctor see Epp. 1. 2. 33 f., 1. 16. 21 f. For the special comparison of avarice to the dropsy cp. Od. 2. 2. 13 f.

148. *faterier*. For the form see on Sat. 2. 3. 24.

149. *monstrata*, 'prescribed,' a technical word of medicine; see Mayor on Juv. S. 10. 363.

151. *curarier*: to be further treated; for the form see above, v. 148.

audieras: suppose you had heard. For the tense and mood cp. Sat. 2. 6. 48 'spectaverat,' 'luserat.' It is the world's teaching that, wealth once attained, desire will moderate and virtue be easy; the philosopher knows better.

153. *stultitiam*, i.e. the special manifestation of folly, viz. avarice: so too *sapientior*.

156. *cupidum timidumque*: Epp. 1. 2. 51, 1. 6. 9.

nampe, here 'in apodosi,' it emphasizes the 'reductio ad absurdum'; if wealth could do all this, why, your blushes would be needed for being too little anxious, not too greatly, about wealth.

158 f. Lucretius 3. 971 had used the legal distinction between 'mancipium,' perfect ownership, and 'usus,' occupation, enjoyment, to illustrate the tenure of life, 'Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu.' Horace, in Sat. 2. 2. 129-135, applies the same thought to the tenure of property: 'property cannot be of longer tenure than life itself'; we can have the 'usus' of it, but 'proprium' is a wrong word to use. This thought is worked out more fully here, but Horace calls into use another technicality of the Roman law, namely, the principle of 'usucapio,' viz. that uninterrupted possession for a limited time gave absolute ownership. 'All ownership,'

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he says, as in the former case, 'is limited by the conditions of human life'; but he adds 'limited ownership is as good as unlimited,' and he interprets 'usus' (perhaps as in Epp. 1. 12. 1-4 in the light of the further technical term 'usus fructus') to mean enjoyment. 'If you get the fruits of the field, the field is yours to all intents and purposes, in the only sense in which anything can be said to be yours.'

158. *libra et aere*. In the formal act of 'mancipatio,' or the transference of 'res Mancipi,' one of the witnesses held a pair of scales and the purchaser touched them with a coin of bronze, which he then gave to the vendor. This archaic custom is described by Gaius, Inst. 1. 119.

159. *quaedam*: not 'some kinds of property' (for there is no distinction contemplated between 'res Mancipi' and 'res nec Mancipi,' and the principle of 'usucapio' applied to both), but 'property sometimes.'

consultis: i.e. 'iurisconsultis,' as in v. 87 and Sat. 1. 1. 17.

160. *Orbi*, some unknown rich proprietor.

163. *nempe modo isto*, 'why, you see, in that way.' It emphasizes the point at which, by the argument, the collective 'agrum' is substituted for the detailed products of the 'ager.'

166. You count out the price in successive yearly payments to the bailiff. *Orbius* counted it out once for all. What is the difference?

167. The converse of the proposition in vv. 163-165. That was 'the man who buys the produce virtually buys, and so owns, the field.' This is 'the man who bought the field, however long ago, virtually buys the produce he consumes from it.'

quondam: to be taken closely with *emptor*; 'the sometime purchaser.' For the adverb with the substantive Dillenburger compares 'late tyrannus,' Od. 3. 17. 9, 'prope victor,' Od. 4. 6. 3. It must be confessed that the best MSS. give 'quoniam,' which K. and H. accordingly print. It is a possible reading, though it is prosaic, and unlike Horace, and goes awkwardly with the following 'quamvis,' 'sed.'

170. *usque*, local, with *qua*; all the way to where, &c.

qua populus, &c.: the best illustration is Varro, R. R. 1. 15 'Praeterea sine saeptis finis praedii, sationis, notis arborum tutiores fiunt, ne familiae rixentur cum vicinis, ac limites ex litibus iudicem quaerant, serunt alii circum pinos, alii cupressos, alii ulmos.' In Virg. Aen. 12. 898 a stone is placed for the same purpose, 'Limes agro positus litem ut discerneret arvis.'

adsita limitibus, 'planted along the bounds.'

certis is pred., 'so as to make them sure.'

171. *refugit*. It is not unnatural to attribute to the tree the 'shrinking' from quarrels which is the motive of their planting; the perfect is probably regular: ever since the poplars were planted their quarrels have ceased; this is expressed by saying that the 'poplars planted there have shrunk from quarrels.'

BOOK II, EPISTLE II, 158-187

- vicina iurgia** = 'vicinorum iurgia.'
tamquam sit proprium quilequam : for the thought cp. Sat. 2. 2. 129 and 134.
puncto horae : Sat. 1. 1. 7 'horae momento.'
 173. **prece** . . . **pretio** : the assonance tempts Ovid also, Fast. 2. 805, 806 'precibus pretioque . . . Nec prece nec pretio.'
morte suprema : cp. 'supremo fine,' Epp. 2. 1. 12 ; 'by death if by nothing before.'
 174. **cedat**, 'pass.'
in altera iura : a modification of 'in alterius ius,' that being an equivalent of 'in alterius potestatem.'
 176. **alterius** : heir follows one who was heir of yet another ; three generations are gone as waves one after another.
 177. **vici**, 'estates.' Cic. ad Fam. 14. 1. 5 'sentis te vicum venditurum.'
Calabris . . . **Lucani** : Epod. 1. 27. 28.
 180. With the whole line cp. Epp. 1. 6. 17.
Tyrrhena sigilla : little images of the gods in bronze, of Tuscan workmanship. Tertull. Apol. 25 'ingenia Tuscorum fingendis simulacris urbem inundaverunt.'
 181. **argentum** : silver plate, as Epp. 1. 16. 76 and elsewhere.
Gaetulo murice : Od. 2. 16. 35 'Afro murice.'
 182. **est qui non curat**. It seems clear that the contrast is intended to mark the greater certainty of an individual case ; 'I know one who cares not.' For the grammatical difference of the two constructions see on Od. 1. 1. 3, and compare Epp. 2. 1. 63 Horace must mean himself. It is characteristic that he goes on 'If you ask, why? I can't tell you, except that men are differently constituted.'
 183. **alter fratrum** : one even of two brothers, whose antecedents seem so entirely the same. Cp. Sat. 2. 1. 26 'Castor gaudet equis ; ovo prognatus eodem Pugnus.'
cessare : Epp. 1. 7. 57, 1. 10. 46 n.
ungui : Od. 2. 11. 17, Epp. 1. 18. 22.
 184. **Herodis palmetis**, i.e. to the richest and most profitable estate. The famous palm-groves of Jericho were granted by Antony to Cleopatra, and farmed for her by Herod the Great (Joseph. Bell. Iud. 1. 18). Very probably they became his own property. He had a palace there (Strabo 16. 44).
 185. **dives et importunus** : rich, and yet busy in season and out of season ; cp. Virgil's 'labor improbus.'
 186. **mitiget** : so 'pacantur,' Epp. 1. 2. 45 n. ; 'flammis et ferro,' though literal of burning and ploughing, yet have a shadow of the same metaphorical reference to the civilizing progress of Roman arms.
 187. **Genius** : see on Od. 3. 17. 15, Epp. 2. 1. 144. No Roman writer describes the idea of the Genius so clearly as Horace ; it is born with the man, and so makes the influence of the natal hour what it is ; it rules his life, and is the one and only divine power

THE EPISTLES OF HORACE

that touches it; it dies with him; it is in every respect what he is. It is the idea of the man's self projected from himself and divinized. What makes a man what he is? When Horace answers 'that is a secret known only to the Genius,' he in effect says 'his self is an ultimate fact; he is what he is; there is no accounting for the infinite varieties of human nature.'

188. **in unum quodque caput**: the 'in' of reckoning, 'for' or 'with' each single life. For the division of 'unumquodque' between the two lines see on Sat. 1. 9. 51, and cp. A. P. 290.

189. **albus et ater**: carrying on **vultu mutabilis**, 'whatever be his hue'; the words are proverbial: cp. Cic. Phil. 2. 16. 41 'is qui albus aterne fuerit ignoras,' i.e. 'one of whom you know nothing.' So Catull. 93. 2 'nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo.'

190. **utar**: absolute (as Epp. 1. 7. 57) and emphatic, of *χρησις* opposed to *κτῆσις*. So Persius S. 6. 22 'utar ego, utar.'

192. **datīs**: those I have given (i.e. bequeathed) to him.

193. **scire volam**, 'I shall wish to remember.'

195. There is a difference (though the miser thinks there is none) between lavish extravagance and the reasonable view of wealth, which, as it does not let a man grudge every penny that he spends, so does not make him toil ever to get more, but allows him to enjoy a holiday as well as a schoolboy.

197. **Quinquatribus**: properly 'the fifth day after [the Ides]'; the name given to the short spring holidays, which began on March 19: see Mayor's note on Juv. S. 10. 115.

olim: Sat. 1. 1. 25.

198. **raptim**: cp. 'rapiamus occasionem,' Epod. 13. 3.

199-200. 'Provided I escape poverty in the sense of squalor, I should be as happy to sail in small ships as in a big one.' The last words are metaphorical, and the figure is kept up in the next two lines.

199. **domus**. The reading cannot be considered certain; 'domus' is the reading of the majority of good MSS., and though it is not necessary it makes good sense. Horace is thinking of the opposite extreme to the luxurious furnishing of vv. 180 f. But several good MSS. omit the word, leaving the line unmetrical. Some transpose the words 'procul domus' ('domus immunda' is then in apposition to 'pauperies,' but the sense is heavy, and Horace would hardly deprecate 'pauperies' in this absolute way). Bentley, on the authority of one undated MS., would read 'procul procul'; but this is rightly condemned as too rhetorical for the place. It is possible that the facts point (as in Od. 4. 6. 17) to the early loss of the true word, its place being diversely filled, but by conjectures.

utrum . . . an: substituted for 'sive,' 'seu,' as though the answering clause were (as it is in sense) 'it makes no difference.' The only parallel quoted is from Ov. Rem. Am. 797 'Daunius an Libycis bulbus tibi missus ab oris, An veniat Megaris, noxius omnis erit.' It may be compared to the elliptical use of 'an,' as 'iure an iniuria,' Liv. 2. 54, though possibly that is rather a direct question

BOOK II, EPISTLE II, 187-212

'rightly, or was it wrongly?' see Dräger, *Hist. Syntax* 2. § 468 A. a. a.

201. The figure of the ship is continued, though we pass from its size to the weather it meets.

201, 202. As the last two verses were of his wishes, so these are of the facts. 'Though I do not run with bellying sail before the wind of fortune, I yet am not passing my life in buffeting with gales of adversity.'

203. *specie*: Epp. 1. 6. 49.

205. *abi*: properly a formula of dismissal, and thence as an exclamation common in the dramatists with varying shades of meaning, angry, playful, or even expressive of satisfaction. Cp. Ter. *Adelph.* 220, 564, 620, 703, 765. Here it has the last sense, as in l.c. 564 (4. 2. 25 'Laudo, Ctesipho, patrisas: abi, virum te iudico'), 'that will do,' 'so far so good.'

quid? As though the speaker has waited, but waited in vain, for a further disclaimer.

cetera isto cum vitio: cp. Sat. 2. 3. 159 'Quid, si quis non sit avarus, Continuo sanus?' The same three passions—avarice, ambition, superstition, are there ranged in the same position.

206. *fugere*? Many of the best MSS. (including V) give 'fuge rite,' and Porph. possibly read the same, for his note 'sic pronuntiandum est ut intellegatur non fugisse alia vitia' seems more needed in that case. Bentley's last judgment was in favour of this reading. Keller, thinking with all recent editors, that it was an error, ingeniously traces it to an original blunder of 'fugerunt,' this corrected to 'fugere,' but the 'e' so written above as to be taken by a fresh blunder as an addition instead of a substitution, and the reading then determined by an unhappy remembrance of v. 78 of this Epistle, 'fugit urbes Rite cliens Bacchi,' the copyist taking 'rite' there to belong to 'fugit.'

207. *formidine et ira*. Schütz seems right in taking these words together as both belonging to 'mortis,' 'terror and anger at death.' He shows that the use of 'ira' with an obj. genitive is common (as Liv. 1. 5 'ob iram praedae amissae'); and for the idea he refers to Lucret. 3. 1045 'Tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire.' Temper, generally, is named in vv. 210, 211.

208. *terrores magicos*: cp. Epp. 2. 1. 212 'falsis terroribus implet, Vt magus.'

sagas: Od. 1. 27. 21.

209. *lemures*: Pers. S. 5. 185 'tum nigri lemures.'

Thessala. Thessaly was the land of sorcery; Od. 1. 27. 22, Epod. 5. 21 and 45.

210. *grate*, 'with gratitude' ('lucro apponens,' Od. 1. 9. 14), 'for what you have had, not with repining that the end is so much nearer.'

212. *quid te iuvat*. Bentley wished to read 'levat' as a more definitely medical word: cp. C. S. 63 'qui salutari levat arte fessos Corporis artus.' For 'spinis' cp. Epp. 1. 14. 4 'spinas animo . . . evellas,' the metaphor from weeding ground.

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213. **vivere recte** : see on Epp. I. 2. 41, I. 6. 29, I. 16. 17.
decede, with dat. 'make room for.'

214. For the picture of the 'conviva satur,' who should know when to retire from the banquet, see Sat. I. I. 119. The reference in both places is to Lucret. 3. 938.

216. **lasciva decentius**, 'in whom play is more becoming'; the picture of Od. 3. 15.

DE ARTE POETICA

- Verses 1-5. YOU expect a picture to represent something real: not incongruous and impossible combinations.
- 6-13. The same rule binds a poet. What he conceives (i.e. whether as a whole or in detail) must be possible and whole.
- 14-23. This rule is violated by the 'purple patch' system. Your beauties must be *relevant*. Remember always your purpose and its conditions.
- 24-31. Blunders in this matter proceed from a common failing, the incapacity to avoid one mistake without falling into its opposite. We need art even to escape faults.
- 32-37. It is the same in sculpture. It is easier to work up some details than to conceive a whole. But it is as in the human face: a crooked nose spoils the effect of good eyes and hair.
- 38-41. The key lies in choosing a subject within your powers. Once do that, and you will not fail either in finding plenty to say or in power to arrange it.
- 42-45. By arrangement I mean knowing when to say a thing, when to omit or postpone it, the power to pick and choose.
- 46-72. That must be exercised in respect of *diction*. It is a very happy knack to make an old word new by a skilful conjunction. You may also invent words if it be necessary; but it must be in moderation, and you will do well to go to Greek as your source. The old poets invented words: why may not modern? Words, like other human things, have their day, and pass and change.
- 73-88. The different types of poetry have been marked out by the Greek masters, and stamped with their appropriate metres, and we must keep to them.
- 89-118. So generally with respect to the *style of diction*. The comic and the tragic are distinct, though of course to a certain extent each borrows the tone of the other. This is owing to the larger law that emotion is only stirred by emotion, and the language must correspond to the emotion. Respect must be had too to the characters who are speaking.
- 119-127. In respect of *characters* you may follow tradition or invent. In either case you have your law. Traditional characters must keep their traditional features. Newly invented ones must be consistent with their own idea.
- 128-135. Real originality in dealing with common things is so difficult that you are doing better to dramatize some part of the Homeric story than to start a new plot. There is room for originality still within these limits, in the choice of your subject and in the freedom of your imitation.

DE ARTE POETICA

- 136-152. Imitate Homer in the modesty of your beginning, in avoiding lengthy and prosaic introductions, in consistency of story.
- 153-178. The first point an audience cares for is a real discrimination of the characteristics of human nature in each of the stages of life. These must be well studied.
- 179-188. They must then be set out in action, not in narrative ; but this not carried to the extent of producing revolting or marvellous scenes on the stage.
- 189-192. Five acts, no more and no less. A 'deus ex machina' only when the occasion really requires it. Three characters only on the stage at once.
- 193-201. On the other hand, the Chorus must be treated as an integral part of the drama. Its business is to help on the action, and specially to take the moral and religious side in it.
- 202-219. The lyrical part of the drama was simpler in old days. As audiences became more mixed the music became more elaborate, the diction more stilted, the tone more oracular.
- 220-239. (In the same way) the desire to interest a miscellaneous audience led to adding the Satyric drama to tragedy. But moderation and tact are necessary. Tragic characters must not be lowered in the following Satyric drama. Neither need they rant. Tragedy has its proper dignity ; so has the Satyric drama itself. It is not tragedy, but neither is it comedy.
- 240-243. Do not look for an original story, only for freshness of treatment.
- 244-250. The chorus of satyrs must keep from low and coarse language : think of the better not of the worse part of your audience.
- 251-269. *Metre*. Avoid the great fault of the older Roman tragedians, heavy and spondaic verses. Roman poets have been demoralized by inartistic audiences. Neither presume on this nor be slavishly afraid of censure, but steep yourself in Greek models.
- 270-274. No doubt your ancestors put up with and praised Plautus for his rhythms as well as his wit ; but they were too indulgent in both points. We should know the rules of art better.
- 275-284. The Greeks are the masters : they invented the drama, and perfected it, tragedy and even comedy, from the too free criticism of the older type to the more sober and harmless New Comedy of manners.
- 285-294. But our countrymen have imitated every phase, and have struck out lines of their own both in tragedy and comedy. Indeed Rome would rival Greece in literature as in arms, were it not for our laziness in perfecting our work.
- 295-301. This laziness is reduced to a theory. Men undervalue art in comparison with the native gift, and look on that as the antithesis of common-sense.
- 301-308. As I cannot follow them, I have given up writing poetry

DE ARTE POETICA, 2

but I am trying to teach others to write it, as a whetstone makes knives cut though it cannot cut itself.

Good writing begins in good thinking. Read Plato, understand human life, draw direct from that, and then your characters speak like living beings.

Roman audiences give even a disproportionate value to sentiments and morals, and too little to poetic beauty. This is the result of our vulgarizing, practical education.

There are in truth two aims in poetry, instruction and art. When you would teach remember the importance of utility; when you would please remember the importance of similitude. But if you would gratify all your audience must combine both aims. This is the true classical poetry lives.

Do not suppose I expect an impossible perfection, but with a distinction between the bad poet who is occasionally, and the good poet who is, if so be, occasionally less good. There is in poetry as in painting a difference between, between a sketch and a finished picture.

Only remember one thing is intolerable in poetry, though tolerable in most things,—mediocrity.

If poetry is not good it is bad, and we are better without it. We forget this too often.

Do you remember it. Do not write unless you are in the mood. What you write submit to some good critic, and do not in a hurry to publish it.

Poetry has had historically a high mission. It is not a mere thing to be thought scorn of.

People ask sometimes what is necessary to a poet, natural or artistic training. The answer is, *both*. You need the gift; but the gift without training will do no more in this art than in any other.

You can wrap yourself up in your conceit, or you can buy praise from interested critics; but you know how worthless this is and will beware of it.

The poem ends with two pictures:—

First, of the honest and good critic, such as was Quintilius.

Secondly, of the self-willed and self-conceited poet.

In this picture of incongruous and impossible conceptions, had very probably in mind Plato's figure Phaedrus. p. 264 C. *ε γε οἶμαι σε φάναι ἄν, δεῖν πάντα λόγον ὥσπερ ζῶον συντινάζειν ἔχοντα αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε μήτε ἀκέφαλον εἶναι μήτε ἀπουναι τε ἔχειν καὶ ἄκρα πρέποντι ἀλλήλοισι καὶ τῷ ὅλῳ γεγραμμένα.* It is the verb perhaps implies the self-willed fancy of the

ore plumas . . . membris, 'to clothe with feathers limbs,' *membris* being the dat.

varias, i.e. from different birds, as 'undique' = from every animal; cp. Od. 1. 16. 14 'particulam undique Desectam.' Bentley complained of the monster as too monstrous, and sought to lessen its monstrosity by substituting 'formas' for 'plumas.' But the completeness belongs to the satire. The monster combines the special characteristics of each division of the animal kingdom, of man, quadrupeds, birds, fishes, even of every species in each. The idea is suggested perhaps by such pictures as Virgil's of Scylla (Aen. 3. 426), and the Triton (Aen. 10. 211 'Frons hominem praefert, in pristin desinit alvus'), and still more by Lucretius' solemn argument (5. 878 f.) against the possibility of such composite natures 'ex alienigenis membris compacta'; but Horace is thinking here not of a monster which poets have imagined, but of an unimaginable one, which yet, he would have us think, is no bad image of the delirious and impossible conceptions of contemporary poets.

3. **ut**: like 'ita ut,' not of result but of an added qualification; see Epp. 1. 16. 12 n.

turpiter: it may be doubted whether the adv. qualifies **desinat** ('have ugly ending'), or **atrum** ('black and ugly'), as 'turpiter hirtum,' Epp. 1. 3. 22. This reference does not settle the question, for in sense 'turpiter' there qualifies 'incultum' as well; it belongs to the sentence. It is a mistake probably in such a case to suppose that the poet himself would necessarily have wished to resolve our doubts certainly.

5. **spectatum**, i.e. to a private view.

8. **species**: 'images,' 'conceptions.' It is limited presently to the total conception, the *μῦθος*, as we should say 'the plot'; but it is here still general; whatever is imagined, a character, a scene, a dialogue. Such 'species' are 'vanae,' *κεναι, μάταιαι*, when they have nothing in reality to answer to them. This, however, is limited by the words that follow. A poet's pictures must often have nothing in the world of prose that answers to them; what is condemned is so drawing these pictures that they lack not only truth of fact but truth of consistency.

nec pes nec caput: a proverbial expression, like our 'neither head nor tail,' and not to be taken literally. It stands here not for 'no single part,' which would make no sense with **uni formae**, but for 'no two parts.'

9. **reddatur**: 'is made to correspond'; 'reddere' is 'to give what is due.'

pictoribus atque poetis. This is an answer supposed to be made by some one. 'Surely painters and poets equally have the time-honoured privilege of unlimited audacity in invention.' The edd. quote Diphilus ap. Athen. 223 A *ὡς οἱ τραγωδοὶ φασιν, οἷς ἐξουσία ἔστιν λέγειν ἅπαντα καὶ ποιεῖν μόνοις*, Arist. Metaph. 1. 2. 10 *κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν* Πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἄνθρωποι, Lucian, pro Imag. 18 (perhaps in remembrance of Horace) *παλαιὸς οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἀνευθύνους εἶναι καὶ ποιητὰς καὶ γραφέας*.

DE ARTE POETICA, 10-23

10. **aequa**: as Acr. = 'aequalis.' Orelli and Schütz prefer to take it as 'fair.'

11. **petimusque damusque**; 'we ask as poets, and give as critics,' Acr.

12, 13. **ut placidis coeant immitia**; 'that savage mate with tame.' This and the following are a second metaphorical expression (the first being vv. 1-5) for incongruous combinations, such as ignore the lines of distinction which Nature draws: cp. *Epod.* 16. 30.

14. Poets begin as though they were in earnest and meant something great; but the merits of the piece turn out to be two or three good descriptions of scenery. The 'purple patch' implies that it is stitched on a somewhat dingy garment.

plerumque, 'very often.' See on *Sat.* 1. 10. 15.

16. **cum lucus**, &c. Horace is hitting some particular poems of the day, and the clue is lost to us. 'Diana's grove and altar' may have been a scene described in unnecessary detail in some 'Iphigenia,' or the *Comm. Cruq.* may have had grounds for his assertion that the reference is to an altar of Diana Nemorensis at Aricia. Persius alludes to this passage 1. 70 'nec ponere lucum Artifices,' 'not artists enough to describe a grove,' Conington.

17. The smooth and alliterative line, meant to suit the scene it pictures, is either a quotation or a parody of the kind of descriptive passages of which Horace speaks.

18. **flumen Rhenum**. For the form of the adj. cp. 'Metaurum flumen,' *Od.* 4. 4. 38.

19. **non erat**, 'it *is* not, though you *thought* it was'; see on *Od.* 1. 37. 4.

cupressum. Porph. vouches for a Greek proverb μή τι ἐκ κυπαρίσσου θέλεις; 'do you want any part of a cypress?' which he explains by this passage, as a question supposed to be asked by a painter, whose forte lay in drawing a cypress, of a man who had escaped shipwreck and wished for a picture of a shipwreck to put as a votive offering in a temple. It seems not impossible that the 'invisa cupressus' (*Od.* 2. 14. 23) is thought of as specially inappropriate in a picture of escape from death.

20. **simulare**, μιμῆσθαι: *Epp.* 2. 1. 241.

exspes: at the moment which is to be depicted, viz. when he is swimming for his life.

21. **aere dato qui pingitur**. For the practice of votive pictures cp. *Od.* 1. 5. 13, *Sat.* 2. 1. 33 n.

amphora coepit: a metaphor from another art. The difference between the wine-jar and the pitcher is of shape, not material, nor necessarily size. The figure is of those who in a work of art cannot keep steadily in view the purpose.

23. **sit quodvis**. 'Quodvis' is the predicate. It is the conclusion of the figure of the preceding verse. 'In heaven's name let it be what you will—a pitcher if so you choose—provided only it be something simple and one.'

DE ARTE POETICA, 24-34

24. *maxima pars vatum*, 'most of us poets.' The mode of expression commends Horace's criticisms, at once as including himself within their effect, and as implying that the *Pisos* also are among the poets.

25. *specie*: see on Sat. 2. 3. 208; 'a vision of right.'

26. *levia*: the opp. of '*aspera*.' Poets, in their dread of roughness, polish their lines till they destroy their vigour and spirit.

27. *professus grandia*: cp. '*magna professis*,' v. 14.

28. *serpit humi*: of one who does not trust his wings for poetic flight: '*sermones . . . Repentis per humum*,' Epp. 2. 1. 250. The following words would not be inappropriate to this figure, as stormy winds would be one of the dangers which might frighten the bird from using its wings (cp. Od. 4. 4. 7 '*nimbus remotis*'), but in '*timidus procellae*' probably a second figure has come into view, viz., of the sailor who hugs the shore '*dum procellas Cautus horrescit*,' Od. 2. 10. 2.

29, 30. This is the point to which the other illustrations of the law lead up. 'So these ridiculous incongruities of which we have been speaking grow from the desire to give variety which a single thing does not admit of, except by exceeding the bounds of Nature ('*prodigialiter*').'

31. *culpae fuga*. It is the doctrine of Sat. 1. 2. 24 '*Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt*,' applied to literary faults. The '*stultitia*' of a poet is '*arte carere*.'

arte. This word is the key to vv. 32-37; '*art*, which means, remember, not merely the power of detail, but the gift of conceiving a whole.'

32. *Aemilium ludum*. The Scholiasts tell us that this was a gladiatorial training school, near the Circus Maximus, erected by Aemilius Lepidus.

faber imus. Whatever we may think of Bentley's reading '*unus*,' the case for it is not strong enough to justify us in printing it in the place of '*imus*,' which is found in the great majority of good MSS. and was read by all the Scholiasts. It was thought puzzling, for Acr. reports some persons as making it a proper name. The explanation found in all the Scholiasts is that it is local, and means 'the last,' i. e. at the end of the row of shops, Dillenburger still holds this to be the true explanation. If we retain the reading, it most probably means 'the humblest artificer.' No exact parallel is quoted, but we may compare '*insignis et imos*,' Od. 3. 1. 15, and the uses of '*summus*,' as '*summus vir*,' '*summus dux*.' Bentley interpreted '*unus*' (after Sat. 1. 10. 42, 2. 6. 57), 'like no one else,' taking it with '*exprimet*.' Whatever be the reading, it seems to be implied that the correct representation of nails and hair was a trick of art easily caught.

33. *mollis*: of the soft curves of hair represented in bronze. Cp. Virg. Aen. 6. 847 '*Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera*.'

34. *ponere*, in the artistic sense, 'to represent,' Od. 4. 8. 8.

DE ARTE POETICA, 35-45

35. **hunc esse**: Epp. 1. 6. 40 'ne fueris hic tu,' 1. 15. 42 'hic ego sum.'

36. The illustration gives a playful air, and it adds a point. Even a beauty, if it is out of keeping, only calls attention to the counter-vailing defects.

37. Cp. Od. 1. 32. 11 'nigris oculis nigroque Crine decorum.'

39. **quid ferre recusent**. Horace represents himself in Epp. 2. 1. 258 as observing this rule himself, 'nec meus audet Rem temptare pudor quam vires ferre recusent.'

40. **potenter**: a difficult word. Its ordinary meaning is 'powerfully,' 'effectively.' So Quintil. 12. 10. 72 'dicit et utiliter et ad efficiendum quod intendit potenter.' Possibly Horace means it so here, 'chosen effectively,' the emphasis being on 'lecta,' not on 'potenter,' and the choice of the adv. in this place having a paradoxical force; 'the place where you must look to make your poem effective is not, where you think, in the composition, but in the choice of subject.' The Scholiasts explain it by 'qui legerit id quod praestare possit,' 'secundum quod potest,' i.e. 'in accordance with his powers.' Porphyry's special note is 'Potenter, figuravit (i.e. 'he has given a particular colour to the word') ὡς ἐν δυνάμει,' and this has been followed by most editors. It makes excellent sense. The drawback is the want of a parallel for the use in Latin and of any Greek phrase of which it would seem to be an exact translation. Wilkins proposes to make it the opposite of 'impotenter' and equivalent to ἐγκρατής, 'with self-restraint.'

41. **facundia**: cp. v. 311.

ordo. This is the link word between the precept of vv. 38-40 and what has preceded. The lack of unity, 'purple patches,' exaggeration of detail, &c., are failings in *order*, and the first condition to attaining either something to say or the power to order what you say, is to choose a subject within your capacity. *Order* is defined in vv. 42-45, and in words which have this retrospective bearing. Then in v. 46 Horace proceeds to his next point, that order has its sphere in respect to diction as well as matter.

42. **ordinis**. The repetition is emphatic; see last note.

venus: v. 320 'Fabula nullius veneris'; 'charm.'

aut ego fallor: as 'nisi fallor' in Virg. Aen. 5. 49, &c., 'or' or 'unless (which is impossible) I am mistaken.'

43. **iam nunc . . . iam nunc**, 'says at this moment what needs at this moment to be said.'

44. **pleraque**. His 'facundia' suggests to him a number of things to say; 'ordo' requires that 'most of them' should wait for their fitting time of utterance.

45. The words **huc amet**, **huc spernat** are a repetition of the precept of the last two lines, but justified by the stronger colour of the words, 'love—despise.' The author of a poem which is to fulfil his promises must have one canon of taste for judging what he writes: 'Does it suit the place?' if so, it is admirable: if not, however beautiful in itself, it is here contemptible.

promissi: Epod. 14. 7. It is in effect equivalent to 'inceptis... magna professis,' above v. 14.

Bentley transposed vv. 45 and 46, and he is followed by many editors. There is no hint of disturbance in the MSS. as there is in Epp. 1. 1. 57, 58. The Scholiasts evidently had our present text. Nor is the change necessary. On the other hand, we lose by separating 'serendis' from 'iunctura.' The special point of order in relation to diction which is touched is the power of arrangement to gain all the force of novelty without its risks.

46. **etiam**, as well as in matter.

tenuis cautusque. The epithets touch two points, fineness of sense (see, for use of 'tenuis' = 'subtilis,' on Od. 2. 16. 38) and sobriety of judgment.

serendis: of 'connecting,' 'combining.'

48. **iunctura**, 'setting.'

49. **abditæ rerum**: for the form see on Sat. 2. 2. 25. They are the 'obscura reperta' which Lucretius tells us (1. 136) require 'nova verba.'

50. **cinctutis Cethegis**. For 'Cethegis' see on Epp. 2. 2. 117. The meaning of 'cinctutus' must be gathered from (1) Ov. Fast. 5. 101 (the only other place where it occurs), where it describes the Luperæ, who are spoken of by Virgil as 'nudi'; (2) the parallel expression in Lucan 2. 543 'Exserti manus vesana Cethegi'; (3) Aul. Gellius 7. 12, who says that the Romans at first wore the toga only without a tunic, and then 'substrictas et brevis tunicas citra umerum desinentis.' Porphyry's note is in accord with this, 'cinctutis . . . quoniam cinctum est genus tunicae infra pectus aptatae.'

51. **sumpta pudenter**: cp. Epp. 1. 17. 44 'sumasne pudenter.' For the proviso cp. Quintil. 1. 5. 71 'usitatis tutius utimur: nova non sine quodam periculo fingimus.'

52. **habebunt fidem**. We are close to the metaphor of coinage, which becomes distinct in v. 59.

53. **detorta**: 'derivata,' Comm. Cruq. It is a continuous metaphor, viz. that of irrigation. The waters must come from Greek sources, and the sluices must be opened sparingly. Horace allows of but two ways of meeting the demand for more powers of expression; the first, which he favours and which he practised, namely, to make old words do new service by skilful setting; the second, which he allows if sparingly used, to bring words from the more copious Greek. In Sat. 1. 10. 20 f. he satirizes the inclination of early Roman writers to overdo this liberty.

quid autem. 'Quid' is interr. 'what?' i.e. 'is there anything which?' 'Autem' is dramatic, as though the opponent were supposed to have assented to the general dictum, but to limit it to past generations. Cicero uses a similar argument as between Greek and Roman writers, de Fin. 3. 4. 15 'Si enim Zenoni licuit cum rem aliquam invenisset inusitatam inauditum quoque ei rei nomen imponere, cur non liceat Catoni?' (i.e. for the younger

Cato, the interlocutor in the dialogue); see the whole of the passage.

54. **Caecilio**: Epp. 2. 1. 59.

55. **Vergilio Variouque**: Epp. 2. 1. 247.

It is to be noticed that Macrobius defends Virgil on the charge of introducing Greek words (such as 'lychni,' 'daedalus,' 'aethra'), showing that he was following older poets, and that he used the licence more sparingly than they.

56. **invidior** for 'invidetur mihi.' Cp. 'imperator,' Epp. 1. 5. 21 n.

Catonis: Epp. 2. 2. 117. He names the earliest master of prose and of verse.

59. 'To give to the world words that bear the mintmark of the day.' **producere** occurs in the similar passage Epp. 2. 2. 119. It has not the full metaphorical colour of the other words, but from its place here it acquires the sense of 'to put in currency.'

60-72. The reasonableness and necessity of some liberty in the invention of words is enforced by the reflection, in the vein of half playful moralizing common to the Epistles, that language cannot continue in one stay more than human life and its other products. Horace has in mind Homer's similitude *οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιῇ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν*, κ.τ.λ. Il. 6. 146.

60. **foliis**: the abl. of respect.

in annos: 'from year to year,' as 'indies,' 'in horas' (Od. 2. 13. 14, Sat. 2. 7. 10, and inf. v. 160); **pronos** adds 'as they run smoothly, swiftly'; so 'pronos volvere mensis,' Od. 4. 6. 39.

61. **prima cadunt**, 'those that came first fall.' The two statements about the leaves answer to the two about words, but in the reversed order. 'The woods get new leaves every year, the leaves that came first drop off—so old words die and new ones take their place.'

63. **debemur**: cp. *θανάτω πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα* Simonides, Frag. 123 Bergk.

63-68. It is natural to a Roman, enforcing the lesson that the works of mortal hands cannot be imperishable, to think of the great operations of Roman engineering. It is natural to Horace to choose operations which are associated with the Emperor or his friends. Nor is it a bad compliment to Augustus, as some have suggested; for the point of naming them is that they are the extreme instances of marvellous and durable human works. Notice also that the three operations have a special link, in that they all display in a particular matter the power of reversing the conditions of Nature: 'land has been turned into sea, water into dry land, running water has been made to find a new channel.' The first instance can hardly but be Agrippa's great work of making the Portus Julius by the union of the Lucrine lake with the Avernian: see Merivale, vol. iii. ch. 27, and cp. Virg. G. 2. 161. It stands with Virgil as the single instance of an artificial work to match the great natural features of Italy. Cp. esp. the two lines 'Iulia qua

ponto longe sonat unda refuso, Tyrrenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis.' The last line recalls 'receptus terra Neptunus.' The other two pictures seem to refer to the draining of the Pomptine marshes, and some turning of the course of the Tiber with the purpose of preventing floods; but the facts are not known to us. The Scholiasts assert that the first of these works was executed by Augustus. Plutarch tells us (Jul. Caes. 58) that it had been planned by Julius Caesar; and the canal through the marshes, by which we find Horace travelling (in Sat. 1. 5), was probably connected with this purpose; but there is no notice in history of the work having been completed. Augustus may well have carried it further, and we may allow for some exaggeration in Horace's tone about it. In spite of the advocacy of Nettleship and Wilkins, I cannot accept the view that Horace is referring to projects of Julius Caesar, not to works actually executed. The tenses and moods seem unsuitable: the emphatic praise 'regis opus' is wasted on a dream; the compliment to Augustus is dubious: 'all human works shall perish, even your great father's purposes if they are ever carried out, which they have not been': and the force of the illustration is greatly diminished by being reduced from an achievement to an unrealized intention.

65. **regis opus.** Schütz suggests that Horace has in mind 'the great king,' and what the Romans looked upon as his half fabulous enterprises; the canal behind Mount Athos, and the bridging the Hellespont (Juv. S. 10. 173 f.). He notices that Ausonius (Mosell. 287) uses of these exploits of Xerxes the expression 'Regis opus magni!'

diu palus. This is the reading of all the MSS., and is attested by Servius on Aen. 2. 69 and 4. 107, and by Priscian 6. 16. 83, who comment on the unusual quantity. We must imagine therefore, at least, a very early corruption. Holder gave 'palus diu' and spoke of it as an emendation of Gesner approved by Lachmann, but I cannot verify this. It was suggested independently by Bp. Chr. Wordsworth. Keller has returned in his *Epilegomena* to the Vulg., thinking the hiatus impermissible. Munro says "'diu palus" can hardly be right,' but cannot accept 'palus diu' nor Bentley's 'palus prius.'

68. **doctus iter melius:** cp. Epp. 1. 14. 29, of the stream by his own farm, 'multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato.'

69. **sermonum,** 'language'; the plur., which is unusual in this sense, seems due to the antithesis to 'facta'; 'anything they say' opp. to 'anything they do.'

71. **usus:** Epp. 2. 2. 119.

73 f. Horace is passing from words to diction in the larger sense of style; and the first principle to be laid down is that each kind of poetry has its appropriate style. The kinds of poetry are marked by the metres. The point of transition lies in the contrast between the dependence on fashion varying from age to age, which he has attributed to words, the fixity of metres, i. e., according to his view,

of the types of poetry, as settled once for all by the first masters in each style.

74. *numero*, 'metre': cp. 'numeris' in Od. 4. 2. 11.

75. *impariter*, an ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. 'Verses unequally yoked' describes the metre of Elegy as consisting of couplets, and of couplets of long and short.

76. *voti sententia compos*, 'the sense of granted prayer': the position of the man who feels the sentiment is attributed to the sentiment. This is generally explained (as by Orelli) of the elegy of love (ἐρωτική), as contrasted with that of mourning (θρηνητική). But amatory poetry is not all of 'granted prayers'; and in truth love is left as a subject to lyric poetry (v. 85). Horace is thinking rather of the elegiac couplet as the metre of *inscriptions*, 'exigui elegi,' whether on funeral urns or on votive offerings. The immediate purpose, however, is perhaps not so much to explain the subject of elegy-writing as to connect the popular derivation of the word from εἰ λέγειν with the cheerful tone of much actual elegiac verse; 'the complaint [of those that have lost] and the [joyful] feelings of those who have gained their wish.'

77. *exiguos*: in contrast with the 'perpetuum carmen' of the heroic measure: but the epithet has a playful force, as if it were hardly worth the fuss of the pedants on the question.

79. *Archilochum*: Epod. 6. 13, Epp. 1. 19. 25.

proprio: which belongs to him, i.e. which was his invention.

80. *soool*: Epp. 2. 1. 174 and inf. v. 90.

grandes cothurni: Sat. 1. 5. 64, Od. 2. 1. 12, inf. v. 280.

81, 82. The first and last reasons for the preference of the iambic in dramatic poetry are those given by Aristotle, Poet. 4. 18 λέξεως δὲ γενομένης αὐτῇ ἡ φύσις τὸ οἰκτεῖον μέτρον εὖρεν· μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ iambeῖον ἐστίν. σημεῖον δὲ τούτου· πλείστα γὰρ iambeῖα λέγομεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους (cp. also Rhet. 3. 8. 4), and 24. 10 (where also he is comparing it with the trochaic tetrameter which it supplanted), τὰ δὲ iambeῖα καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικὰ (i.e. lend themselves to movement, in opposition to the heroic metre στασιμώτατον καὶ ὀγκωδέστατον τῶν μέτρων), τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικόν (that is, the trochaic), τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν (the iambic). Cicero repeats the first, Orat. 56. 189 'magnam partem ex iambis nostra constat oratio'; cp. ibid. 57. 191 '... qua de causa [putant] fieri ut is potissimum propter similitudinem veritatis adhibeatur in fabulis.' The second reason, that it is more easily heard over the hum of a large audience, is illustrated by Schütz from Cicero's remark, de Orat. 3. 47. 182, that the 'ictus' of the iambic [and trochaic] measure is strongly marked, and comes quickly, 'insignes percussiones eorum numerorum et minuti pedes.'

83-85. The first two lines will describe such lyric poetry as Pindar's hymns and ἐπινίκια (cp. Od. 4. 2. 10 f.), the third, the amatory and convivial lyrics of Alcaeus, Sappho, Anacreon, &c.

85. *libera*: not without special reference to *ouras*, as though he contrasted the lightheartedness of the banquet with the young

lover's cares—'cares, and the way to forget them,' i.e. 'dulci Lyaeo solvere.'

86. **vices**, as Wilkins says, are not 'parts,' but successive or correspondent parts; cp. Od. 4. 7. 3 'mutat terra vices,' Ov. Met. 15. 238 'vices peragant,' of the various successive forms in which the natural elements appear. As the poetry changes the metres must change, and these changes have been 'marked out' and must be observed.

colores: inf. v. 236 'tragico colori,' so more generally of 'style' of life, Sat. 2. 1. 60, Epp. 1. 17. 23.

87. **salutor**: by the public voice, as Od. 4. 3. 22.

88. **pudens prave**: cp. Epp. 1. 16. 24 'pudor malus.'

89. **versibus tragicis**: a further distinction—though tragedy and comedy use the same metre (v. 80) the 'color' of the verse is wholly different, and must not be confused.

90. **privatis carminibus**, 'strains of common life,' opposed to tragedy which 'regum facta canit,' Sat. 1. 10. 42.

92. The line sums up what is being said in a maxim; cp. v. 31.

93. **et** answers to 'et' v. 95; both comedy and tragedy depart on occasions from their usual tone.

94. **Chremes**: 'a Chremes,' i.e. an angry father, on the comic stage, as in the following lines 'a Telephus and Peleus,' i.e. a tragic hero in distress. The reference is very probably to Terence's Heautontimorumenos, although Chremes' short-lived abuse of his son Clitipho in the play scarcely answers to the words 'tumido delitigat ore.' Cp. Sat. 1. 4. 48. There is full reference to a definite scene in the Eunuchus in Sat. 2. 3. 259 f. On the other hand, the Chremes of Epod. 1. 33 must belong to some unknown drama.

95. **tragicus**, 'in tragedy'; as 'Davus comicus,' Sat. 2. 5. 91.

plerumque: to be explained by what was said in the last note—namely, that he means not only Telephus and Peleus but other characters in their situation: 'personas ipsas potius quam certas quasdam fabulas respexit,' Orelli. Kiessling compares for 'plerumque . . . cum,' v. 14 foll., 'plerumque . . . adsuitur pannus, cum,' &c. 'Plerumque' has also been taken closely with 'tragicus,' 'though usually talking the language of tragedy.' Cp. 'dividens plerumque,' Od. 1. 34. 6.

sermone pedestri: see on Od. 2. 12. 9, and Sat. 2. 6. 17.

96. **Telephus**: Epod. 17. 8; Aristophanes laughs at Euripides (Ach. 430 f.) for the sorry guise in which he displayed Telephus when he went to beg of the Greeks that Achilles might cure him of his wound.

Peleus was exiled from Aegina for killing his half-brother Phocus, Ov. Met. 11. 268 f. 'fraterno sanguine sontem Expulsumque domo patria Trachinia tellus Accipit,' &c.

97. **proiecit ampullas**, 'throws aside his paint-pots'; see on the use of the verb 'ampullari,' Epp. 1. 3. 14.

sesquipedalia, 'a foot and a half long'; happily, though not

literally, rendered by Sir Walter Scott in 'Woodstock' 'seven-league words.' Cp. Crates (Meineke, fr. 2) *ἑπτατριπύχη*.

98. This line points the connexion. This raising of the tone in comedy and dropping it in tragedy are not arbitrary, they are due to the higher law that language must be true to the feeling which is to be represented, and so to be inspired in the spectator.

For the tense of *tetigisse* see on Od. 3. 4. 52.

99. *pulchra* . . . *dulcia*: the one adj. of beauty, the other of charm; the one of satisfying the taste, the other of touching the feelings. Orelli points out that a similar distinction, though in a more limited sphere, is drawn by Dionysius Halicarn. (de Comp. 19) 'between τὸ καλόν and τὸ ἡδύ, where he says that the diction of Thucydides possesses the first quality, that of Xenophon the second, that of Herodotus unites the two.

101 f. As Orelli says 'exponit vim συμπαθείας.' Cp. Arist. Rhet.

3. 7. 5 συνομοιοπαθεῖ ὁ ἀκούων ἀεὶ τῷ παθητικῶς λέγοντι.

101. *adsunt* = 'praesto sunt,' 'wait on,' are ready to sympathize with.

102. *humani*: emphatic; faces, which are the faces of men, and therefore have human feelings behind them: 'mentem mortalia tangunt.'

104. *male*, with *mandata*. 'If the language put into your mouth is badly conceived,' i.e. if it does not suit the situation and the outward bearing (*σχῆμα* Arist. Poet. 17. 1, 2) of the actor. Laminus took 'male' with 'loqueris,' but, as Orelli points out, Horace is talking of faults in the composition, not in the acting. For 'mandata' see inf. v. 177.

108 f. The order of nature is first the feeling, whatsoever it be, that outward things call up—then the expression in words. It must be the same, with the poet in drawing his characters and assigning speeches to them.

109. *iuvat*, 'gives pleasure to.'

113. *equites peditesque*, i.e. the whole audience—high and low. The phrase is proverbial, from the old military classification 'omnes cives Romani equites peditesque,' Liv. 1. 44. Though not to be pressed literally here, at the same time it is suggested by the fact that the 'equites' were actually distinguished by their place in the theatre, and stand with Horace for the more educated part of the audience, Sat. 1. 10. 76, Epp. 2. 1. 187, and inf. v. 248. For a similar adaptation of the old classification of the citizens cp. v. 341 'Centuriae seniorum,' &c.

114 f. The varying 'fortunarum habitus' are enumerated.

114. *divusne*, 'a god or a demi-god.' Some few MSS. have 'Davusne,' and Porphyry's schol. shows signs of this reading, but it would not match the other contrasted pairs. The false reading arose from a reminiscence of v. 237.

115. *maturus*: Od. 4. 4. 55 'maturosque patres.'

116. *matrona potens*: 'the matron of authority' is contrasted with the nurse full of petty anxieties and attentions, a favourite

stage character. Juvénal has 'matrona potens' (I. 69), perhaps with satirical reference to this place.

117. For the contrast cp. Od. I. I. 11-18.

118. 'Remember there are distinctions even between two barbarians or two Greeks.' Thebes and Argos are chosen as the representative states because of the plays which bring them into contrast, such as the Sept. c. Thebas, but there is no definite reference to actual characters.

119. In assigning these characters you have two courses open; you may follow tradition, or invent; but in the latter case there is still the rule of internal consistency.

120. *scriptor*, 'as a writer'; 'when you write.' An instance of Horace's use of substantives for participles: so inf. v. 134 'imitator,' v. 235 'Satyrorum scriptor.'

honoratum. Bentley, offended at all the explanations of this word, substituted *ex con.* 'Homereum,' 'the Achilles of Homer,' and his conjecture has been accepted by some eminent critics and editors. Acr. wrote 'alii exponunt: Reponis, iterum scribis. Si ergo Achillem de quo semel Homerus scripsit velis scribere, talem debes facere qualem Homerus ostendit.' Bentley contends that this points to their having read 'Homereum.' But if the full note is read it will be evident that he is offering an explanation, different from one given before, of 'reponis,' 'again,' he says, 'that is, as Homer did before.' All the Scholiasts also have a further note, 'honoratum, inlustrem, honoris plenum.' It must be clear, therefore, that 'honoratum' was the only text known to them. Various efforts have been made to explain the epithet as a translation or allusion to some Homeric phrase or view of the character: *κλυτός*, which has been suggested, is not an epithet ever given to Achilles. He is once *δουρικλυτός*, a few times *φαίδιμος*, often *δῖος*; but if it were meant as a translation it must be of some epithet which it would clearly recall, and which belongs markedly to him. Cp. the choice of epithets for Homeric characters in Od. I. 6 and 15. Ritter thinks that the reference is rather to the 'honouring' of Achilles as the true subject of the Iliad, 'Iovis consilio et auxilio honoratum, ut post varias Achivorum clades viro ab Agamemnone contempto iusta fiat satisfactio.' Cp. Il. I. 505 f., 2. 3, 13. 348, 24. 57, and notice that Horace recalls (Od. 2. 16. 29) that Achilles chose *κλέος ἀφθιτον* (Il. 9. 412) in preference to long life. The explanations of Schütz, Mewes, and Kiessling do not materially differ from this. It has been suggested to me that there is something playful in the 'si forte, reponis, honoratum,' and that the epithet belongs not to the person, but to the literary character; 'if you are representing once more the time-honoured character of Achilles.'

reponis: inf. v. 190; 'put on the stage again.'

122. *arroget armis*, 'claim for arms': see on Epp. 2. 1. 35.

123. Ino, the unhappy daughter of Cadmus and wife of Athamas, who, when her maddened husband had torn one of her children in

pieces, flying with the other, Melicerta (Virg. G. 1. 437), flung herself into the sea and became a sea-goddess Leucothea.

128-135. The connexion of thought which we require is, 'the second alternative which I offered you, namely, to invent your characters, is difficult. You do better to dramatize part of the tale of Troy than to start a wholly new plot; and do not fear that by taking stock subjects you will be debarred from originality, provided you observe certain rules.'

It is difficult not to think that Horace has in mind the substance of Arist. Poet. 9, where Aristotle explains and vindicates the practice of the Greek tragedians in choosing familiar mythological stories for their plots. He starts with the distinction between particular truths (*καθ' ἑκαστον*) 'what Alcibiades did or what happened to him,' and general truths (*καθόλου*), 'what sort of things a person of such and such a sort will probably or necessarily do,' and assigns the first as the sphere of history, the latter of poetry. There is, however, he says, a difference in the treatment of them between Comedy and Tragedy. The first invents a plot and assigns names as it happens (*τὰ τυχόντα*). The second clings generally to pre-existing and familiar names (*γενόμενα, γνώριμα*). [In 'names' he evidently includes the outline of the story.] It gains by this credibility (*τὸ πιθανόν*), i.e. its plot is accepted without questions of its possibility. He goes on to argue that in accepting these traditional subjects the tragic poet does not cease to be a *ποιητής*, a creator, an artist. There is room, as he says further in c. 14. § 5, both for invention and for skilful treatment of the traditional story.

128. *difficile est proprie communia dicere*. This is, in the first instance, a general, perhaps a proverbial saying¹. 'It is hard to speak of things common in a way of your own.' The question arises only as to the application of the saying at the moment. It is possible that, as has been suggested in the last note, Horace is glancing at the Aristotelian distinction of 'truths general,' which are the proper subjects of poetry. In any case, if our view of the whole passage is correct, the special instance of the difficulty spoken of must be substantially that which Orelli explains it to be, namely, that of giving individual shape to common types of human life and character. Many editors feel so strongly the necessity of making 'communia' identical (not in figure only, but in interpretation) with 'publica materies,' that they are forced to take it of subjects already made public property, such as the story of the Iliad; Horace being supposed to be enforcing still the teaching of the first half of v. 119. 'It is so difficult to give a new turn to well-known stories, that you had better give up the attempt and simply copy Homer.'

¹ Orelli suggests that there was a Greek proverb—which is quite likely—but none such has been found. The nearest expression in Greek that is quoted is from Hermogenes, the writer on Rhetoric (A.D. 160-180), who, in his treatise *περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* c. 29, explains how great orators *κοινὰ λέγοντες διανοήματα ἴδια αὐτῶν ποιοῦσιν*, 'while uttering commonplaces make them their own.'

The connected sense of the passage seems to me then to fall to pieces.

tuque rectius. The emphatic personal address, and the moods and tenses of 'deducis,' 'proferres' are all in favour of the view that Piso was actually writing, or purposing to write, a tragedy on some Homeric theme. This suits also with the expression of v. 120 'si forte reponis,' &c. If it is not so, we must take 'rectius deducis' as a shortened way of saying 'rectius agis si deducis.'

129. **deducis**, of giving it its full length of acts: for metaphor see on Sat. 2. 1. 4.

131. **publica . . . privati iuris.** There is a shadow of legal metaphor. Though the subjects have been treated by previous writers, you will still be able to make them your own.

132. Most naturally explained of the choice of author or story. Horace is contemplating, as always, the recourse of a Roman writer to some Greek model, and he is hardly likely to omit reference to this point, on which he lays such stress elsewhere. 'Go,' he is always saying, 'to the fountain-heads—the really great Greeks—Homer, Pindar, Archilochus, Alcaeus, not to the second-rate poets whom it is the fashion to imitate.' So that the 'cheap and obvious round' will be the equivalent of the 'lacus et rivos apertos,' which he praises Titius for venturing to have a soul above, Epp. 1. 3. 11.

133-152. 'Provided also (1) that you do not attempt translation; (2) that even in imitation you take sufficient freedom; (3) that you avoid pretentious beginnings. Homer is the example of the true order.'

134. **imitator**, 'when you imitate'; see on 'scriptor' in v. 120. **desilies in artum**, i.e. voluntarily put yourself into a difficulty. The figure is from the fable of the goat who was persuaded by the fox to leap down into the well, though Horace is concerned only with the goat's part in the story.

135. **operis lex**, i.e. the self-imposed conditions of your task.

136. **scriptor cyclicus**, i.e. one of the lesser poets whose epics, as dealing with the same cycle of legends, were arranged by the Alexandrine critics by the side of the Homeric poems. The particular poet of whom Horace speaks is unknown. It seems possible that he is inventing a typical opening of such a poem. **olim** lends itself not improperly to a fictitious instance.

137. As compared with the opening of the Odyssey this line is more pretentious both in its style **cantabo, nobile** (Homer leaves you to find out afterwards that the subject is a striking one), and (which is probably more in Horace's mind) in the breadth of the subject which it announces. Homer is content with a passage from the life of his hero, though that passage will turn out to have plenty of incident. The Cyclic writer promises both a biography and a history. It is the same point as that touched in Aristotle's remark, Poet. 27, that 'of the Iliad and of the Odyssey severally a single tragedy only or two at most could be made, whereas of the

"Cypria" (a poem of the Cyclus), or of the "Lesser Iliad," more than eight might be made.'

138. **promissor**: see above, v. 14.

139. **parturient**: a Greek proverb, preserved by Athenaeus 616 D ὠδινεν ὄρος, Ζεὺς δ' ἐφοβείτο, τὸ δ' ἔτεκεν μὲν. It stands as a fable in Phaedr. 4. 22. All good MSS. have the future. Bentley altered it to 'parturiunt,' on the authority chiefly of a quotation in Jerome, and most editors have followed him. The future rightly follows the tense of 'incipies.' 'If you do so, it will be a case of mountains in labour,' &c.

ridiculus mus: Quintilian (8. 3. 20) cites this as an imitation of Virgil's 'exiguus mus,' G. 1. 181, pointing out how in each case everything combines, the epithet, the singular number, and the unusual monosyllabic ending of the verse, to give the appropriate idea of smallness.

140. **molitur**, of effort.

141, 142. For another paraphrase of the beginning of the Odyssey see Epp. 1. 2. 19-22.

141. **tempora Troiae**: Od. 1. 28. 11 'Troiana tempora.'

144. **speciosa miracula**, 'things striking and marvellous.' Aristotle says, Poet. 24. 8, that even tragedy should contain τὸ θαυμαστόν. Epic poetry is allowed also τὸ ἄλογον, that is, combinations which to the prosaic reason are impossible. Horace is speaking here of the scope for interest and imagination which Homer finds within his limited and modestly introduced subject.

145. **Antiphaten**, king of the Laestrygones, Odys. 10. 100 f.

Scyllam, Charybdis: Odys. 12. 81 f.

Cyclope: Odys. 9. 187 f.

146-150. 'Homer knows not only *how* to begin, but *where* to begin. He goes straight to the point and omits tedious explanations.' Aristotle had spoken of it as one of Homer's special excellences, that he knows what to omit: 'Οδύσσειαν γὰρ ποιῶν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἅπαντα ὅσα αὐτῷ συνέβη, οἷον πληγῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ Παρνασσῷ, μαῆναι δὲ προσποιήσασθαι ἐν τῷ ἄγερμῳ, ὃν οὐδεν θατέρου γενομένου ἀναγκάιον ἦν ἢ εἰκὸς θάτερον γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πρᾶξιν οἷαν λέγομεν τὴν 'Οδύσσειαν συνέστησεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν 'Ιλιάδα Poet. 8. 3.

146. **neo . . . nec**. 'He no more begins a Diomedea (i.e. would do so if he wrote one—a general statement of the practice he avoids put in particular terms which hit some one else) . . . than he (actually) begins his Iliad,' &c. The return of the different heroes from Troy was the subject of several Cyclic poems, *Noστοί*. Meleager, the unhappy son of Atalanta, was the half-brother of Tydeus, Diomedes's father.

147. **gemino ovo**, i.e. from the birth of Helen. For another allusion to the legend of the two eggs cp. Sat. 2. 1. 26.

148. **ad eventum festinat**, 'he is hastening to the issue'—καταστροφῇ—he has no leisure for irrelevant details.

in medias res. The Homeric manner became proverbial. Cic. ad Att. 1. 16. 1 'Respondebo tibi ὑστερον πρότερον, Ὁμηρικῶς, Quintil.

7. 10 11 'ubi ab initiis incipiendum, ubi more Homérico a mediis vel ultimis?'

151. ita . . . sic, followed by 'ne': 'with this reservation,' as often in prose; so inf. v. 225. 'While he gives his imagination full play, never forgets that fundamental rule of symmetry with which we started'—so we come back to the doctrine of vv. 1-23. Horace claims the privilege (v. 10) 'quidlibet audendi,' but with the limit there laid down. The passage usually quoted from Arist. Poet. 24. 9 *δεδίδαχε δὲ μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψευδῇ λέγειν ὥς δεῖ* is not relevant. As Hermann explains, he is speaking there not of the poet's invention, but of deception practised by one character in a poem on another, as, in the instance cited from *Odyss.* 19, by Ulysses and Penelope.

153. V. 152 has designedly repeated the principle which has never been quite out of sight in the first portion of the poem. The emphatic 'Tu, quid ego . . . audi' is meant to indicate the passage to a second part, more personal and particular, in which Horace lays down for Piso's special benefit some rules for success in drama.

ego et populus mecum: rules which will secure the approval both of the competent critic and of the less competent crowd.

154. **plausoris**: Epp. 2. 2. 130.

aulaea manentis, 'waiting out the curtain' must mean waiting till the curtain rises (see Epp. 2. 1. 189 n.) at the end of the piece.

155. **cantor**. 'Vos plaudite' (or some equivalent words) are found at the end of every complete play of Plautus and Terence, and the practice is frequently alluded to in Latin writers as prevailing both in comedy and in tragedy (Quintil. 6. 1. 52). Who spoke them is a disputed point. Bentley (on Ter. Andr. 5. 6. 17) held that the 'cantor' named here was the flute-player who had accompanied the 'cantica.' Hermann (Opusc. 1. 302) controverted this, thinking that 'cantor' was the same as 'histrio,' an actor. Prof. Wilkins on this passage shows that the passages of Cicero on which Hermann relied do not prove his point.

156. **notandi**, 'to be observed.'

157. 'As men's natures shift quickly, and their years, each must have its fitting character assigned.'

decor: Aristotle's *τὸ ἀρμόδιον* Poet. 15. 2.

158. **reddere voces**: Virg. Aen. 1. 409 'veras audire et reddere voces,' to speak as well as be spoken to.

159. **signat**, like 'certo pede,' marks the firmness of the step.

160. **in horas**: Sat. 2. 7. 10, and see above on v. 60.

161. **custode**: Sat. 1. 4. 118, 1. 6. 81, inf. v. 239.

162. Cf. Ter. Andr. 1. 1. 28 'Quod plerique omnes faciunt adulescentuli Vt animum ad aliquod studium adiungant, aut equos Alere aut canes ad venandum,' &c.

aprici campi: Od. 1. 8. 3, and cp. Epp. 1. 18. 53.

163. **cereus flecti**. For inf. see vol. 1, App. 2. For the image cp. Epp. 2. 2. 8, and Plat. Legg. p. 633 *θωπείας κολακικὰς αἰ . . . τοὺς θυμοὺς μαλάττουσαι κηρίνους ποιοῦσιν*.

165. *sublimis cupidusque*: see on Epp. 2. 1. 165; 'eager and with strong desires.'

amata relinquere pernix. Like many of the traits which Horace assigns, it is paralleled in Aristotle's description Rhet. 2. 12 ἀφίκοροι [οἱ νέοι] πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι ταχέως δὲ παύονται.

167. *inservit honori*: is a slave to office, i.e. to the seeking of office. Cicero's 'honoribus inservire,' de Off. 2. 1. 4, is probably rather 'to the duties of office.'

168. *commisisse*: for perf. inf. see on Od. 3. 4. 52.

cavet with inf. 'is cautious of committing,' Virg. E. 9. 25. It is to be classed with the cases discussed in vol. 1, App. 2. 1, 'caveo' being equivalent to 'timeo.'

169 f. The characteristics of old age, like those of the other stages of life, are given from an external point of view, as they are seen in action or on the stage, not sympathetically from the poet's own experience and reflection, unless there is a personal touch in the tone of vv. 175, 176. Contrast Epp. 2. 2. 211. As before, the picture has marked likeness to Aristotle, Rhet. 2. 13. Cp. especially § 7 καὶ δειλοὶ καὶ πάντα φοβητικοί· ἐναντίως γὰρ δικάεονται τοῖς νέοις· κατεψυγμένοι γὰρ εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ θερμοὶ with the 'timide gelideque' of v. 171.

vel . . . vel. As Wilkins points out, these particles are not exclusive. Both grounds are meant to be real. Cp. Sat. 2. 8. 37 and inf. v. 288.

170. *quaerit*: absol. as in Epp. 1. 7. 57 'et quaerere et uti.'

172. *spe longus*. Often taken (as by Orelli) as meaning 'slow in hoping,' a rendering of Aristotle's δύσελπις Rhet. 2. 13. 14. It is questionable however, as Bentley observed, whether the words can bear this sense. They more naturally mean 'patient in hope,' 'content to hope and wait.' They go closely with *dilator*, being the first of three characteristics which accompany and explain the dilatoriness of the old (for it is paradoxical and needs explanation). It is the opposite of youth, which is impatient, ready for action, fuller of the present than of the future. It does not follow that Horace had not in mind Aristotle's δύσελπις, though he may have given it a turn of his own. Bentley wished to read 'spe lentus,' taking it in the sense in which Orelli takes 'spe longus.'

avidus futuri: perhaps to be explained by Aristotle's φιλόζωοι καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀπόντος εἶναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. So Acr. 'semper senex . . . vivere desiderat.' Bentley wished to alter to 'pavidus.'

173. *difficilis*: Sat. 2. 5. 90.

querulus: cp. Arist. I. c. § 15 ὀδυρτικοὶ εἰσιν καὶ οὐκ εὐτράπελοι οὐδὲ φιλογέλοιοι.

temporis acti se puero: 'of the world as it went when he was a boy'; we are meant to hear his own words. Cp. Arist. I. c. § 12 διατελοῦσι γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντες, ἀναμνησκόμενοι γὰρ ᾗδονται. Horace must have thought of Nestor in Homer. The common

mode of quoting the words, as though 'temporis acti' stood by itself for 'of the past,' is doubtful as Latin, and not possible here, as it leaves 'se puero' with no construction.

174. *minorum*: Epp. 2. 1. 84.

175. *venientes . . . recedentes*: see on Od. 2. 5. 14. The point of view from which time is regarded changes as we grow older. The young may be said to count the years as they come, the old as they go. Notice also that Aristotle, in the place that Horace seems to have had in view, tries to fix a point between youth and age, Rhet. 2. 14. 4 ἀκμάζει τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ περὶ τὰ ἐνὸς δέιν πεντήκοντα.

176-178. *ne forte*, &c. This is a final sentence giving, after Horace's manner, the purpose of a statement (cp. Od. 4. 9. 1, Epp. 1. 1. 13, 2. 1. 208, inf. v. 406), but whether it should be connected in this way with the preceding statement or the one that follows is not certain. Bentley (without a note) punctuates for the first and Munro follows him. 'All this is to prevent your making the mistake of assigning,' &c. In favour of this is the parallel case of v. 406, q. v. The rhythm is in favour of the more common punctuation, which I have followed, making 'morabimur' the principal verb. In any case v. 178 sums up in a precept the result of vv. 153-177. Cp. the position of v. 23.

177. *mandentur partes*. It will be understood that, as in v. 104, Horace is speaking not of assigning a part to an actor, but of fitting speeches and actions to a character.

178. *morabimur in*. It is a question what is the subject, and therefore what is the sense, of 'morabimur.' Is it '*We poets* shall keep close to [a more coloured equivalent for 'versabimur in'] the correct attributes of the time of life'? or, perhaps more likely, '*we the audience* [the "ego et populus mecum" of v. 153] shall dwell with pleasure on,' &c.? cp. the active use of 'moror' in v. 321 and its passive use in v. 223.

saevoque: the dative with *adiunctis* as well as *aptis*. For the place of *que* see on Od. 1. 30. 6.

179 f. The question of characters is brought to an end in vv. 176-178, this being indicated (as in v. 152) by the repetition of the chief point which has been urged. We pass to some miscellaneous practical rules for a writer of plays. What is said of the distinction between that which should be represented in action on the stage and that which should be reported by an ἄγγελος is based exactly on the Greek practice.

179. *in scaenis*: for the plur. cp. Virg. Aen. 1. 429, 4. 471, where see Conington's note.

180. The thought is an old one, and had been enforced by Cicero in his recommendation of a 'memoria technica' which made use of the eyes, de Or. 2. 87. 356.

demissa: Virg. Aen. 4. 428 'Cur mea dicta neget duras demittere in auris?'

181. *fidelibus*, gives the reason; we believe our eyes more than

our ears. Herod. 1. 8 ὅτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποις ἰόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν, Sen. Epp. 6. 4 'homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt.'

184. *praesens*, with *narret*, relates in his presence, i.e. on the stage; 'the eloquent tongue' of a messenger or (as Clytemnestra in the Agamemnon) one of the persons in the play.

185-188. Two classes of actions are named as to be thus kept from the actual view of the spectators; crimes which shock (what Aristotle would call τὸ μαιρόν Poet. 14. 7, which he allows, as in the case of Medea's act, only when it is redeemed by πάθος) and what he calls τὸ τερατώδες, 'the marvellous' (metamorphoses and the like), which he forbids to Tragedy (ib. § 2). It is to be noted that Sophocles wrote a 'Tereus' (to whose story Procne belongs, see Od. 4. 12. 6 n.). Among Euripides' fragments there is a couplet which is thought to have come from a 'Cadmus' (fr. 122 Nauck) οἶμοι δράκων μοι γίγνεται τό γ' ἤμισυ | τέκνον, περιπλάκηθι τῷ λοιπῷ πατρί, and which, in that case, justifies Horace's warning. See Sandys' note on Bacchae 1330.

185. *ne*: rightly restored from the MSS. by Bentley in place of 'nec.' He takes it (as in v. 339) as final, the following lines giving illustrations of the *purpose* of the preceding precept.

188. *incredulus odi*: the adjective seems to belong most to the second-named class of incidents, the verb to the first.

189. Aristotle discusses (Poet. 8) the proper length of a tragedy, but in relation to the plot, laying down the rule that it must be of sufficient compass to make the catastrophe probable, and not so long as to overtax the memory and lose unity of view (τὸ εὐθύνοπτον). Horace is adopting, perhaps after Alexandrine critics, a more mechanical measurement. Our knowledge hardly enables us to determine the exact relation of his words to previous Roman practice or phraseology. A Greek tragedy was divided (Arist. Poet. 12, though this is possibly an interpolated chapter) into πρόλογος, ἐπεισόδιον, ἔξοδος, χορικόν, a particular ἐπεισόδιον being the portion of dialogue between two choral odes. Horace uses 'actus' in v. 194 as the Roman equivalent for these divisions. The number however of the ἐπεισόδια in extant Greek tragedies varies greatly, making with the πρόλογος and ἔξοδος as many as eight 'actus' in some plays, as few as four in others. In the only complete Latin tragedies which we have, those of Seneca, Horace's rule of a quintuple division is followed, there being four choral odes. Cicero uses the word 'actus' frequently with reference (metaphorical) to the divisions of plays. In one passage he indicates a triple division¹,

¹ Donatus' remark on the Adelph. 3. 1. 1 'tragoedia in tria dividitur, expectationem, gesta, exitum' seems to be parallel to the divisions which he recognizes for a comedy (argument prefixed to the Andria), into protasis, epitasis, and catastrophe, and to refer to the development of the plot, not a division of acts, being substantially analogous to Aristotle's requirement that a plot (Poet. 7. 3) should have beginning, middle, and end.

namely in the letter (ad Q. Fr. 1. 1. 16), in which he urges his brother to make the third and last year of his government, after the example of good poets and careful actors, the best, 'tamquam tertium actum.' This looks like a return to the Aristotelian (triple) division, viz. the *πρόλογος* or opening, the *ἐπεισόδια* or body of the play, and the *ἐξόδος* or conclusion. The use of the figure in de Sen. 2. 5 of old age, 'extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum,' where only two previous stages, 'pueritia' and 'adulescentia' have been distinguished, points the same way though less decidedly. On the other hand Verr. Act. 2. 2. 6. 18 'qualis iste in quarto actu improbitatis futurus esset,' sc. 'in the next act,' three having been just enumerated, looks as if he were using 'actus' in the Horatian sense and contemplating the fuller number. The division of Roman comedies (in which there is no chorus) into five acts rests on other grounds, and seems to have been the work, often arbitrary, of grammarians. It is first found in the introductions to Terence's plays by Donatus (4th cent.). See Ussing's Plautus, Prolegomena V.

quinto actu: for 'quam quintum actum,' the accusative of extent with **productior**.

190. **spectata:** Keller and Holder give 'spectanda.' The variation is as old as the Schol. Acr. recognizes it 'spectanda, alii spectata.' The balance of sense is for 'spectata.' At the same time 'spectanda reponi' would go temptingly together (cp. Sat. 1. 10. 39 'nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris') if a doubt between the two forms arose. There is the same hesitation of MSS. in the place just quoted; also, as Keller points out, in Epp. 2. 2. 143 between 'modulanda' and 'modulata.'

191. **deus**, sc. 'ex machina,' ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, the god appearing in the air by means of the stage lift, in order to solve an otherwise insoluble knot. The device was a favourite one with Euripides. Aristotle, with his severe ideas about the plot, was inclined to condemn such solutions altogether as inartistic: Poet. 15. 7 φανερόν οὖν ὅτι καὶ τὰς λύσεις τῶν μύθων ἐξ αὐτοῦ δεῖ τοῦ μύθου συμβαίνειν καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Μηδείᾳ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. He allows supernatural intervention in solving difficulties outside the dramatic action of the play, as by revealing things past which the actors do not know or things future which they cannot know. But the practice of poets was the other way. Cp. Plato, Crat. p. 425 D ὥσπερ οἱ τραγῳδοποιοὶ ἐπειδὴν τι ἀπορώσιν ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἰρόντες, Cic. N. D. 1. 20. 53 'ut tragici poetae, cum explicare argumenti exitus non potestis confugitis ad deum.' More illustrations may be seen in Orelli's note.

191, 192. **nec . . . nec:** pair the precepts. 'Overdo neither the supernatural nor the human element.'

192. Horace is of course speaking of the number of speaking characters who should be on the stage at once, not of the number of actors employed or characters introduced in a play. The introduction of a second actor is ascribed by Aristotle, Poet. 4. 3, to

Aeschylus (dialogue until then having been between the actor and the leader of the chorus), that of the third to Sophocles. This improvement was adopted by Aeschylus in his later plays, but no further addition was made. See Haigh's Attic Theatre, p. 200.

laboret: the verb implies misplacéd effort.

193. **officium virile**: 'duty, as well as a man can do it,' is an emphatic repetition of 'actoris partis' and is in contrast with the more languid use of the chorus as condemned by Aristotle in the practice of Euripides: Poet. 187 καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἔνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ μῦριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλεῖ. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ἀδόξενα (οὐ) μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἀλλης τραγῳδίας ἐστίν' διὸ ἐμβόλιμα καλοῦσιν, πρῶτον ἄρξαντος Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ τοιοῦτου. Horace's other rules are not to be found in Aristotle, but they correspond with the character of the chorus as we find it in the Greek tragedies.

194. **defendat**: Sat. 1. 10. 12.

intercinat actus: as is pointed out on v. 189 'actus' is here evidently the rough equivalent of the Greek ἐπεισόδια, including in them the πρόλογος and ἔξοδος, or dialogue before the first and after the last choric song.

197. **peccare timentis** is the only reading that has good authority. Bentley objected to it as tautologous after 'bonis faveat,' and as putting an unlikely force on 'amet,' the language of the chorus rather than their feelings being in question. The words, however, describe very truly the attitude of the chorus (say in the Antigone), as shrinking from breaches of law and propriety and disposed at first to throw cold water on bold resolves. Bentl. proposed 'pacare tumentis,' there being some slight MS. authority to be quoted for both words.

198. The chorus is to sing the praise of moderation. So Aesch. Eum. 530 παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεὸς ὥπασεν. Cp. Agam. 378, 472.

mensae brevis: so 'cena brevis,' Epp. 1. 14. 35.

199. **apertis portis**: Od. 3. 5. 23.

200. **tegat commissa**. For the words cp. Epp. 1. 18. 38. Thus Orestes to the chorus in Aesch. Cho. 555 αἰνῶ δὲ κρύπτειν τάσδε συνθήκας ἐμὰς, Soph. El. 469, &c. As the chorus was constantly present, this reticence was a necessary condition.

deos precetur: Aesch. Cho. 784 and 931.

201. **redeat, abeat fortuna**. The essence of a tragedy according to Aristotle is the περιπέτεια or reversal of conditions (ἐξ εὐτυχίας εἰς δυστυχίαν or the opposite). The Chorus is to favour the catastrophe which best satisfies the moral sense.

202-219. The discussion on the chorus leads to one on stage music, of which Horace gives a historical sketch, suggested possibly by the memory of some Greek treatise; but see the passages quoted from Cicero and Quintilian on v. 211, and from Pliny in the next note. In some details he seems certainly to pass to Roman practice. He condemns the modern instrumental music as an after-growth alien to the true spirit of the drama. This was

a grievance of early date in Greece, as seems from a story told by Athenaeus (617 C) of Pratinas, the predecessor of Aeschylus, who complained that the fluteplayers no longer accompanied the chorus but rather the chorus the fluteplayers, and vented his wrath on the musicians in the following 'hyporchema,' *τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὄδε; τί τὰδε τὰ χορεύματα; τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλαν; κ.τ.λ.* We should remember that the ancients always attributed moral effect to any departure from the severity of the older music. Aristotle, who recognizes *μελοποιία* as an essential part of tragedy, gives no detailed consideration to it.

202. *tibia non ut nunc*: the mischief began in the improvement of the instrument.

orichaleo vineta: Virg. Aen. 12. 87, Cic. de Off. 3. 23. 92. When used, as here and in Cicero, of a metal of the day it seems to have meant brass. There is an interesting passage in Pliny N. H. 16. 66, in which he describes the treatment of reeds for making flutes 'so long as they used simple music,' and their more elaborate process 'postquam varietas accessit et cantus quoque luxuria, apertioribus earum ligulis ad flectendos sonos'; the difficulty, he says, being such that it was not to be wondered at that people had taken to use silver as better material.

203. *foramine paucio*, for 'paucis foraminibus,' according to the use of 'multus' see Epod. 2. 31 'multa cane,' Od. 4. 5. 33 'multa prece, and see on Od. 1. 7. 8.

204. *adspirare et adesse*: the two verbs are not to be too nicely distinguished. 'Adspirando adesse,' i.e. 'opitulari,' to support by accompaniment.

205. *spissa sedilia*: Epp. 1. 19. 41.

206. *sane* indicates that we are hearing the point of 'nondum spissa nimis'; the matter is brought home to the character of the audience.

numerabilis: a word not found before Horace, = *ἐνἀριθμητος*.

utpote parvus explains not 'numerabilis' but 'numerabilis coibat.' The people came in numbers that could be counted, because the people itself was small in number.

207. *et frugi*, &c. And those who came were of a better class than modern audiences. These adj. also go with 'coibat.' Orelli suggests that *castusque verecundusque* implies that the religious origin of the drama was better remembered. 'Castus' is used greatly of piety towards the gods, 'castus Aeneas,' C. S. 42, so Virg. Aen. 3. 409, 'Hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.' Cp. 'incestus,' inf. v. 472.

208. *victor*: the subj. is still 'populus'; 'when its conquests were over.' Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 93 foll. and 162. The two expressions 'agros extendere' and 'latior murus,' imply the growth of population, rustic and urban; the theatrical audiences then became much larger and more mixed.

urbis: so all MSS. of any value. Bentl. would substitute 'urbem,' but Horace is, in profession at least, sketching the history

of the Greek drama as much as the Roman, although the expressions, no doubt, suit better the gradual expansion of Rome than any known facts in Greek history.

209. **vino diurno**: Sat. 2. 8. 3 'de medio potare die.' It refers to what Cicero calls 'tempestiva convivia,' e.g. pro Mur. 6. 13, drinking that began before the proper business hours were over.

210. **placari Genius**: see on Epp. 2. 1. 144.

impune: 'non contradicente aut lege aut moribus,' Acr.

211. **numerisque modisque**, ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέλεσι. The two together stand for the music. See on Epp. 1. 18. 59.

licentia maior. Cicero complains of the lower standard of the music of the theatre in his time: Leg. 2. 15. 39 'illud quidem video quae solebant quondam compleri severitate iucunda Livianis et Naeavianis modis, nunc ut eadem exsultent, cervices oculosque pariter cum modorum flexionibus torqueant.' So Quintilian at a later date (1. 10. 31) 'non hanc [musicam] quae nunc in scaenis effeminata et impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minima, si quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat excidit, sed qua laudes fortium canebantur quaque et ipsi fortes canebant.'

212. **indoctus**: cp. the complaint as to the illiterate audiences in Epp. 2. 1. 183 f. 'indocti, stolidique,' &c.

quid saperet. What taste, discrimination, should he have?

liber laborum, that is, out for a holiday, and so looking only for amusement. See below, v. 224. For gen. cp. 'operum solutis,' Od. 3. 17. 16, 'operum vacuo,' Sat. 2. 2. 119.

213. **turpis honesto**. The distinction is of birth, as the 'plebeula' and the 'eques' of the similar Epp. 2. 1. 186, 187, and see also vv. 248, 249. For 'honestus' = 'respectable,' cp. Epp. 2. 1. 150.

214. **sic . . . sic**. This was the secret of these progressive changes, the degradation of the audience.

motum et luxuriam. Aristotle (Poet. 26. 1) speaks of it as a sign of debased art in ἀλληται to eke out the dramatic force of their music by bodily movement and gesticulation. Cp. also Cicero's words (l. c. on v. 211) of the movements of neck and eyes. The two words may be = 'motus luxoriosos,' and there may be a sense of immodest as well as excessive movement. So Acr. 'gestum corporis et voluptatem.' Ritter prefers to take both words of the added liveliness and variety of the music. Cp., in that case, 'cantus luxuria' in the passage of Pliny quoted on v. 202.

215. **vagus**, as Orelli points out, an ironical word, as though his movements were aimless.

traxit vestem, i.e. the 'syrma' or trailing (σύρμα) tragic robe. It is implied that the robe itself is noticeable. Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 207.

per pulpita: the expression belongs to the Roman theatre, in which there was no 'orchestra.'

216. **voces**, 'tones,' as in Virgil's 'septem discrimina vocum,' Aen. 6. 646.

severis: cp. 'severae Musa tragoediae,' Od. 2. 1. 9. Plato

allowed the lyre in his ideal state (see Rep. 3, p. 399) as the most staid and limited instrument, while excluding altogether the *aúlós* as *πολυχορδóτατον*, i.e. admitting the largest number of tones. For the changes in choral music attributed to Timotheus, who is said to have added the eleventh string to the lyre, already increased by a succession of innovators from the Heptachord of Terpander, see Haigh's *Attic Theatre*, p. 294. The contrast between the older music of Aeschylus' plays and the newer employed by Euripides is a subject of discussion in Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

217-219. A clever description of obvious characteristics of the language of a chorus in Greek tragedies, its dithyrambic abruptness of metaphor and its oracular sententiousness. Horace connects them, more playfully perhaps than historically, with the more florid music which invaded the stage. The point seems to be that the diction matched the music in its unnaturalness.

217. *eloquium insolitum*: an ironical phrase—a diction lofty but strange, alien to that of common life.

praeceps, 'bold,' 'abrupt,' opposed to the gentle flow of sober language—'dicendi genus quod praecipitia pro sublimibus habet,' Quintil. 12. 10. 73. Cp. the description of Pindar's diction Od. 4. 2. 10 'per audaces nova dithyrambos Verba devolvit.'

tulit = 'secum attulit,' and so = 'effecit.'

218. *utiliumque sagax rerum*, 'with its wise saws.' With the genitives cp. 'divina imbrum,' Od. 3. 27. 10 and see Madv. § 289, obs. 1 and 2.

219. *non discrepuit*, 'struck the very same note as'—that is, they were as obscure and unhelpful as the Delphic oracles.

220-250. Horace passes to the Satyric drama, which, he points out, was from the beginning nearly connected with tragedy, and must not be lowered to the level of comedy. He is keeping to his previous course in treating of it as on the Greek stage, and not drawing any marked line between that and the Roman usage; but it is impossible to give his words their natural meaning without supposing that he contemplates the Satyric drama as a practicable form of Latin literature. Porphyrio (on v. 221) asserts that Pomponius (that is, probably, if his words are meant to explain what Horace had in mind, Pomponius Bononiensis, the writer of *Atellanæ*; see Macrobi. Sat. 1. 10) wrote Satyric plays, naming three, *Atalanta*, *Sisyphus*, and *Ariadne*. Nettleship (*Essays in Latin Literature*, p. 179) pointed out that Diomedes the grammarian (p. 490) recognizes the 'Graeca Satyrica' as a form of Latin play holding towards the 'Atellana' the same relation as a 'tragoedia' of Pacuvius, in which heroic personages appear, to a 'praetextata,' in which the characters are historical and Roman.

220. *vilem*, 'the cheap prize'; the epithet implies 'in those primitive and simple times.' For the fact cp. the inscription on the Parian Marble, 43 [ἐ]τέθη ὁ τράγος [ἀθλον]; see Bentley's *Phalaris* xi. Horace is no doubt following the etymology commonly given in antiquity to *τραγῳδία*, but his object is to link the origin of the

satyric drama with that of tragedy. This is done as effectually by the more recent view that it was called the 'goat-song' from the chorus of goats or satyrs.

221. **mox** need involve no contradiction of Aristotle's statement (Poet. 4. 14) that tragedy itself was originally *σατυρική καὶ ὀρχηστικώτερα*, even if it refers to the chronological relations of tragedy and the satyric drama, for Horace might well have in view the separate existence of the latter, which dates from Pratinas, *πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους*; but it is equally probable that 'mox,' as 'nuper' in v. 228, refers to relations between the tragedies and the satyric play at a given performance: the very poet who had been exhibiting a tragedy, 'presently,' on the same boards, exhibited a satyric drama.

nudavit, i.e. brought Satyrs naked on the stage.

222. **incolumi gravitate**, 'without sacrificing dignity'—to be taken closely with **asper**. It matters not whether we say 'his own dignity' or 'that of the characters,' for he is spoken of throughout as doing that which he makes his characters do.

224. **potus**. Wilkins quotes Plat. Legg. 6. p. 775 *πίνειν δὲ εἰς μέθην οὔτε ἄλλοθὶ που πρέπει πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ ἑορταῖς*.

225. **ita . . . ita . . . ita . . . ne**, 'with this reservation that . . . not,' &c.; see on v. 151.

risores . . . dicaces, of mere fun, and of edged sayings. For 'risores' see on 'scriptor,' v. 120.

226. **vertere seria ludo**, 'to change grave to gay'; 'vertere' with the construction of 'mutare'; see on Od. 1. 17. 2.

228. **nuper**, i.e. in the tragedy just exhibited.

230. According to Horace's usual doctrine, that the avoidance of one extreme is apt to lead into the other; see above v. 31.

231 f. Tragedy, so grave and stately in all she does, will find herself a little uncomfortable among saucy satyrs, and therefore the satyrs must not be too saucy.

232. **moveri**, 'to dance,' as in Epp. 2. 2. 125. 'Sunt enim quaedam sacra in quibus saltant matronae, sicut in sacris Matris deum,' Acr.; see Od. 2. 12 introd. and v. 17.

234. **dominantia** seems a translation of *κύρια*, the Greek term for ordinary words in their usual forms and acceptance: Arist. Poet. 2r. 2. The usual Latin phrase was 'propria.'

nomina verbaque: Sat. 1. 3. 103 n.

235. **Satyrorum scriptor**, 'if I come to write Satyric dramas.' The Greeks used *Σάτυροι* in the same sense. For 'scriptor' see above on v. 120.

236. **colori**: above v. 86 n. For dat. cp. Sat. 1. 4. 48.

237. **Davus**, a slave of comedy; cp. Sat. 2. 5. 91, &c.

et, the reading necessary to the sense, is given by B and was in V, the other good MSS. having 'an.'

238. **Pythias**: a character, according to the Scholiasts, in a play of 'Lucilius.' This has been generally considered a mis-writing for

Caecilius. *emunoto*, in the sense of 'cheated,' is a comic word, and very possibly comes from the passage Horace is recalling. If Bentley's conjecture (on A. P. 96) of '*emunxeris*' might stand in the fragment of Caecilius quoted by Cicero de Am. 26. 99 (cp. de Sen. 11. 36 'Vt me hodie ante omnis comicos senes Versaris atque *emunxeris* lautissime'), we should have probably what we are in search of; but it is only a conjecture.

239. *Silenus*, the father of the Satyrs and the nurse and *παῖδα-γωγός* ('custos,' see on Sat. 1. 6. 81) of the ever youthful Bacchus; conceived at once as a jovial drunken old man and as a prophet (Virg. E. 6. 31 f.) and philosopher (Cic. Tusc. 1. 48. 114): he was the representative of wisdom concealed under uncouth and unlikely exterior, whence Socrates was likened to him, Plat. Sympos. p. 215, Dict. Biog. s. v. *Silenus*.

240. *ex noto fictum*. Is Horace still speaking of the *diction* of a Satyric drama? So Acr., followed by Orelli and other editors, on the ground that otherwise he is made to pass from diction to plot and back again to diction in v. 244. But '*figere carmen ex*' is most naturally interpreted of the *plot*, and if these verses really referred to the diction, we should have in v. 244 some conjunction to indicate that the precept there given was a limitation of what preceded. That passage stands, as this one does, without a conjunction, because they are both independent of the lines before them. Ritter seems rightly to indicate what differences vv. 244 f. from vv. 225-239. See on v. 244. The difficulty of connexion has seemed so great to some editors that they have thought vv. 240-243 to be out of their place. Ribbeck omits them; but they are in Horace's best style.

sequar: Epp. 2. 2. 143; 'it will be my aim.'

241. Cp. Byron's imitation (Hints from Horace)

'Whom nature guides, so writes that every dunce
Enraptured thinks to do the thing at once;
But after inky thumbs and bitten nails,
And twenty scattered quires, the coxcomb fails.'

For a similar description of the '*ars celandi artem*' cp. Epp. 2. 2. 124.

242. *series iuncturaque*: vv. 46, 48 'in verbis serendis . . . iunctura.' Here the power of making what is old new by its setting, is claimed in relation to the plot as there to the language.

243. *de medio sumptis*, 'the commonest materials.' The sentiment is general. Cicero (Or. 49. 163) uses the phrase of ordinary diction as opposed to that of the poet '*exquisita ad sonum*.'

244. *deducti*, sc. 'in scaenam.'

Fauni: see on Epp. 1. 19. 4. Horace is speaking (as Ritter explains, see above on v. 240) of the Chorus of Satyrs, thus completing the account of the Satyric drama, as he completed that of Tragedy by treating of the Tragic Chorus; and he is speaking, not of their diction, but of their sentiments. They are the wild children of the woods, and (though, perhaps, it is implied, a coarseness of

their own is not out of place) they must not be credited with town vices whether of softness or coarse vulgarity.

245. *forenses*, sc. dwellers in the heart of the town; with a depreciatory sense, as Livy's 'forensis factio,' 9. 46. 13: cp. *ἀγοραῖος*.

246. *teneris versibus*. Yonge recalls Hotspur's 'mincing poetry.'

iuvenentur: *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, and possibly invented by Horace after the analogy of *νεανεύεσθαι*, 'to talk as young men do.'

247. *crepent*: see on Od. 1. 18. 5, Sat. 2. 3. 33.

diota, 'jests.'

248. *quibus est equus*, sc. 'equites,' Sat. 1. 10. 76, Epp. 2. 1. 185, and supr. v. 113.

pater: those who are said 'to have a father' are 'ingenui'; see on Epp. 1. 7. 54.

249. *ciceris*, *nucis* stand for the cheapest food. For 'ciceris' see Sat. 1. 6. 115 and 2. 3. 182, where with 'fabae' and 'lupini' it is named as given in largesse to gain the votes of the poorer people. *frioli* goes in sense with both subst., 'frictas nuces,' Plaut. Poen. 1. 2. 111; 'nuces,' as Orelli says, includes chestnuts.

250. *corona*, metaphorical: cp. Epp. 2. 2. 96.

251-269. The purport of this passage is to criticize the laxity of Roman practice in respect of the metre of Tragedy, mainly the Iambic, and to urge the closer study of Greek models. The tone is playful, both in the prosaic gravity of the opening statement, as though from a school 'Prosody,' and in the subsequent personification of the Iambus as a proprietor easy to encroaching neighbours.

252. *pes citus*. The lightness of the measure is the point to be emphasized, as the characteristic which the elder Latin poets failed to understand and reproduce: the Scholiasts therefore are right in making 'unde etiam' depend on 'pes citus.' 'The lightness of the "iambus" was felt so strongly that the Iambic senarius was called [not, as in the dactylic metre, a "hexameter," but] a trimeter.' 'Cum,' however, is not 'although,' but 'since,' the chief emphasis being not on 'senos,' but on 'primus ad extremum similis sibi.' They were called trimeters because though there were six feet they were all 'iambi.' 'Iambeis' is probably (as Ritter pointed out) a neut. subst., *ἰαμβεῖον* being the Greek name for an iambic verse (Arist. Ran. 1133, 1204, &c.); 'bade the name of trimeters gather to the iambic verses.' For the imitation of the Greek form cp. 'Argeo,' Od. 2. 6. 5.

254. I take this not with Nettleship (Essays in Lat. Lit. p. 180) as a proof that Horace is quoting from a writer on metre who lived near the time of the change, but as an evidently hyperbolic way of saying that the idea of the metre was iambic, and that the admission of 'spondees' was an afterthought. 'Tis only the other day that,' &c. There is an affectation of carelessness in the whole passage. He is contrasting (as Nettleship points out) the tragic senarius with that of Archilochus. Yet this latter, as ancient

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writers on metre say, and as the extant fragments of his poems prove, admitted 'spondees,' though less frequently than the tragic verse. Horace himself in *Epod.* 16 wrote pure Iambics, as Catullus had in two poems, and probably they had some Greek precedents; but the picture of an age of pure Iambics is a playful exaggeration.

256. *stabilia*, opp. 'pes citus.'

257. *non ut* = 'non ita ut,' 'not on the terms that.'

secunda aut quarta. Horace does not mention the sixth place, because even Roman writers respected the rule there.

258. *socialiter*, 'as friends might,' *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*.

hic, sc. 'iambus'; the metaphor is hardly lost yet. He is a rare sight in his own home.

259. *nobilibus*: the epithet given by his admirers. See on *Epp.* 2. 1. 50.

260. The spondaic rhythm is imitative of the verses described.

261, 262. The two faults of which he offers the choice are the two which it is the special object of the *Ars Poetica* to forestall by pressing on Roman poets the necessity of patient work (cp. vv. 293 f., *Sat.* 1. 10. 72, *Epp.* 2. 1. 167) and of systematic art. See esp. vv. 379-382, 408-415.

263. A concession. 'I allow that the public ear is obtuse, and the result has been an unworthy licence in our poets.'

265-269. 'What then is to be my conclusion? Shall I follow my own caprice? or shall I credit the public with sharper eyes than they have and then keep safe from their criticism? That can lead at best to a negative excellence. The true method is to steep yourself in Greek models.'

269. See on *Epp.* 1. 19. 11.

270. *vestri proavi*. Some inferior MSS. have 'nostri.' Bentley pointed out that 'vestri,' besides being better attested, is more suitable in the mouth of the 'libertino patre natus' addressing Pisos. For Horace's views on Plautus cp. *Epp.* 2. 1. 170 f.

272. *ego et vos*. He compliments the Pisos by taking it for granted that their taste is as his, not as that of the rougher critics of the theatre.

273 belongs to the 'sales' of Plautus, 274 to his 'numeri.'

seponere, as 'secernere,' *Sat.* 1. 3. 113.

274. *digitis*: either simply by counting or by beating time (cp. 'pollicis ictum' *Od.* 4. 6. 36, 'pedum et digitorum ictu intervalla signant' *Quint.* 9. 4. 51).

callemus, with *accus*, as even in Cicero, *pro Balbo* 14. 32 'iura calles.'

275 f. The precept to spend nights and days over Greek models leads naturally to a short historical sketch of the successive masters of the Greek drama.

275. *ignotum genus*. Bentley (on Phalaris) warned us that this is not 'an unknown kind of tragic poetry,' but 'tragedy, a kind of poetry unknown before.' Thespis, according to the Parian

Marble (see above on v. 220), was the first to exhibit tragedies. According to Aristotle (as quoted by Themistius Or. 26, p. 382,— he is not named in the Poetics) he added the *πρόλογος* and *ῥῆσις*, that is, he provided an actor distinct from the *ἐξαρχος* of the chorus who could speak before the chorus entered, and hold dialogue with the *ἐξαρχος* afterwards; in other words, he first made tragedy dramatic. In the following lines Horace seems to have been confusing the traditions of tragedy with those of comedy. Thespis no doubt used, if he did not originate, the *ἐλεός*, or table, which was the first form of the stage platform. The waggon belongs to comedy, which owed its rudimentary form to the badinage (*ἐξ ἀμάξης*) of the vintage procession. In 'peruncti faecibus' Horace is probably giving a received etymology of *τρυνφῶδια* (as in v. 220 of *τραγῳδία*), the name for comedy; see Arist. Ach. 499, Liddell and Scott s. v., and Bentley's Phalaris. It should be said that Bentley would save Horace's credit in respect of the waggons by reading, ex coni., 'qui' for 'quae' in v. 277, so that Thespis would be said to carry his company of players, not his plays.

278. *post hunc*. Aeschylus is with Horace, as with Aristotle, the next name to Thespis in the growth of Tragedy, intermediate writers as Phrynichus being omitted.

With respect to the inventions here assigned to Aeschylus, Horace is at one with Aristotle (apud Themist. l. c.) as to the stage, *ὀκρίβας*, 'pulpitum,' an enlargement of the *ἐλεός* of Thespis, which went with Aeschylus' addition, which Horace does not mention, of a second actor besides the *ἐξαρχος*.

The painted mask ('persona') as used on the tragic stage was traced to him, although a simple linen mask to disguise the face had been employed by Thespis and others. The tragic dress ('palla,' *σῦρμα*, see on v. 215: 'honestae' = *σεμνῆς*) was also attributed to him, *ἐξεῦρε τὴν τῆς στολῆς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ σεμνότητα* Athen. p. 21 D; and the tragic shoe, *ἐμβάτης* (Suidas) or *κόθορνος*.

280. *magnum loqui*: to be taken closely with the other points in which he raised the dignity of tragedy; 'lofty utterance' went with the dress which made the actor more splendid, and the buskin which made him taller than common life. There is no touch of ridicule or hostile criticism as in Aristophanes' phrases *βρυχώμενος ἦσει ῥήματα γομφοπαγῇ* Ran. 823 and *πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά* ib. 1004.

281. *successit . . . his*. This, though not true of the origin of Comedy, for Susarion was older than Thespis, is true of its serious development and state-recognition at Athens. Aristotle remarks that its early history is less known than that of Tragedy *διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς* Poet. 5. 2. The first certain record of the acting of comedy at Athens is of a play of Magnes in 457 B. C., whereas Aeschylus exhibited in 499. Cratinus (the founder of political comedy, whom Horace would possibly look on as the first writer of the 'old comedy,' cp. Sat. 1. 4. 1) is said in the Chron. Euseb. to have exhibited from 454 onward.

283. *lex est accepta*. We learn from Scholiasts on Aristophanes (Ach. 67, 1149, Av. 1297) that efforts were made to restrain by law the licence of the old comedy by prohibiting the introduction of political personages by name (*μη κομποδείσθαι ὀνόμασιν τινα*), but these seem to have been only temporarily successful. It was stopped, no doubt, under the tyranny of the Thirty, and by the end of the Peloponnesian war a change of feeling and taste had taken place which prevented its revival. Cp. the account, itself perhaps hardly historical, of the restraint of libellous comedy at Rome, Epp. 2. 1. 147 f.

chorus. The New Comedy had no chorus, but this was due to other causes than any law against personal abuse.

288. *praetextas . . . togatas*: tragedies and comedies in which the characters were Roman, and wore a Roman dress, as opposed to 'crepidatae' and 'palliatas,' which were based on heroic and Greek life. The form 'praetextae' instead of 'praetextatae' is found twice in a letter to Cicero from Asinius Pollio (ad Fam. 10. 32). 'Praetextatae' were written by Naevius ('Clastidius', 'Romulus'), Pacuvius ('Paulus'), Accius ('Aeneadae', 'Brutus'). For the 'togatae' of Afranius cp. Epp. 2. 1. 57 n.

docuere, 'exhibited,' after the Greek *διδάσκειν*. So Cic. Tusc. 4. 29. 63 'cum Orestem fabulam doceret Euripides.'

290. *unum quemque*. For the division see on Sat. 1. 9. 51, Epp. 2. 2. 188.

292. *Pompillus sanguis*: imitated by Persius 1. 61 'vos o patricius sanguis.' The nom. for voc. in solemn address, Madv. § 299, obs. 1. Among the factitious genealogies of the time the gens Calpurnia was traced to Calpus, a mythical son of Numa, Plutarch Num. 21. Horace appeals to them as of the blue blood of Rome to come to the rescue of her credit in the matter of literary industry.

293. *litura*: Epp. 2. 1. 167, and cp. Sat. 1. 10. 72 'stilum veritas,' and inf. v. 389 'delere.'

294. *ad unguem*, as in Sat. 1. 5. 32: the image from a sculptor or joiner passing his nail over his work to test the perfect smoothness; Virg. G. 2. 277, Pers. Sat. 1. 64. The question between *praeseotum*, the nail cut close (i.e. to the point where being close to the quick it will be most sensitive), and 'perfectum' (to be taken proleptically with 'castigavit,' 'till it is perfect'), is difficult to decide. The first is the reading of V and B, and is strongly supported by Bentley. The error was due to abbreviation, and the confusion of f and s: cp. Od. 3. 29. 6, Sat. 1. 1. 2.

295-301. The connexion is: 'This want of care arises from that foolish idea that genius is independent of and superior to art, which shows itself in other ways in a disregard of the judgment of the world and the decencies of life.'

295. *ingenium*, 'native gift.' For the contrast of 'ingenium' and 'ars' see below, v. 408 f.

297. *Democritus* (of Abdera, see on Epp. 1. 12. 12, 2. 1. 94).

He wrote a book *περὶ ποιήσεως* according to Diog. Laert. 9. 48. Cicero refers to his opinion more than once, as de Div. 1. 37. 80 'negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse, quod idem dicit Plato': cp. de Or. 2. 46. 194; Plato, as in Ion 5. p. 533, Phaedr. 22. p. 245. Aristotle admits an alternative, *εὐφυοὺς ἢ ποιητικὴ ἐστὶν ἢ μανικοῦ*· τοῦτων γὰρ οἱ μὲν εὐπλάστοι οἱ δὲ ἐκστατικοί, Poet. 17. 2.

bona pars: see on Sat. 1. 1. 61. For the foolish attempts to simulate inspiration by adopting peculiarities cp. Epp. 1. 19. 10 f.

unguis ponere: Epp. 1. 7. 51.

298. **barbam**. The philosopher also let his beard grow; Sat. 1. 3. 133, 2. 3. 35. Horace treats it here as an affectation of eccentricity.

balnea: as places where he would meet all the world.

300. **tribus Anticyris**: cp. Sat. 2. 3. 83 and 166; 'three Anticyras' is a metaphorical, not a literal phrase. It is therefore not to be used (as in Dict. Geog. s. v. Anticyra) as an argument in favour of there being a third Anticyra in Locris in addition to those in Phocis and on the Sinus Maliacus. The one in Phocis is the one which Strabo (418) describes as the home of hellebore and the place of cure for those who needed it. Stephanus, a late authority (between the 4th and 7th centuries), attributes the same character to the one on the Sinus Maliacus.

301. **tonsoni Licino**: a barber of the day otherwise unknown to us. The Scholiasts incredibly identify him with the freedman of Julius or Augustus, who is with later Latin writers the type of the rich *parvenu*, and on whom the epigram was written 'Marmoreo Licinus tumulo iacet, at Cato parvo, Pompeius nullo. Quis putet esse deos?' See Madv. Opusc. Acad. 2. p. 202 f.

O ego laevis, 'clumsy fellow that I am!' Cp. the ironical reasons given for not writing poetry in Epp. 2. 2. The playfulness here has the purpose of softening the transition to the most directly didactic part of the poem.

302. **verni temporis**. This was according to the prescription of the faculty: see Celsus 2. 13, of white hellebore, 'neque hieme neque aestate recte datur; optime vere, tolerabiliter autumnō.'

304. **nil tanti est**, 'it is nothing of importance.' This is the meaning in Cic. ad Att. 2. 13 'iuratus tibi possum dicere nihil esse tanti.'

otis: according to Plutarch this trope had been used by Isocrates when he was asked why he taught speaking instead of speaking himself, καὶ αἱ ἀκόναί αὐταὶ μὲν τεμεῖν οὐ δύνανται, τὸν δὲ σίδηρον ὀξύνει καὶ τμητικὸν ποιῶσι.

307. **opes**, 'his resources.'

309. Contrast Epp. 2. 2. 141. These lines seem to give a keynote to the Ars Poetica. It is the reconciliation of the breach, if it was ever a serious one, between Horace's literary and philosophical inclinations. He has learnt something as he proposed (Epp. 1. 1. 11) of 'quid deceat, quid non,' &c., but a poet's digestion turns all

matter to poetic use, and his studies at least bear fruit in 'opes, alimenta, informatio,' for other aspirants to poesy. Notice also that this line is the serious answer to the suggestion, playfully discussed, of Democritus. 'Sound poetry' ('scribendi recte,' cp. Sat. 1. 4. 13 'scribendi recte, nam ut multum nil moror'), so far from being the product of a crazed brain, has behind it sound thinking, the trained intelligence of the philosopher, at second hand from the study of books (v. 310), and at first hand from the study of life (v. 317).

310. **rem**: as the next line shows, opposed to 'verba'; 'matter,' 'substance.' Cic. de Or. 3. 31. 125 'rerum copia verborum copiam gignit.'

Socraticae chartae. An expression from Lucilius 27. 46 'ubi nunc Socratici charti?' see on Od. 1. 29. 14 'Socraticam domum.' Horace describes himself as taking Plato with him when he goes into the country; Sat. 2. 3. 11 'stipare Platona Menandro.'

312-316. From moral philosophy we gather ideals of men in various relations which we may impersonate in our characters for the stage.

314. **conscripti.** Cicero uses 'Pater conscriptus' for a single senator, Phil. 13. 13. 28; but this is the only instance of 'conscriptus' alone for a senator.

318. **doctum**: as Orelli, 'qui arti satisfaciatur'; one who is to pass as a poet who has learnt his business.

imitatorem in the sense of Aristotle's *μιμητής*, the poet, as 'holding the mirror up to nature.'

vivas ducere voces, i. e. make his characters talk like living persons.

319-322. In fact, for a Roman audience, it is often this moral side of a play rather than the artistic side which secures success.

319. **locis**, as in Cicero, for 'locis communibus' in the rhetorical sense, 'commonplaces,' that is, passages of rhetoric (or, as here, of moral import) which do not belong vitally to the place where they occur, but may be transferred from one composition to another. A play which is 'speciosa locis' is one in which these moral commonplaces stand in relief. So Quintilian (10. 1. 68) recommends Euripides to the study of Roman orators as being 'sententiis densus,' full of *γνώμαι*, sententious commonplaces, which can be brought into a speech as required.

morata, 'supplied with characters.'

320. 'Though without beauty, solid value, or artistic skill.'

322. **inopes rerum**, 'devoid of substance.' This phrase and the following one are dramatic, such as the moral but inartistic audience would use: compare his use of conventional epithets, for which he does not vouch, in Epp. 2. 1. 50f., and inf. v. 341.

323-344. 'The Greeks have to the full the artistic mind. The Romans are too practical, as their education shows, and for practical life arithmetic pays better than poetry. Poetry has two aims—to instruct and to give delight. You may pursue either of

these separately. If so, I can only say, if it be preaching, do not let it be long-winded ; if it be amusement, do not let it be extravagant. But remember that if you pursue either aim by itself, you only please part even of your present audience. The truly popular poet, popular with all classes and also in all countries and for all time, is the poet who combines the Greek and the Roman ideal, who delights his reader even while he instructs him.'

The comparison between the Greek and Roman genius will naturally be compared with Epp. 2. 1. 93f. His recognition of the strength of the Greek on the artistic side is here more direct, not veiled, as there, under half-ironical terms, 'nugari,' 'in vitium labier,' &c. ; his criticism of the weakness of the Roman conception of practical life is also more explicit and satirical in tone : but his point is not to praise or blame either in this place, but to hold up to the Roman poet the duty of facing both sides of his duty.

323. **ingenium** : the native gift ; *what* native gift, is understood from the context. The Greeks (Horace is thinking of the race as a whole, not of his contemporaries) have the poetic spirit by nature. They are, as Aristotle would say, *εὐφυεῖς*. A Roman is less favoured and needs more study and effort ; but, alas ! his education drives him in another direction.

ore rotundo : of style ; in smooth, finished, artistic expression ; a transl. of τὸ στρογγύλον, of which the meaning is made clear in Plat. Phaedr. p. 234 E ὡς τὰ δέοντα εἰρηκότος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, οὐκ ἐκέλευε μόνον ὅτι σαφὴ καὶ στρογγύλα καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποτετόρνευται : so 'apte et rotunde,' Cic. de Fin. 4. 3. 7. As Wilkins notices, it has nearly the opposite sense to that often given to it in popular quotation.

324. **praeter laudem nullius avaris** : devoted to φιλοτιμία and no meaner form of covetousness.

325f. Cp. Plato's remark in admitting arithmetic to his ideal education, that it is to be studied in the spirit of a philosopher, not of a shop-keeper : τοῦ γνωρίζειν ἔνεκα, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦ καπηλεύειν Republ. p. 525 ; and his complaint, that even those who studied philosophy in early youth did so only in the intervals of money-making and housekeeping, id. pp. 497, 498. Cp. also Cicero's complaint, Tusc. 1. 2. 5, that at Rome mathematics were put to nothing but practical uses, 'nos metiendi ratiocinandique utilitate huius artis terminavimus modum.'

longis rationibus : 'long sums.'

326. **centum**, as the edd. point out, stands as a round number, 'into any number of fractional parts' ; the Roman mode of computing money, as we see in the following sketch of an examination in arithmetic, was by the 12 parts of the 'as.'

dicat : the schoolmaster is supposed to call for an answer.

327. **Albini** : 'faeneratoris cuiusdam avari,' Scholiast. A likely guess, but probably not more.

328. **poteras dixisse** : 'You might have told me [by this time].'
For 'poteras' cp. Sat. 2. 1. 16 n. : the perf. infin. is regular. Bentley

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would read, with some MSS., 'poterat,' the words then being Horace's, 'suppose he could answer, "a third of the as,"'

329. **redit**, 'is put the other way,' i.e. is added to the original 'quincunx.'

330. **an**. For this use of 'an,' see on Sat. 1. 4. 124. The picture which has just been given of a sordid education has been virtually equivalent to a pronouncement that Roman cannot have the artistic qualities of Greek poetry. The question asked by 'an' is represented as a 'reductio ad absurdum' of any doubt or denial of this: 'What, do we hope then?' &c.

aerugo: see on Sat. 1. 4. 101. Here it is a poisonous canker of the mind: but the figure suggests that it is caught from the handling of rusty coin.

cura peculi: Virg. E. 1. 32. The choice of the phrase is meant to imply a love of money which suits a slave rather than a free man.

332. **linenda oedro**. The resinous sap of the 'cedrus' was used to preserve books as well as other things from moths and from decay: Ov. Trist. 3. 1. 13 'Quod neque sum cedro flavus,' 1. 1. 7 'nec cedro charta notetur,' Pers. S. 1. 42 'cedro digna locutus.'

cupresso: 'cupressus unde confici solebant capsulae,' Comm. Cruq.; 'utraque res odore suo submovit tineas,' Acr.

336. **dociles . . . fideles**, predicative: 'with willing ears and faithful memories.'

337. 'If your hearer has had enough, any further words are wasted and soon forgotten.' Bentley unfortunately took 'pectore' of the poet's heart (thinking of the use of 'mano' in Epp. 1. 19. 44), and so found the line dull and suspected interpolation.

supervacuum: Od. 2. 20. 24, Epp. 1. 15. 3.

338. Horace is not giving the full conditions of poetry which is to please, but a single rule for poetry which aims at pleasing only. Extravagant use of the marvellous (*τὸ τερατώδες*, which Aristotle Poet. 14. 2 excludes from Tragedy) is a natural fault in imaginative writing which has no moral purpose. He may have special instances in view, but he is probably meaning to hit characteristic vices of Roman poetry generally: 'the didactic is too long, the imaginative too extravagant.'

339, 340. **ne, neu**: best taken, with Bentley, as final, introducing illustrations of the purpose of the precept in v. 338.

340. **Lamiae**. *Λάμια* was a Greek bugbear to frighten children, Arist. Vesp. 1177. Suidas s. v. gives the legend that she was a Libyan queen whose children Here slew from jealousy, and who became a monster preying on the children of others.

pransae implies that Horace is purposely making such extravagances rather ridiculous.

341. **centuriae seniorum**. For this metaphorical use of the old Tullian classification cp. v. 113. The 'seniores' were over 45.

agitant, 'attack,' 'criticize severely'; 'agitāt rem militarem,' Cic. Mur. 9. 21; possibly 'hunt off the stage.'

expertia frugis: as 'austera poemata,' in the next line, is their own phrase; see on v. 322.

342. **Ramnes**: the first of the three centuries of knights of the original creation, Liv. 1. 13. They seem to stand here for the young men of old family. The idea of youth comes partly from the epithet 'celsi'; cp. 'sublimis' of a young man, v. 165, and Liv. 7. 16 'celsi et spe haud dubia feroces in proelium vadunt'; but also from the contrast with 'centuriae seniorum,' the humdrum respectability of the one class and the youth of the other being left to be gathered in each case from the words that characterize the other member of the comparison.

343. **punctum**: Epp. 2. 2. 99.

345. **Sosiis**: Epp. 1. 20. 2.

mare transit: see on Epp. 1. 20. 13 and cp. Od. 2. 20. 17-20.

346. **prorogat**: C. S. 67. **longum** is pred. = 'ita ut longum fiat.'

347. **tamen**. The adversative particle is explained not by any single statement that has been made and that needs limiting, but by the general picture of ideal perfection which has been held up to the poet—'though my standard seems so high, yet,' &c.

ignovisse: for the perf. inf. see on Od. 3. 4. 52, and cp. supr. v. 98.

348-358. 'As we know in other arts, no instrument can be perfectly depended on. There will occur failures. But I shall not be offended at them (if the merits overbalance), whether they proceed from carelessness or from causes, like the failing string, which the poet being human has not provided against. But this does not mean that he may omit always to provide against the same failing.'

350. **quodcumque minabitur**: the 'internal' accus., cp. Od. 1. 28. 25; 'whatever shall be its threats,' i. e. whenever it is so aimed as to look as if it must strike.

353. **quid ergo est?** 'what is the conclusion?' i. e. let us understand the limits of our indulgence.

354. **scriptor librarius**: one of the slaves employed to copy books, of whose negligence Cicero complains, ad Quint. Fr. 3. 5. 6 'de Latinis [libris] quo me vertam nescio: ita mendose et scribuntur et veneunt.' Cp. Mart. 2. 8. 3 'nocuit librarius illis.'

357. **qui multum cessat**. Quintilian has 'cesso,' in exactly the same sense, 1. 10. 4 'oratoris perfecti illius ex nulla parte cessantis.' Some metaphor seems to be suggested, as of failing to keep up in a march, or of the lapses of a lazy slave, Epp. 2. 2. 14.

fit Choerilus ille: is put by me on the level of the notorious mediocre poet; see Epp. 2. 1. 233 f.

358. **bis terve**. Bentley first pointed out (on Epod. 5. 33, see my note there) the true difference between 'bis terque,' 'twice and (even) thrice' and 'bis terve,' 'twice or (at most) thrice.' The first having an amplifying force, and so making the phrase often (not always) equivalent to 'saepe' (cp. 'ter quaterque,' Sat. 2. 7. 76, 'ter et quater,' Od. 1. 31. 13); the latter, a minimizing one,

reducing it to 'raro.' He argues here in favour of 'bis terve,' which is the reading of B. The sense will be satisfied with either reading. Any contemptuous generosity of concession to the bad poet is overbalanced by the 'indignor quandoque' of the contrasted clause.

et idem: 'though at the same time I,' &c.

359. quandoque: for 'quandocumque,' Od. 4. 2. 34. My standard of excellence for Homer is so high that every single declension from it is noted and made much of.

bonus cannot be separated from 'bonum' in the contrasted v. 358. It is not therefore a half-respectful, half-familiar designation like 'pater Ennius,' Epp. 1. 19. 7; but has emphasis, and is part of the predication. Choerilus is the bad poet occasionally good. Homer is the good poet occasionally, if so it be, nodding. Quintilian refers to this line in a passage of good sense, 10. 1. 24 'neque id statim legenti persuasum sit omnia quae magni auctores dixerint utique esse perfecta. Nam et labuntur aliquando et oneri cedunt et indulgent ingeniorum suorum voluptati et nonnumquam fatigantur: cum Ciceroni dormire interim Demosthenes, Horatio vero etiam Homerus ipse videatur; summi enim sunt, homines tamen.'

360. verum, like the 'verum' of v. 351, introduces a statement in qualification of the one preceding. Here it is an apology for having admitted the possibility of Homer's nodding. Horace is labouring to make it clear that what he is claiming is not faultlessness. A great poem *must* have its duller parts.

361 f. 'So,' he goes on, 'you must allow for differences of scale and purpose. Do not expect of *vers d'occasion* the kind of excellence you expect in the poet of all time. There is one principle—that is what all has led up to—Poetry, whatever be its kind, must, of its kind, be excellent. Mediocrity is intolerable.'

361. ut pictura poësis. Horace is not comparing the two arts generally (as Plutarch when he quotes Simonides as calling painting *ποίησιν σωπῶσαν*, poetry *ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν*, or as Lessing in the Laokoon), but in the single point that in neither is it fair to ask of the artist more than he professes to give—a fresco is not as a miniature.

362. absteres: 'abstare' is not found elsewhere. This led to variations in the MSS.

365. decies: for an indefinite number, as in v. 294.

366. maior iuvenum: the elder of the two sons, who is evidently the person for whom the Epistle is really written.

367. tibi adds 'and make it your own.'

368. tolle memor: 'cape dicta memor,' Virg. Aen. 6. 377.

certis = 'quibusdam'; but the word itself and its emphatic position signify that the class spoken of has its limits. Poetry is not one of them.

371. Messallae: see on Sat. 1. 10. 29. Notice that Messalla and Cascellius answer in inverse order to the lawyer and pleader of the preceding lines.

Cascellius Aulus: for the order of the two names see on Od. 2. 2. 3. He was an eminent jurist, a contemporary of Trebatius (Sat. 2. 1. 78). He lived into the time of Augustus, who offered him the consulship, which he declined.

372. **mediocribus esse**: for construction cp. Sat. 1. 1. 19.

373. The climax ending, *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, in 'columnae,' 'the booksellers' stalls' (see on Sat. 1. 4. 71), gives a playful turn to the outburst.

374. **symphonia discors**: more ambitious music than that of the single singer (Epp. 2. 2. 9); but, as the oxymoron is meant to emphasize, if the many voices were not in tune they were not the better for their number. Cf. Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 44 of a grand feast, 'cum symphonia caneret.'

375. Compare the mixture of meanness with luxury satirized in Nasidienus' supper, Sat. 2. 8.

Sardo melle: 'Corsicum et Sardum mel pessimi saporis,' Porph. Cp. Virg. Ecl. 7. 41 'Sardonis... amarior herbis.'

papaver: 'candidum, cuius semen tostum in secunda mensa cum melle apud antiquos dabatur,' Plin. N. H. 19. 8. 53.

376. **duoi**: so 'producere,' Sat. 1. 5. 70; there is some idea of 'from beginning to end.'

377. **animis iuvandis**. Horace may be thinking of the argument of Cic. de Orat. 1. 26. 118 'in eis artibus in quibus non utilitas quaeritur necessaria, sed animi libera quaedam oblectatio, quam diligenter et quam prope fastidiose iudicamus.'

379-384. 'Yet, in spite of this antecedent condemnation of second-rate poetry, people treat it as the one art which any one may practise, whether he understands it or not.' Cp. Epp. 2. 1. 114-117.

379. **campestribus armis**: see on Od. 1. 8. 12; cp. also Epp. 1. 18. 52, 54. Virgil speaks (G. 1. 160) of the 'arma' of the husbandman. So *ἄρμα* in Greek.

380. **pilae... disci... trochi**: Sat. 1. 5. 49, 2. 2. 11, 13; Od. 3. 24. 57. In the last two passages these games are spoken of with contempt, as fit only for Greeks, in comparison with the more manly Roman sports of riding and javelin-throwing. Here Horace is taking things as they are without comment, and using the practice of the games only as an illustration.

381. **oconae**: Epp. 1. 18. 53.

impune, 'freely,' 'without blame'; a favourite word with Horace, and used with some freedom: Od. 1. 17. 5, 1. 31. 15, 4. 9. 33; Epod. 17. 59; Epp. 1. 5. 10, 2. 1. 150, 2. 2. 105; A. P. 210.

382. Question is raised as to the punctuation. Bentl. put a comma after 'nescit versus.' It is perhaps better to take it as an instance of the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction (see on Od. 1. 3. 6), 'versus fingere' being the complement of both verbs. The effect is helped, not hindered, by the division of the two words between the two clauses.

quidni, 'why should he not?' An ironical answer of the poet's.

383. **liber** includes the 'libertinus' as well as the 'ingenuus,' 'free-born.'

census equestrem summam: the construction is found in Cic. Flacc. 32. 80 'census es . . . centum triginta HS milia'; for the 'equestris summa' see Epp. 1. 1. 58.

384. **vitio remotus ab omni**: as 'sine crimine,' Epp. 1. 7. 56; 'thoroughly respectable.' Horace does not answer the plea, which answers itself, but appeals to Piso not to act in its spirit.

385. **invita Minerva**: explained by Cicero de Off. 1. 31. 110 'nihil decet invita ut aiunt Minerva, id est adversante et repugnante natura'; see on Sat. 2. 2. 3. It is a repetition of the precept of vv. 38-40: 'you will not be like the crowd of scribblers, you will consult your capacity before you begin.'

386. **olim**, 'some day'; Sat. 1. 4. 137, and see on Epod. 3. 1.

387. **Maecius iudicis**: identified by the Scholiasts with the 'Tarpa iudex' of Sat. 1. 10. 38; see note there. He stands here for an experienced critic; 'descendat in auris' implies at a private reading. This reference to Maecius (see Introd. to the Literary Epistles, § 3. 1) has been used as an argument for the earlier date of the poem. Bentley took the words, no doubt rightly, as not implying that Maecius was still alive; 'some Maecius as a critic.'

388. **nonum prematur in annum**. The meaning is well given by Quintilian 10. 4. 2 'Nec dubium est optimum emendandi genus, si scripta in aliquod tempus reponantur ut ad ea post intervallum velut nova atque aliena redeamus, ne nobis scripta nostra tamquam recentes fetus blandiantur.' So in his dedicatory letter he speaks of himself as having followed the advice of Horace, 'qui in arte poetica suadet ne praecipitetur editio.'

389. **membranis**: see on Sat. 2. 3. 2; parchment was used apparently for the author's 'fair copy.'

390. **vox missa**: cp. Epp. 1. 20. 6 'Non erit emissio reditus tibi.'

391-407. 'Poetry had always a high calling, to civilize, to inspirit, to help and solace; you need not be ashamed of it.' Cp. the account of the uses of the poet in Epp. 2. 1. 124 f. The purpose now is to reinforce the plea which he is urging for making the composition of poetry a serious business.

391. **silvestris homines**. For Horace's picture of the savage state cp. Sat. 1. 3. 99 f.

sacer: Acr. quotes Virgil's description of Orpheus, Aen. 6. 645 'Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos.'

393. **rabidosque**: the epithet belonging to both substantives.

393-394. **dictus . . . dictus**, both emphatic. The repeated word links together the two legends, which he rationalizes into modes of expressing the civilizing power of poetry. For Amphion see Od. 3. 11. 2.

395. **blanda**: cp. Od. 1. 12. 11.

396. **fuit haec sapientia**: 'They (the poets) were the philosophers of those early times, when philosophy meant the first lessons

of civilization.' Cp. Cicero's address to philosophy, Tusc. 5. 2. 5 'Tu urbes peperisti, tu dissipatos homines in societatem vitae convocasti, tu eos inter se primo domiciliis, deinde coniugiis, tum litterarum et vocum communione iunxisti, tu inventrix legum, tu magistra morum et disciplinae fuisti.'

397. **publica privatis secernere**: that is, to institute private property.

sacra profanis: contrast 'miscebis sacra profanis,' Epp. 1. 16. 54.

398. **maritis**, 'married persons.'

399. **incidere ligno**, i.e. to take the first rude steps towards fixedness of law. For the Athenian wooden tables of laws see Liddell and Scott, s. vv. *κύρβεις*, *ἄξονες*.

400. **divinis**: pred. 'as divine.'

401. **insignis**, with **post hos**. The point is that the poetry of Homer, who ranks only after the mythic semi-divine poets, was also of practical use.

402. **Tyrtæus**, who according to the story was sent from Athens to aid the Spartans in the second Messenian wars.

404. **vitæ monstrata via est**: he speaks of didactic poetry such as that of Hesiod, gnomic poetry as that of Solon, Theognis, &c.

gratia regum: as Pindar courted the favour of Hiero, Thero, &c.

405. **ludus . . . operum finis**, probably with special reference to the drama; cp. Epp. 2. 1. 139 f.

406. **ne forte**: probably not an imperative clause but a final, giving the motive of the preceding recital of the beneficent part played by poetry. 'All this is to prevent your ever being ashamed,' &c. See on v. 176.

408-415. Horace poses the old question of the poet, 'nascitur an fit?', and solves it in the usual way, that he needs both natural gifts and the training of art; but, as the illustrations show, the point to be insisted on is the second. It was the one which he felt to be most overlooked by his countrymen.

409. **vena**: see on Od. 2. 18. 10.

412 f. Compare St. Paul, 1 Cor. 9. 24 f.

413. **puer**, 'while still a boy.' One who aims at success in athletic contests begins his training in early life.

414. **Pythia cantat**. This is variously taken (1) after the construction of 'coronari Olympia,' Epp. 1. 1. 50, of one who takes part in the contest in flute-playing at the Pythian games; (2) of the *Πυθαύλης* = *ὁ τὰ Πύθια αὐλῶν* (Liddell and Scott, s. v.), or player chosen to play the piece in honour of Apollo's victory over the Python. This last is the Scholiast's explanation.

416. **nunc**, 'in these days.' This is the reading of nearly all the better MSS. and the only reading known to the Scholiasts; 'hoc tempore,' Acr.; 'satis est nostris poetis,' Comm. Cruq. Bentley prefers 'nec.'

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417. **occupet extremum scabies**: 'plague take the last,' Conington. The Scholiast explains that this was a familiar expression of boys racing in play. For another such 'puerorum nenia' see Epp. 1. 1. 59.

418. **sane**, ironical, 'to confess that actually I don't know.' See on Epp. 1. 15. 5.

419-437. 'Remember that it is especially difficult for a wealthy man who writes poetry to find critics who will tell him the truth about his verses.'

421. The same verse occurs in Sat. 1. 2. 13.

422. **unotum reote ponere**, 'to serve a dainty dinner as it should be served'; for 'unctum' see on Epp. 1. 14. 21, 1. 15. 44, 1. 17. 12; for 'ponere' cp. Sat. 2. 2. 23, 2. 4. 14, 2. 6. 64, 2. 8. 91. Persius imitates both the whole passage (1. 53 f.) and this phrase, 'calidum scis ponere sumen.'

423. **levi**: 'tenui et egenti,' Acr.

atris: the reading of all MSS. of value and of Acr., who interprets 'noxiiis, tristibus'; cp. 'atrae curae,' Od. 4. 11. 35. Bentley's conj. 'artis,' 'the close toils of the law,' is ingenious and suits 'implicitum,' but is not necessary.

424. **internoscere**: for the division cp. Epp. 2. 2. 93.

425. **beatus**, 'happy fellow!' ironical; cp. Epp. 2. 2. 108.

427. **tibi factos**: cp. 'tibi pugnata,' Epp. 1. 16. 25; Madv. § 250 a.

429. **super his**, 'over (i.e. about) these verses.' See on Epp. 2. 2. 24. He will in appearance go through the whole cycle of emotions, of fear, sorrow, joy.

430. **saliet**. So Persius, of affected enthusiasm at a recitation, 1. 82 'Trossulus exsultat tibi per subsellia,' where Conington quotes Quintil. 2. 2. 12 'at nunc proni atque succincti ad omnem clausulam non exsurgunt modo verum etiam excurrunt et cum indecora exultatione conclamant.'

431. Horace is imitating Lucilius (27. 18) 'Vt mercede quae conductae flent alieno in funere Praeficae multo et capillos scindunt et clamant magis.' The masc. **qui conduoti** has been suspected, but is to be explained as generalizing the statement beyond the 'prae-ficae' or 'hired female mourners.'

433. **derisor**: used in Sat. 2. 6. 54 of one who laughs in his sleeve while he says what he does not mean.

434-437. 'They tell us kings want to see a man drunk ("in vino veritas") as well as sober before they feel sure that he is well affected.' It would seem as though Horace was going to make the analogy complete by saying 'you have only tried your panegyrist when he is drunk, full of your good dinners and generosity ("inter lances mensasque nitentis Cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus," Sat. 2. 2. 4): can you try him, like them, under the opposite conditions?' But the exact parallelism, if it was in his mind, is dropped, and he concludes with an Aesopean turn, 'if you write verses and some one praises you, look to your fox's motive.'

435. *torquere mero*: Epp. 1. 18. 38 'vino tortus.' See on Od. 3. 21. 13.

perspexisse: for tense see on Od. 3. 4. 51.

436. *condes*: Epp. 1. 3. 24.

437. *animi sub vulpe latentes*. 'Sub vulpe' is under a cunning exterior. If there is reference to a particular fable the Comm. Cruq. is no doubt right in suggesting the Fox and the Raven (Phaedr. 1. 13, and see Sat. 2. 5. 56, Epp. 1. 17. 50), for it was the praise of the Raven's looks and the prospective praise of his voice that made him drop the cheese, but the suggestion of a fable which is not distinctly realized is in Horace's way.

438. *Quintilio*: see on Od. 1. 24. The tenses here show that he is dead. Cp., with the picture of him here as the faithful critic, the characteristics attributed to him in the Odes, 'incorrupta Fides nudaque Veritas.'

si recitares . . . aiebat: cp. Epp. 1. 16. 46 'si dicat . . . aio,' and see on Sat. 1. 3. 5 'si peteret.' There is no sense of impossibility or denied condition: it is 'si recites,' 'supposing you read,' thrown into past time: the apodosis is put unconditionally.

sodes: Sat. 1. 9. 41; Epp. 1. 1. 62, 1. 7. 15, 1. 16. 31.

439. *negares*, i.e. 'si negares.'

440. *bis torque*: see above on v. 358, Epod. 5. 33.

441. *male tornatos*. Emended ingeniously, but unacceptably, by Bentley to 'ter natos'; 'after three unsuccessful births.' He allows that either the lathe or the anvil by itself is an habitual figure for the production of poetry; the first of its neat finish (from Aristophanes' *τὰ δὲ τροπρεύει*, Thesm. 54, to Propertius' 'augusto versus includere torno,' 2. 25. 43); the second of the rougher process of original composition; see Ov. Trist. 1. 7. 29 'Ablatum mediis opus est incudibus illud, Defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis.' Fea, who has treated this point most elaborately, shows that there is no inherent difficulty, as Bentley thought, in the combination of the two. He proves that metal work was turned. Horace will then say, 'if the turning has been done badly, send the piece of metal back to the fire and hammer, and recommence the process.' Fea quotes from Symmachus (4th cent.) Epp. 1. 4, a complete parallel, 'illa [epigrammata] bono metallo cusa torno exigui nescierunt.'

442. *vertere*, 'to alter.'

443. *nullum verbum insumebat . . . quin*: Sat. 2. 3. 42 'nil verbi, pereas quin fortiter, addam.'

444. *sine rivali . . . amares*: Cic. ad Q. Fr. 3. 8. 4 'O dii, quam ineptus! quam se ipse amans sine rivali!'

445. *vir bonus et prudens*: see on Epp. 1. 16. 32. It is characteristic of this Epistle that the moral phrases familiar in the earlier ones have now their application to the composition and criticism of literary work. See Introd. to the Literary Epistles, § 3. 3.

inertis: see on Epp. 1. 20. 12, 2. 2. 126.

446. *duros*: see on Sat. 1. 4. 8 of Lucilius, 'durus componere versus.'

incomptis: cp. 'incultis' of Choerilus' verses in Epp. 2. 1. 233. **atrum**: not only because the ink was black and the lines scored strongly, but also in the metaphorical sense = 'triste,' as the 'nigrum theta' of the judges' mark of condemnation, Pers. 4. 13.

447. **traverso**: 'in transversum ducto,' Comm. Cruq. The words are generally explained of a mark similar to that which was placed by critics opposite suspected verses and called from its shape $\delta\beta\epsilon\lambda\omega\varsigma$, 'alter Aristarchus hos [versiculos] $\delta\beta\epsilon\lambda\iota\zeta\omega$,' Cic. Fam. 9. 10. See Liddell and Scott, s. v.

ambitiosa. The Scholiasts interpret 'superflua,' in which case the adj. as well as verb would be parallel to 'luxuriantia compescet,' Epp. 2. 2. 122. But Quintilian uses the word of affected ways of appealing to admiration, as 12. 10. 40 'id esse affectationis et ambitiosae in loquendo iactantiae,' and 11. 1. 50, of an orator who in pleading a case of life and death uses a florid style with metaphors and tricks of art, 'ambitiosum institorem eloquentiae.'

449. **arguet**, 'convict.'

450. **Aristarchus**: the great Homeric critic, who lived at Alexandria in the 2nd century B.C. His name has become proverbial. So Cicero in the passage quoted on v. 447. Cp. also ad Att. 1. 14 'meis orationibus quarum tu Aristarchus es.'

452. **derisum semel exceptumque sinistre**, 'one that has once been fooled (cp. "derisor," v. 433) and given this ill-starred reception,' i.e. praised for bad verses. This is the interpretation of the Scholiasts, and recent editors have returned to it. Orelli would take the words of the poet's being laughed down and damned by the public. This however gives a less easy connexion with what follows; the 'mala' of this verse are to be found in the picture, which begins in v. 453, of what the habit of writing bad verses unchecked by criticism ends in. This is spoilt by the insertion of a bad reception of his play in the theatre, or of his poem by the public. From Horace's point of view at the moment, this would be not a misfortune, but another chance of his salvation.

453-456. 'There is no more chance for him. Mad in self-conceit, he is like a man with some dreaded malady; every man of sense gets out of his way, boys tease him, and fools make his train.'

453. **morbus regius**, the jaundice. Horace may have supposed it to be infectious, or he may mean that the unnatural colour which it causes would frighten people. The name is a technical one, which Celsus explains (3. 24) by the fact that the patient was treated like a king, ordered luxuries and amusements, everything 'per quae mens exilaretur.'

454. **fanaticus**: not probably in its original sense, as though he were distinguishing the frenzy of the votaries of Cybele or Bellona ('fanaticus oestro Percussus, Bellona, tuo,' Juv. S. 4. 123), from the frenzy of the 'moonstruck.'

457. **sublimis**, 'head-in-air'; see on Epp. 2. 1. 165, and above v. 165. Cp. also Od. 1. 1. 36, though there it is not meant as caricature.

458. Cp. the form of madness described in Sat. 2. 3. 56-60. There is a story in Plat. Theaetet. p. 174 of Thales, in a fit of philosophical abstraction, falling into a well.

459. *succurrite*: cp. the cry of the lame beggar, Epp. 1. 17. 61.

longum: like Homer's *μακρόν αὔτειν*, so as to make the voice travel far.

461. *si curet quis*: the collocation of 'curet' gives it emphasis and so points the connexion with v. 460; 'if any one *does* care,' &c.

462. *prudens*: knowing what he was about.

463. *Siculi poetae*: Empedocles of Agrigentum in Sicily.

464. *deus immortalis haberi*: a verse of his is quoted, *χαίρει, ἔγω δ' ἄμμιν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός*.

465. *dum cupit*: see on Epp. 1. 18. 8.

ardentem frigidus: the verbal contrast, common in some poets even in serious passages (as in Sophocles, e.g. Oed. Col. 621 *ἴν' οὐμὸς εὐδῶν καὶ κεκρυμμένος νέκυς | ψυχρὸς ποτ' αὐτῶν θερμὸν αἷμα πίεται*), is here meant in jest; and too much meaning must never be looked for in such cases. 'When he was cold,' 'to warm himself,' seems to give an additional motive for his leap, and contains probably some play on recognized traits in his philosophy. Perhaps there is a reference to his doctrine that fire was the principle of life, and to the 'reconciliation of opposites' ('concordia discors,' Epp. 1. 12. 19) to which he traced the origin of things. The Scholiasts refer the words to his teaching that coldness of blood was the cause of stupidity (see on Virg. G. 2. 484 'Frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis'). Lambinus explains them by the epigram given in Diogenes Laertius 8. 75 *καὶ σὺ ποτ' Ἐμπεδόκλεις διερῆ φλογὶ σώμα καθήρας | πῦρ ἀπὸ κρητήρων ἔκπνις ἀθανάτων*, which implies that he looked to the fire to correct some defects of his mortality.

466. *sit ius*. From here to the end is a series of ironical suggestions which Horace represents himself as addressing to one and another who would rescue the poet. 'You should never save a man against his will. It is quite useless, he is bent on gaining fame at least by his death. This visitation of verse-writing may be the punishment for some mysterious crime. At any rate he is mad, and wants to recite, and you may as well face a bear escaped from his cage. If he catches you he will stick to you like a leech till he has drained your blood.'

467. *idem facit occidenti*: the dative with 'idem' is a Grecism. Lucretius has it 3. 1038 'eadem aliis'; see Munro ad loc., and cp. Madv. 247 b, obs. 8. This is noticed as the only instance in Horace of a spondee in the fifth foot.

468. *iam*: 'then and there,' 'when you get to that point'; the use commented on by Munro on Lucr. 1. 600, 613, 2. 314, 426.

469. *homo*: an ordinary human being.

famosae, 'notorious.'

470. *facitit*: the doubly frequentative form means 'with such persistence'; cp. 'dictito,' Epp. 1. 16. 22, 2. 1. 27.

DE ARTE POETICA, 471-476

471. **bidental** : a place which had been struck by lightning and which became 'sacrum.'

triste : Od. 2. 13. 11 'triste lignum.'

472. **moverit**, 'disturbed.'

incestus : see above on v. 207. Cp. Od. 3. 2. 30.

474. **indoctum doctumque** : Epp. 2. 1. 117.

475. **occiditque legendo** : Epod. 14. 5.

476. **hirudo**, 'a very leech, that will not,' &c.

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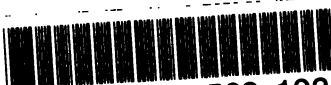
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